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A

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A

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD:

FROM THE

EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

BY PHILIP SMITH, B.A.,

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTORS TO THE DICTIONARIES OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, BIOGRAPHY, AND GEOGRAPHY.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

THE BEGINNING OF CIVIL WAR AT ROME—TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS. B.C. 133 TO B.C. 111.

"Et sane Gracchis cupidine victoriæ haud satis moderatus animus fuit: sed bono vinci satius est quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur eâ victoriâ nobilitas ex lubidine suâ usa multos mortalis ferro aut fugâ exstinxit, plusque in reliquum sibi timoris quam potentiæ addidit. Quæ res plerumque magnas civitatis pessum dedit, dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt."—SALLUST.

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THE universal empire, into which it was the destiny of the civilized world to be consolidated, in preparation for the advent of the promised deliverer, was now virtually established by the conquests of Rome and her influence over the nations that were not yet conquered. But the process of the conquest itself had outgrown the constitution of the Republic. In the light of the event, we know that the only possible issue of the disorders of the state was in the supreme power of a single ruler. The men of that age could only look forward to a long and doubtful contest of the dominant oligarchy with the powers of patriotic devotion and personal ambition. Which of these was the ruling motive of the celebrated

brothers, who were the means of first bringing the conflict to the arbitrament of open force, is still one of the vexed questions of historical opinion.

The Sempronian House yielded to few of the Roman *Gentes* in antiquity. Twelve years after the foundation of the Republic (B.C. 497), the consulship was held by A. Sempronius Atratinus, a member of the only patrician family of the gens; all the rest—the Asellliones, Blæsi, Gracchi, Sophi, and Tuditani being plebeians. Of these families, the most celebrated was late in acquiring the lustre with which it shines above the rest. The career of the first Tiberius Gracchus was begun, so far as history records, with the Second Punic War; but he was already of sufficient note to be appointed master of the horse to the dictator, M. Junius Pera (B.C. 216). We have seen his exploits in Italy, down to his death at the battle of Campi Veteres in Lucania, and the honour paid by Hannibal to his remains (B.C. 212). His son, the second Tiberius Gracchus, inherited the liberal principles of which his father had given a proof by the emancipation of the slaves who had fought at Beneventum.* But, though he began his public life as an opponent of the Scipios, he came forward, when tribune of the plebs, to defend them from the party attack instigated by Cato (B.C. 187).† He was rewarded with the thanks of the whole aristocratic party, and with the hand of Cornelia, the youngest daughter of Africanus, whose title of "the Mother of the Gracchi" refers not more to the celebrity of her sons than to those high endowments which enabled her to give them a training that has become proverbial in history. The exploits of the father in Spain and Sardinia have already been related. He was censor in B.C. 169 with Appius Claudius Pulcher, when he enrolled the freedmen in the four city tribes. The last we hear of him is the mention of his second consulate in B.C. 163. Of his family of twelve children all died young, except two sons, Tiberius and Caius, and a daughter, Sempronia, who became the wife of the younger Africanus.

These three children were still infants when their father died; and Cornelia, who was much younger than her husband, refused an offer of marriage from the king of Egypt, in order to devote herself entirely to the education of the children, whom she is said to have shown as her family jewels. For this task she had the highest moral and intellectual qualifications. The virtues of the ancient Roman matrons were united in her character with the

* Vol. II. p. 447. † Vol. II. p. 559.

Hellenic culture which she shared with the other members of her illustrious house; and, while she was careful to provide them with the best masters in all the branches of Greek learning, her conversation and example ever set before her children the noblest patterns of heroism and goodness. Under such culture the two brothers surpassed all the youths of their own age in accomplishments; and while both proved worthy of the pains bestowed upon them, the merits of each were made the more conspicuous by differences in their powers and dispositions. The younger, Caius, excelled his brother in talent, in vehemence of feeling, and in the fervour of his eloquence; but Tiberius won higher esteem by his gentler virtues and simple dignity. His calm and graceful eloquence proved not less persuasive than the fervid harangues of his brother, whom he surpassed in deep enthusiasm, if less ardent in its outward exhibition. The difference of nine years in their ages gave the more temperate Tiberius an ascendancy beneficial to both, though the later entrance of Caius on public life deprived Tiberius of his brother's aid in the crisis of his fate. Such was the confidence inspired among the nobles by the early promise of Tiberius, that he was elected to the college of augurs as soon as he reached manhood; and at his installation banquet he received from Appius Claudius, the chief of the Senate, the offer of his daughter's hand. It is said that when Appius returned home with the tidings that he had betrothed his daughter, his wife exclaimed, "Why such haste, unless you have got Tiberius Gracchus for her husband?" Publius Mucius Scævola, whose legal acquirements marked him as the founder of scientific jurisprudence at Rome, afterwards conferred upon Caius Gracchus the hand of his daughter Mucia. By these alliances, added to the marriage of their sister to Scipio Æmilianus, the Gracchi became closely connected not only with the noblest families at Rome, but with the leading men who were most deeply convinced of the necessity of a reform in the abuses that were undermining the state.

With such a cousin and brother-in-law as Scipio, the Gracchi could not want for opportunities of military distinction. Tiberius served, at the age of eighteen, as military tribune at the siege of Carthage, and was the first to mount the wall (B.C. 146). Nine years later, he was quæstor in Spain, and we have seen how his hereditary influence with the Iberians extricated the army of Mancinus from great peril (B.C. 137). The statement that Tiberius, on his return to Rome, resolved upon a revolutionary movement

for fear of being called to account for the repudiated treaty with the Numantines is doubtless a calumny of his enemies, perpetuated by the careless repetition of Plutarch. We know that he had far higher motives for undertaking the task, to which he was called not only by the voice of the people, but by the approval of such men as Appius Claudius, Metellus Macedonicus, Mucius Scævola, and his brother Publius Licinius Crassus Mucianus, whose character and legal learning gave him a weight second to no man at Rome.*

On his journey through Italy into Spain, and especially in Etruria, Tiberius Gracchus had viewed with his own eyes those evil effects of the administration of the public lands, which he had often heard deplored by his august friends at Rome. He saw the vast tracts, the possession of which had been usurped by the cupidity of nobles and speculators, turned into sheep-walks or wretchedly cultivated by gangs of slaves in chains, while the poor Roman citizens and Italians, for whom no employment was left, were reduced to abject want. His pity for the slaves, a great number of whom were Greeks, doubtless added to the indignation with which he beheld the condition of the Italian peasants. The only remedy for these evils appeared to be the creation of a middle class of small independent landholders, by means of a redistribution of the public domain, such as had been attempted by former agrarian laws.

The convictions thus impressed on the mind of Gracchus, and deepened by the meditations of many a leisure hour in the camp before Numantia, were shared by many of the wisest and most moderate statesmen at Rome. Caius Lælius, the friend of Scipio Æmilianus, had proposed, in his consulship (B.C. 140), the resumption by the state of so much of the public land in Italy as had only been provisionally occupied, and not, like the bulk of the domain, virtually given away to hereditary possessors. But the Senate and the great landholders raised an opposition which would have needed revolutionary measures to overcome, and Lælius earned his surname of the Wise by retiring from the contest. He may have exercised a sound discretion, but the opportunity was lost of uniting the moderate party in a well-considered measure of reform, and the Scipios had placed themselves under a tacit pledge to resist energetic measures. Their conduct was openly censured by Appius Claudius; and his party seem to have re-

* This was the Crassus who was killed in the war with Aristonicus in Asia, B.C. 130. See Vol. II. p. 551.

garded the young Tiberius Gracchus as a fit candidate to supplant Scipio in the favour of the people. The popular voice ratified the selection, and while one grandson of Africanus was engaged in his thankless toil before Numantia, the walls of Rome were placarded with invitations to another to care for the poor and for the deliverance of Italy. With such support, and with his projects openly avowed, Tiberius Gracchus was elected tribune of the plebs, and entered upon his office on the 10th of December, B.C. 134. The proposal which Gracchus laid before the people was, in appearance at least, most moderate and constitutional. It was simply the re-enactment of the celebrated Licinian Rogation* on the possession of the public land, with some additions to adapt it to the existing state of things, and to prevent its again becoming a dead letter. The old law enacted that no citizen should possess more than 500 *jugera* (about 300 acres)† of public land, nor feed upon the public pastures more than 100 head of large and 500 head of small cattle. In resuming the possession of the whole domain by the state, with a view to its redistribution on the plan of Licinius, Gracchus proposed to leave to each of the present occupiers, besides his own 500 *jugera*, 250 for each of his sons, who were still under the "patria potestas," provided that the reserved quantity should not exceed 1000 *jugera*, and this was to be guaranteed as a permanent possession. Compensation appears to have been granted for buildings and plantations. The land thus resumed was to be broken up into lots of 30 *jugera;* and these were to be leased in perpetuity to Roman citizens and Italian allies, at a moderate rent. To prevent the re-absorption of these holdings into great estates or their returning to the state of waste, the holders were bound not to alienate their lots, and to keep them in cultivation. As former agrarian laws appeared to have fallen into desuetude mainly from the absence of a permanent executive machinery, three commissioners (*triumviri*) were to be appointed annually to conduct the business of resuming and re-distributing the public land. Their functions of course embraced the delicate task of deciding what was public and what was private property; and it seems that Gracchus annexed to his Agrarian Law, a supplementary *Lex Judiciaria* expressly to the effect—"ut IIIviri judicarent qua publicus ager, qua privatus esset." It was intended that their labours should be continued till the whole class whom it was designed to elevate should be provided with their allot-

* See Vol. II. p. 275.

† The *jugerum* was a little less than five-eighths of an acre.

ments, a plan which would seem to have involved the purchase of additional land at the cost of the state, when the public domain should be exhausted. But this was as yet only a contingency in the future. The land to be dealt with at present was that which was held by possessors without payment to the state: that which had been regularly let on lease was exempted from the operation of the measure. As this Sempronian Rogation was ultimately passed, we may proceed to speak of it as a law.

The proposal of the Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus is a fact of great significance in the political and social history, not of Rome only, but of the human race. The evils which it exposed, the remedies which it attempted, the spirit in which it was resisted, the means by which it was carried, are all connected with questions of constant recurrence in the history of civil society; but its bearing upon those questions has generally been grievously misunderstood. Our estimate of the Gracchi must not be taken from the eulogies which the orator, who was always striving to make good the position he had acquired among the nobles, is ever ready to lavish upon their murderers, the more freely as every honour heaped upon the suppressors of old seditions cast a reflected glory upon the queller of Catiline; nor must we assume the truth of the pointed sarcasm—

"Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?"

Much less, confounding the cause of the possessors of the public domain with the rights of property, must we assume that the attack led by Tiberius Gracchus on the former was the beginning of the war of socialism and communism against the latter. But yet there is a certain admixture of truth in both these errors. Constituted as the Republic then was, the means used by Tiberius, and afterwards by his brother, to carry their laws were such as to involve them in the responsibility incurred, whether for evil or for good, by revolutionists; and though the proposal to resume the public lands was so far from an invasion of the rights of property that the state was only taking its own from the occupants who had justly forfeited the tenure which in many instances they had usurped, yet their wholesale and sudden ejection involved a disregard not only of the prescription acquired by a possession reaching back in some cases to three centuries, but of the rights for which very many of the present owners had given full consideration; for the public land had long been dealt with by purchase and sale, lease and mortgage, just like private property; it had been planted

with vines, olives, and timber, and its productiveness improved by culture; and farm-buildings, houses, and even family burying-places had been fixed upon it. Nor, if we remember the condition of the city populace, by whom the measure was carried and who were sure to reap from it the chief benefit—though such was not the intention of Gracchus and his noble associates—can it be denied that it tended to confiscate the property of the rich, in order to supply the wants of the poor, and that without really securing its destined purpose. But, if we would estimate the spirit of the law aright, we must keep abstract principles in the background, while we look at the actual evils under which Italy was groaning and the practical value of the remedies proposed.

When Gracchus mounted the rostra to recount to the people, with that dignified moderation which gave all the more effect to his deep convictions, his own vivid impressions of those evils, there was scarcely one of his hearers who could not add his testimony to the truth, which was attested by the very occupation of the two consuls. The decay of the martial energy of Rome was proved by the long resistance of Numantia to the demoralized armies that had spent ten years at the foot of its rock; and the system of slave cultivation had revealed its worst dangers in the servile war which still raged in Sicily. How things had come to such a pass need only here be briefly indicated.*

The Roman state was a small community of fellow-citizens in the midst of a rich country occupied by many other states, which it subdued one after the other by force of arms. The land of each conquered community became the property of the conquerors by right of war,—a right which was usually commuted by the absolute forfeiture of a portion, generally the third part of the whole territory. Of this, part was sold to capitalists, part was granted to the colonists who were planted in the conquered cities,† and the

* It would be quite out of place in the present work to discuss the difficult questions connected with the Roman public land; and it is the less necessary as the English reader has now within his reach all the information on the subject that is of real value in Mr. Long's *Decline of the Roman Republic*, vol. i. chaps. x.—xii.

† The following passage from Mr. Long's work will throw further light on what has been said concerning the Roman colonies:—"A part of the land acquired by conquest was given or assigned, as the Roman phrase was, in allotments of two *jugera*, sometimes more, to Roman citizens, who settled on their allotments. These settlers formed what the Romans called a *colonia*, a political community, not independent of, but part of the Roman state. . . . It was not only a garrison in a conquered country; it was also a body of cultivators, who took possession of some city that already existed, or occupied it together with some remnant of the former inhabitants. A Colonia was another Rome, a daughter of the city on the Tiber, a

rest became the *Ager Publicus,* or state domain. This domain was occupied by private persons (*possessores*) as tenants of the state, but we are not informed under what regulations; and it matters little, for all such regulations were soon set at nought. The possessors seem to have been in the first instance patricians only, who cultivated the land by means of their clients and, in a measure which increased very gradually, by slave labour. When the plebeians rose to social equality with the old citizens, the wealthy members of their body obtained a share in the assignments of the public land, and acquired a common interest with the older possessors. Thus the contest between these great public tenants and the citizens who were deprived of all share in the domain was no longer one between the patricians and the plebeians, but between the rich and the poor; in which the gain of the former was purchased at a heavy expense, not only to the latter, but to the commonwealth itself.

It is needless to follow the details of the process by which the holdings of the poor became absorbed in those of the rich:—immense tracts converted from arable into pasture, partly through the deficiency of labour, and partly through the demand for wool for clothing the troops, to whom corn was supplied from Sicily:—the class of peasant cultivators replaced by gangs of slaves, the latter being supplied by those same wars in which the former were drafted off to serve, leaving their families to sink into poverty:—and the soil itself impoverished by bad cultivation. One effect of the indiscriminate use of the public land for pasturage is thus described by Mr. Long:—"The hills of Italy were covered in summer with animals which browsed on the grass and young shoots of the trees, and this was the beginning of the destruction of the forests on the hills and mountains, which was followed by the washing away of the soil, a calamity from which Italy has never recovered." The speeches in which Gracchus himself described the state of Italy were extant in the time of Cicero, and there is no good reason to doubt the genuineness of the fragments preserved by Plutarch and Appian. "The wild beasts," he said, "had their dens and holes and hiding-places, while the men who fought and died in defence of Italy enjoyed indeed the light and air, but nothing else: houseless, and without a spot of ground to rest upon, they wander about with their wives and children, while their commanders with a lie in their mouths exhort the soldiers in battle to defend their tombs

dutiful child which maintained itself and yielded obedience to its mother."—*Decline of the Roman Republic,* vol. i. p. 142.

and temples against the enemy; for out of so many Romans not one has a family altar or ancestral tomb; but they fight to maintain the luxury and wealth of others, and they die with the title of lords of the earth, without possessing a single clod to call their own." * "The census-lists of the Roman burgesses," says Dr. Mommsen, "furnished the commentary on these words.† If matters were to go on at this rate, the burgess-body would resolve itself into planters and slaves; and the Roman state might at length, as was the case with the Parthians, purchase its soldiers in the slave-market."

Gracchus viewed all this with the eyes of a soldier and a statesman, as well as of an ardent friend of liberty. His aim was to restore their rights to the suffering Italians and the defrauded Roman citizens; to put an end to the miseries and social dangers involved in the vast gangs of foreign slaves, and to raise up once more a class of peasant possessors, whose labour should at once restore productiveness to the soil and rear a hardy race capable of defending it. "A country in which the land is much divided will always have a large supply of the best material for war. No other man can endure so much as he who has turned the soil and reaped the harvest. This was the opinion of the Censor Cato."‡ It is almost superfluous to point out that such a class could not be supplied by the emancipation of the slaves, a measure of philanthropy totally foreign to Roman ideas. Even had they been as fit for freedom as the recent events in Sicily had proved them unfit, their liberation and settlement on the public lands would have been the very means of shutting out the poor Romans and Latins whom it was intended to reinstate.

Thus far the object in view was clear: but the means of effecting it involved questions of principle as well as policy, which ultimately proved fatal. It was an incontestable truth, that the lands about to be reclaimed from the great possessors had never ceased to be the property of the Roman people. But they had been held by long prescription; many of the present owners had acquired them by *bonâ fide* purchase; and the boundaries were so indefinite as to create great difficulty in distinguishing, not only between the holdings of different possessors, but the public from private land.

* Long, *Decline, &c.*, vol. i. p. 176.

† The following are the returns for a series of years, beginning with the highest point to which the numbers rose after the Second Punic War:—338,314 in B.C. 159; 324,000 in B.C. 154; 322,000 in B.C. 147; 317,823 in B.C. 131.—*History of Rome*, vol. ii. pp. 64, 65.

‡ Long, vol. i. p. 172.

The process of inquisition and ejectment must of course be gradual, keeping Italy in a constant ferment, and ever raising new causes of discontent. In fine, whatever might be the legal or moral rights of the actual possessors, they were sure to regard the measure as one of downright spoliation, and to resist it with all the power of their wealth and influence, of which the Senate itself was the organ.

Scarcely less were the difficulties that sprang from those who were to be benefited by the measure. The Italian farmers, who were the chief sufferers, were not those who made their voice heard in the Forum; nor were the populace, who claimed the first share in the new division, the old Roman people, from whom the domain was called *Public*. The change already noticed in the constitution of the Comitia of the Tribes had converted that assembly into little more than a mob of the city rabble, with an addition of the lowest of the country population, in which deliberation was impossible and voting a mere form, the decision being only the sanction of popular applause to the mover of a rogation, unless the tactics of the opponents prevented its passing. Nor was this all: the tribunes, not content with their sway over the Comitia of the Tribes, were in the habit of haranguing the people in the occasional assemblies called *contiones*,* public meetings not unknown to the constitution from the earliest times, but which henceforth became constant scenes of tumult and even of open violence.

It was the excitement of this city rabble, in the hope of obtaining the chief share in the new distribution, that gave the popular impulse to the measure of Gracchus; and yet they were politically as unfit to decide the question as they were physically incapable of supplying the required body of hardy cultivators. Whether for evil or for good, the political nullity of the popular assembly had become a recognized constitutional fact, and the Senate, in whose hands the government had now centred, could generally control the Comitia by the veto of the tribunes in their interest. When,

* The word, otherwise spelt *concio*, is a contraction of *conventio* (a meeting), and it is applied also to the *harangues* addressed to any public assembly. The primary object of such meetings was to prepare the people for the business to be brought before the Comitia, or to obtain their approval of some new measure, such as an intended war. They might be summoned by any magistrate, but dissolved by one of superior rank. The meetings called by Julius Proculus after the disappearance of Romulus, and by Brutus after the expulsion of the Tarquins, are cited as early examples of *contiones*. In the later Republic they were generally summoned by the tribunes to inflame or give utterance to popular discontent.

therefore, Gracchus, hopeless of obtaining the assent of the Senate to his measure, laid it at once before the Comitia of the Tribes, the Optimates regarded this revolutionary form of procedure as a blow to their authority quite as serious as the assault which the bill itself made upon their interests. They entered on the contest with all the vehemence of an aristocracy when they feel that not only are their interests infringed upon, but the very foundations of their power are assailed.

Since the number of the tribunes had been increased to ten, it was always possible for the Optimates to find the means of effective resistance; for, as Cicero remarks from his aristocratic point of view, we cannot imagine any set of tribunes so bad, that there should not be one man of sound understanding among the ten. The tribune M. Octavius, an intimate friend of Gracchus, but a large possessor of public land, placed his veto on the measure of his colleague. In vain did Gracchus appeal to his personal friendship, and offer to compensate his losses out of his own fortune: Octavius still forbade the clerk to read the bill to the people. Gracchus, in his turn, used his tribunitial veto to suspend all public business, and set his seal on the door of the temple of Saturn, which contained the public treasure, and the government submitted, till the year should draw to an end.* The same consideration urged Gracchus to push matters to extremity; and, after the failure of an attempt to obtain a favourable decision from the Senate, there remained but one course, to remove the obstructive tribune. It was a mere mockery to offer Octavius the alternative of a popular vote on the question, which of the two should be deposed. Octavius of course refused, and Gracchus called the tribes to vote on his deposition. The first tribe voted in the affirmative; and at this indication of the certain result, Gracchus entreated Octavius to withdraw his veto; but the tribune was resolved that his enemies should have all the responsibility. The votes of seventeen tribes were taken, all to the same effect; and the eighteenth would give a clear majority of the thirty-five tribes. Again Gracchus paused, and implored Octavius "not to oppose a measure which would be most useful to Italy, nor attempt to prevent that on which the people had set their hearts, when as a tribune it was rather his duty to assent to their wishes." The only answer was, "Complete what you have begun." The vote was finished, and Octavius

* Plutarch says that he prevented the quæstors not only from drawing any money out, but from paying any in; on which Mr. Long characteristically remarks, "this part of his edict would not embarrass the quæstors so much as the other."

was dragged from the tribunes' bench by the servants of Gracchus; but the act was not completed without a tumult, in which a slave of Octavius had one of his eyes put out.* The Agrarian Law was passed without further opposition, and the three commissioners elected for its execution were Tiberius Gracchus, his father-in-law Appius Claudius, and his brother Caius, who was then a youth of twenty, serving under Scipio against Numantia.

The deposition of Octavius was nothing short of the destruction of the most essential popular element in the Roman constitution, and it set a precedent for exposing every other part of that constitution to be overthrown by any faction that might be strong enough. It was the first example, in the whole course of Roman history, of a magistrate's being deprived, by the vote of the people, of an office committed to him for a definite term; and we have already seen the insuperable objection that was felt to deal thus even with a consul who was emperilling the Republic. The general principle is justly stated by Mr. Long:—"In a form of government where a man is elected to an office for a fixed time by the vote of the people, it would be as great a practical absurdity that he should be deprived of his office by the vote of the people, as that when in the possession of his office he should affect to deprive the people of the power of electing his successor." If there was one Roman magistracy more than another that ought to have been secure from interference, it was that of the tribunes, the sacredness of whose persons was of less value than the inviolability of their office as the protectors, and not the servants, of the people. The vote which deposed Octavius was the virtual abrogation of the solemn compact between the orders which had been made on the Sacred Mount, and the declaration of a war in which both parties at last succumbed to despotism. "Gracchus, with the help of the popular vote, destroyed a fundamental principle of the Roman constitution and of all constituted states, and he set an example of violence which could be used against himself." † The populace of Rome and the crowds of Italians who had flocked to the capital to aid in carrying the law, attended Gracchus to his house; while the nobles, compelled to accept the measure, were resolving to avenge themselves on its author as soon as the expiration of his office reduced him to a private station.

A petty indication of their resentment was at once given. On

* This is Plutarch's statement. Appian makes Octavius retire quietly from the forum.

† Long, *Decline, &c.*, vol. i. p. 188.

the motion of P. Scipio Nasica,* the Senate assigned to the newly appointed triumvirs the pitiful allowance of twenty-four ases (little more than a shilling) a day, and refused them the accustomed tent at the public cost. Tiberius, on his part, courted the people by new proposals. Attalus of Pergamus had just died, bequeathing his kingdom and wealth to the Romans; and Gracchus not only gave notice of a law to distribute the treasure among the poor citizens, to enable them to stock their allotments of the public land, but declared that he would refer the whole management of the newly acquired province to the assembly of the tribes. Such a violation of all constitutional usage brought the exasperation of the Senate to a climax. Q. Pompeius, probably the consul of B.C. 141, openly declared that he would impeach the tribune on the expiration of his office; and Tiberius became convinced that the only chance of safety even for his life was in his re-election for another year, a step for which there was no precedent in the annals of the Republic. The better to ensure success, he made promises of new reforms, among which are vaguely mentioned the shortening of the period of military service, the extension of the right of appeal, the abolition of the exclusive privilege of senators to form the jury (*judices*) in civil cases, and even the admission of the Italian allies to the Roman franchise. Meanwhile, as he sat on the tribunes' bench at the door of the Senate-house, Gracchus had to sustain daily attacks from the members, and his complaints to the people of this treatment were not always successful. On one occasion he appeared in the Forum to propose some censure on T. Annius Luscus, the consul of B.C. 153, who had attacked him in the Senate. Annius asked him, before making his charges, to answer one question:—"If you intend to deprive me of my rank and disgrace me, and I appeal to one of your brother tribunes, and he shall come to my aid, and you shall then fall into a passion, will you deprive him of his office?" Tiberius attempted no reply, but dismissed the assembly. Seeing how the shade of odium was deepening upon him, he delivered in the Senate a set defence of his conduct in the matter of Octavius. The main substance of the speech is preserved by Plutarch. The obvious argu-

* P. Scipio Nasica Serapio was the son of P. Scipio Nasica Corculum, who had opposed the motions of Cato for the destruction of Carthage (See Vol. II. p. 522). He had already made himself unpopular by the severity with which he conducted the levy in his consulship (B.C. 138), when he was thrown into prison by the tribune C. Curiatius, who fixed on him the cognomen of Serapio, from his likeness to a low-born person of that name.

ment, that a tribune was only inviolable so long as he protected the people, who elected him for that sole purpose, and that if he injured them he forfeited his privileges and was no tribune at all, was enforced by the admitted power of a tribune to imprison a consul, who derived his power from the same source, as well as by the expulsion of the Tarquins, whose kingly office partook of that religious character which was the special safeguard of the tribunes. Was a tribune, he asked, to be still a tribune if he should dig down the capitol and burn the naval arsenal? The answer is plain. In the case supposed, the instinct of public safety would transcend all constitutional forms, and the wrong-doer might be justly slain in the perpetration of his crime; but when the question was merely one of obstruction to a reform, however necessary, the constitution itself had provided a remedy in the termination of the opponent's office. It is not the amount of injury inflicted on a people—unless the popular instinct pronounces it, as in the case of the Tarquins, to be intolerable for another day—that justifies the deposition of a king, much less of an elective magistrate. It is the manifest design of casting off the legal restrictions on his power, and setting up a permanent tyranny, that leaves the people no alternative save to drive out the usurper, for such he then becomes. And it was the fate of Tiberius Gracchus to place himself in this very position, at least in the judgment of his enemies, by seeking to prolong his power for another year, and that on the ground of personal security, which would be just as available during the whole duration of the conflict of which no man could foresee the end. Accordingly the charge of aiming at kingly power, which had proved so effective in ruining Spurius Cassius and Titus Manlius, was openly urged against Tiberius Gracchus; and it was said that the envoy who had brought the will of Attalus to Rome had presented the tribune with that king's diadem and purple robe.*

The Comitia for the election of the tribunes fell at the beginning of the harvest, and the country voters were unable to obey the call of Tiberius to Rome. He gathered round him a band of 3000 or 4000 men; and each party was well aware that both were preparing to use force. On the day of the election, the first two tribes gave their votes for Tiberius Gracchus. The objection was at once made, that the same man could not be elected tribune for

* Mr. Long points out the use of this weapon of party warfare in other Republics :— "To charge a man with the design of usurping power is the easiest way," says Machiavelli, "to ruin his popularity in a Republic."

two successive years.* Rubrius, the tribune, who had been chosen by lot as president, would neither proceed with the election nor vacate his seat in favour of an adherent of Tiberius. The assembly was adjourned, and Gracchus passed the rest of the day in the Forum, clad in the garb of mourning like a man whose life was threatened, and holding in his hand his little son, whom he commended to the protection of the people. The concourse that attended him to his house and kept watch about it through the night revived his spirits, and in consultation with his friends he named the signal which he would give if force should be needed on the morrow. As he left his house in the morning, he was met by a series of bad omens; but Blossius of Cumæ, who had tutored him in Greek philosophy, was at hand to fortify him against Roman superstition; and a more solid ground of courage was given by the shout that greeted him on his arrival at the place of election. An immense concourse, including foes as well as friends, filled the *Area Capitolina*,† or hollow which lay in front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and between the two summits of the Hill of the Capitol. The temple of Fidelity (*Fides*) in which the Senate met that day, was near the temple of Jupiter, but on lower ground.

The election began as on the preceding day. The first two tribes again voted for Tiberius Gracchus, and the tribunes of the other party again interposed their veto. It seems that Gracchus now gave the signal for his partisans to drive off their opponents from the area,—whether before or after the intimation mentioned by Plutarch of the danger that threatened him from the Senate, matters little, so well was each party aware of the preparations of the other. The staves of the officers were wrenched from their hands and broken up for bludgeons; a guard was formed round the person of Gracchus; the other tribunes fled; the priests retreated into the temple of Jupiter and closed the doors; the area in its front was filled by a mob of combatants. In the midst of the tumult, Gracchus was seen to lift his hand to his head as a sign that his life was in danger. His enemies put a different

* The early re-elections of tribunes, in the heat of the contest for the establishment of the rights of the Plebs, formed no precedent for the regular working of the constitution; and laws had since been enacted expressly against the re-election of any of the magistrates. For an account of these enactments, and the exceptions to them in the case of certain consuls, see Long's *Decline, &c.*, vol. i. pp. 85, 86.

† Now the *Piazza del Campidoglio*. This space was often used, instead of the Forum, for public meetings and elections.

sense upon the gesture; and the cry was raised that he was asking for the crown.

The news was carried to the Senate, already excited by rumours that Tiberius had dissolved the Comitia and deposed his colleagues by force and declared himself tribune by his own authority. Speech after speech had been made against him, and not a voice lifted up on his behalf. The consul Scævola, who had been one of the advisers of the Agrarian Law, could only oppose passive resistance to the demand that the traitor should be seized and put to death. But when word was brought that Gracchus had made a sign for the crown to be placed upon his head, Scipio Nasica required the consul to put down the tyrant. Scævola replied that "he would not set the example of violence nor take the life of a citizen without a trial: should the people come to an illegal vote, he would not respect it." Upon this, Scipio Nasica sprang from his seat, exclaiming, that if the consul persisted in betraying the Republic, it was his own duty as the Chief Pontiff to save it;* and drawing his toga over his head, he rushed out of the place of meeting, followed by most of the Senators. It is hard for us to imagine a band of members of parliament sallying forth from the door of Westminster Hall into the midst of a riotous crowd, to drag a popular agitator from the hustings in Palace Yard. But the Roman Senators were men who had commanded in the wars of Gaul and Spain, Africa and Asia; and their office was still held in reverence. The people made way for them as they ascended the slope to the platform of the temple of Jupiter. Arming themselves with fragments of staves and broken benches, they rushed down from their vantage ground upon Gracchus and those about him. The crowd dispersed, many falling beneath their blows, or being trampled down in the press. Gracchus himself fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter, but the doors were shut; and it was either just in front of the temple and at the feet of the statues of the kings, or on the slope of the Capitoline hill, that he stumbled and fell. Two of his fellow-tribunes, Publius Satureius and Lucius Rufus, claimed the infamy of giving him the first and second blows as he attempted to rise. Three hundred corpses, which lay round the body of the slaughtered tribune, were thrown with it into the Tiber by night: the area was washed of the blood: and it may be supposed that the high priest

* The doubt, whether Scipio Nasica or Crassus Mucianus was the Pontifex Maximus in B.C. 133 seems to be fairly settled by Mr. Long in favour of the former (vol. i. p. 198).

performed the due lustrations for his own pollution of the sacred spot. But fresh portents indicated that the wrath of some deity remained to be appeased, and, as the result of searching the sacred books, a mission of priests was sent to the most venerable shrine of Ceres on Mount Henna, after the end of the servile war in Sicily.

Such was the true beginning of the civil wars that lasted just a century, and ended in the establishment of the throne, to which Gracchus was too honest and moderate a patriot to aspire.* We cannot say that the sword was that day drawn which was only sheathed after the battle of Actium, for it is a curious feature of the fight on the Capitol that not a weapon of iron was used; all was done with staves and fragments of broken wood. But it was the first time that a meeting of Roman citizens, held for a constitutional purpose, had ended in violence and bloodshed. Spurius Cassius and Marcus Manlius had been done to death by the sentence of their peers; and even in the case of Spurius Mælius, to which the murderers of Gracchus appealed as a precedent, Ahala had acted in his official character as master of the horse, and by the authority of the dictator. How completely the downward course had been entered on was shown by the bloody sentences passed upon the adherents of Gracchus under a commission headed by the new consul, P. Popillius Lænas, and in which not only Scipio Nasica, but even the gentle Lælius took part. In short, the murder was a "baptism of blood," by which the whole aristocratic party was reunited. The consul Scævola, whom we have seen approving the Agrarian Law of Tiberius and refusing to lead the assault upon him, defended the deed when it was done; and we have already related its approval by Africanus, the cousin and brother-in-law of the victim. Even his mother Cornelia, who never ceased

* This is actually made by Dr. Mommsen a ground of reproach against Tiberius :— "The opponents of Gracchus were, in a certain sense, not wrong, when they accused him of aspiring to the crown. It was a fresh ground of charge against him, rather than a justification, that he himself was probably a stranger to any such thought. The aristocratic government was so thoroughly pernicious, that a citizen who could have deposed the Senate and put himself in its room would perhaps have benefited the commonwealth more than he injured it. But such a bold player Tiberius Gracchus was not. He was a tolerably able, thoroughly well-meaning, conservative patriot, who simply did not know what he was doing; who, in the fullest belief that he was calling the people, evoked the rabble; who grasped at the crown without being himself aware of it, till the inexorable concatenation of events urged him irresistibly into the career of the demagogue tyrant."—(*History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 100). The character is truly drawn; but every real friend of liberty will protest against the implied admiration of the courage which dares to seize a crown. It is better to die like Gracchus than like Cæsar, and worse than either to reign as a successful, aye and even—if there be such a thing—as a beneficent usurper.

to enshrine in her heart the memory of her noble sons, could not forbear exclaiming, when she saw Caius about to follow in his brother's steps: "Shall then our house have no end of madness? Where shall be the limit? Have we not yet enough to be ashamed of, in having confused and disorganized the state?" In the following generations, the nobles placed Nasica on a level with the heroes of the old Republic, and Cicero went at last so far as to declare that Scipio Nasica did as good service to the state by the slaughter of Tiberius Gracchus as Scipio Æmilianus by the destruction of Numantia.

But, for the time, Nasica had to bear the odium of his deed, and the Senate could only shield him from the popular indignation by sending him on a mission to Asia, though, as Pontifex Maximus, it was illegal for him to leave Rome. After wandering about from place to place, a mark for general contempt, he ended his days at Pergamus. Nor did the death of Gracchus lead to the repeal of his enactments. The people were only the more resolute to keep what had been gained at so terrible a cost; and the moderate party of the nobles saw the necessity of executing the measure in good faith. We have seen how the hope that Scipio might compose the disorders of the state was disappointed by the part he took on his return from Spain;* but, though he publicly approved the deed of Nasica, he supported Scævola in proposing to carry out the law of Gracchus. The same part was taken by the celebrated Q. Metellus Macedonicus, of whose censorship (B.C. 131)† some curious circumstances are recorded. At the solemn lustration he addressed the people on the duty of marriage, in order to replace the diminution in the free population of Italy. "If," said he, "Quirites, we could do without wives, we should avoid all this trouble, but since nature has so arranged that we can neither live very happily with them nor live in any way without them, we ought to have regard to the lasting interests of the state rather than to our own brief satisfaction." Another incident of his censorship gives an illustration of the collisions by which the conflict between the tribunes and the Optimates was envenomed. Metellus was one day coming home from the Campus Martius, when he was met by the tribune C. Atinius Labeo, whom he had expelled from the Senate. Without the shadow of a pretext to

* Vol. II. p. 565.

† His colleague was Q. Pompeius Rufus; and this was the first year in which both the censors were plebeians. The quotation in the text is from Mr. Long's version of the speech ascribed to Metellus by Aulus Gellius.

excuse the act of personal revenge, Labeo ordered his attendants to seize the censor and fling him from the Tarpeian rock; and it was only by the intervention of another tribune that the pacificator of Macedonia escaped a traitor's death by such a sentence. If we may believe Pliny, the tribune actually succeeded in depriving Metellus of the use of his property for the remainder of his life by devoting it to religious uses with a strange form of incantation, which he went through upon the Rostra with the help of a flute-player and a brazier of live coals. We have already seen how, in the same year, the tribune Caius Papirius Carbo was prevented by the vehement opposition of Scipio from legalizing the re-election of a tribune in successive years, and how the vote by ballot was established at Rome.*

The execution of the Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus appears to have begun immediately after his fall. In the party conflicts of a constitutional state, the opponents of a reform are often zealous in gaining the credit and advantage of its execution; and the enemies of Gracchus might be glad to convince the people that they had slain him for his intended tyranny and not for his legislation. The very same consul, P. Popillius, who directed the inquisitions against the Sempronian party, set up a monument by which he claimed to have been "the first who had turned the shepherds out of their domains and installed farmers in their stead." From this it would appear that the consul of B.C. 132 began the division of the lands in conjunction with the triumvirs, the place of Tiberius Gracchus having been supplied by Crassus Mucianus.† Some interruption must have been caused by the departure of Crassus for Asia; and about the time of his ignominious fall there,‡ another vacancy was created by the death of Appius Claudius (B.C. 131). But the people showed their unfaltering resolution by filling up the places of these nobles with two of their own most active leaders, the late tribune C. Papirius Carbo, and M. Fulvius Flaccus, who had carried the warning to Gracchus on the day of his death. C. Gracchus was of course re-elected; and the Senate, in which the moderate party had recovered the lead under Scævola and Scipio, directed the triumvirs to proceed with their labours.

* Vol. II. pp. 564-5.

† Caius Gracchus had returned to Rome after the fall of Numantia, and had taken part in the debate on the rogation of Carbo. The statement of Plutarch, that the dead body of Tiberius was refused to the prayers of Caius, was probably made, with that writer's usual want of accuracy, in forgetfulness of the fact that Caius was serving in Spain.

‡ See Vol. II. p. 551.

The difficulties now arose which might have been foreseen, and on which Mr. Long well remarks that "if Tiberius foresaw them, we must admire his boldness more than his prudence." The first thing we are told is, that those who were in possession of public land neglected to make a return of their possessions, the limits of which they had often no means of determining themselves. The triumvirs were not the men to shrink from the only remedy for the want of such a return, an inquisitorial investigation. The result is described by Appian, in a most important passage:—"The commissioners gave notice that they would take the evidence of any persons who would give them information. A great crop of difficult suits soon sprung up. Land which bordered on the public land, and had been sold or distributed among the allies, was all subjected to investigation for the purpose of ascertaining the limits of the public land, and the owners were required to show how this land had been sold and how it had been assigned. All persons could not produce the instruments of sale nor the evidence of the assignments; and when the titles were found, there was matter for dispute in them. Now when the land was surveyed anew,* some men were removed from land planted (with vines, olives, and the like) and with buildings on it, to land which was lying waste; and others from lands under cultivation to uncultivated lands, or marshes, or swamps; for neither had they originally, as we might expect in the case of land acquired by war, made any exact measurement of it, and the public notice, that any man might cultivate the land which was not assigned or distributed, had led many to till the parts (of the public land) which bordered on their own, and so to confound them together. Time also as it went on made many changes. *Thus the wrong that the rich had done, though great, was difficult to ascertain exactly;* and there was a general disturbance of everything, men being removed from one place and transferred to another."†

Caius Gracchus and his colleagues overrode these obstacles by their resolution that the law should not be frustrated. The new

* This expression seems to refer to the accurate survey now made for the first time, and not to imply a previous survey, the absence of which, indeed, was a chief cause of the present difficulties. And this is confirmed by the fact that the chief arrangements for determining the boundaries of lands and for marking them permanently by stones, date from the age of the Gracchi.

† The quotation is made from Mr. Long's translation (*Decline, &c.*, vol. i. pp. 223-4). One passage is marked with emphasis, as it points to the essence of the whole difficulty and shows by a decisive example the necessity of basing every reform in the law of landed property on a complete system of survey and registration of titles.

distribution appears to have extended over all Italy, and its result was seen in as marked an increase of the population as had followed the great distribution of new public lands after the Hannibalic War. The returns of the census, which we have seen falling off progressively for twenty years, rose in six years from 319,000 (in B.C. 131) to 395,000 (in B.C. 125). So long as the remonstrances against the working of the commission came only from partisans of the Roman oligarchy, the Senate could not venture to interfere. But when the Italian allies complained that lands which had been secured to them by treaties with the Republic were taken away by the arbitrary decisions of the triumvirs, the good faith of the Republic seemed to be brought into question, and a new source of danger opened in the heart of Italy. Scipio Æmilianus took up the cause of the Italians, and induced the Senate to transfer the decision of all disputed rights of ownership from the triumvirs to the court of the consul C. Sempronius Tuditanus, who found the business so troublesome, that he was not sorry to be called away to conduct a war with the Illyrians. His departure was soon followed, as we have already seen, by the suspicious death of Scipio (B.C. 129).* The distribution of the public land was, however, put a stop to; and the interference of Scipio seems to have taken place just in time to deliver all parties from an inextricable dilemma. But the three commissioners whose action was thus suspended, Caius Gracchus, Carbo, and Flaccus, retained their position as leaders of the people, and began to prepare measures of a far more revolutionary character than any that had been proposed by Tiberius.

Their first object was to repair the mistake they had made in alienating the Italian allies, and to enlist them on the popular side. The relations between the Roman citizens and the Peregrini,† or aliens, had long been unsatisfactory. Many of the latter had been irregularly inserted by different censors on the burgess rolls of the capital, and the Italian states complained that they were weakened by the removal of their citizens to Rome. Hence it was on the demand, not of the Romans, but of the Italians themselves,

* See Vol. II. p. 566. Dr. Mommsen, who adopts the belief in Scipio's assassination, says of it:—"This much only is clear, that the instigator of the deed must have belonged to the Gracchan party; Scipio's assassination was the democratic reply to the aristocratic massacre at the temple of Fidelity."

† Under this term were included the *Latini*, the *Socii*, and the *Provinciales*, such as the inhabitants of Gallia Cisalpina and Sicily, as opposed to the citizens of Rome itself, of the Roman colonies, and of the Municipia which had received the Roman franchise.

that the first "Alien Law" was passed in B.C. 177, requiring the Latins and allies to return home before the first of November. But when, on the conclusion of the African and Asiatic wars, Rome became the scene of violent political agitation, crowds of the Italians used to flock into the city and add disorder to the proceedings of the public assemblies. The temptation was great, to convert this tumultuous interference into a constitutional power; and we have seen that the enfranchisement of the allies was said to have been one of the measures contemplated by Tiberius Gracchus. At all events it was now revived; and the nobles resolved to anticipate the danger by a new law against aliens. In B.C. 120 the tribune, M. Junius Pennus, at the instigation of the Senate, moved in the assembly of the tribes for the banishment of all *Peregrini* from Rome. The measure was carried against the opposition of Caius Gracchus, who was on the point of setting out for Sardinia as Quæstor; and in the following year Flaccus, who was now consul, failed to carry a proposal for admitting to the franchise any of the allies who could obtain a special vote of the Comitia. Meanwhile, Carbo had gone over to the party of the nobles, and Flaccus, called away to effect the first conquests of the Republic in Transalpine Gaul, escaped the odium of fighting against those Italians whose cause he had been pleading (B.C. 125).

For the rejection of Flaccus's bill led to the first war in which an Italian state had ventured to withstand Rome for 150 years without foreign aid or instigation. The ancient Volscian town of FREGELLÆ (*Ceprano*), which stood on the borders of Latium and Campania, at the principal passage of the Liris, had been made a Latin colony in B.C. 328,* and had remained faithful to Rome throughout the Hannibalic War. After the fall of Capua, it had grown into one of the most flourishing cities of the south, and had been the chief representative of the Italians in the recent discussions. It is doubtful whether a scheme was formed for a general rising of the Latin cities, or even whether any minor towns took part with Fregellæ; but the plans of the leaders were betrayed by one of the chief citizens, Q. Numitorius Pullus, and the revolt of Fregellæ was at once crushed by the prætor, Lucius Opimius. The Senate seized the occasion to make an example which should terrify the rising spirit of Italian insurrection. Fregellæ was razed to the ground, its inhabitants dispersed, and its territory assigned to the Roman colony of Febrateria, which was founded in the fol-

* Mr. Long points out that its revolt would have been unintelligible if it had been, as some writers assert, a Roman colony.

lowing year (B.C. 124). "The destruction of Fregellæ, a flourishing and rebellious city, was conformable to the vigorous policy of Rome, as we see it expressed in the speech which Livy puts in the mouth of L. Furius Camillus, after he had conquered the revolted Latini in B.C. 338. Macchiavelli on a like occasion advised his countrymen of Florence to follow the principles of the Romans in the treatment of their rebellious dependents of the Valdichiana. If you will retain your hold on dependencies which have revolted and been subdued, you must either treat them in such a way as to make them friends, or deprive them for ever of the power of doing you harm."*

The successes of the nobles were of no avail so long as CAIUS GRACCHUS remained to take up his brother's schemes with far greater energy and passion. It is said that, when he was a candidate for the quæstorship, he dreamed that Tiberius appeared to him and said, "Caius, why do you linger? There is no escape; one life for both of us, and one death in defence of the people, is our fate." The dream reflected those promptings of his own heart, which overpowered considerations that are left on record in his own words, when he laid his proposals before the Roman people:—"If I were to ask of you,—seeing that I am of noble descent and have lost my brother on your account, and that there is now no survivor of the descendants of Publius Africanus and Tiberius Gracchus excepting only myself and a boy,—to allow me to take rest for the present, in order that our stock may not be extirpated, and that an offset of our family may still survive, I do not think that you would readily grant me such a request." Nor was this all. While he claimed to be the representative of Africanus, the true spirit of the Scipios uttered its protest in the words which the daughter of Africanus wrote to her beloved son:—"To me too nothing seems finer or more glorious than to retaliate on an enemy, so far as it can be done without the country's ruin. But if this is not possible, then may our enemies continue and remain what they are, a thousand times rather than that our country should perish."† Few that think calmly can doubt which was right, the mother or the son. But Caius was carried beyond the region of calm thought by the youthful enthusiasm which persuaded him of his destiny. "The presentiment"—says Mommsen—"that fate would overtake him as certainly as his brother drove him only to make haste,

* Long, *Decline, &c.*, vol. i. p. 243.

† It is fair to add that the genuineness of this fragment is disputed, but not upon decisive grounds.

like a man mortally wounded who throws himself on his foe. The mother thought more nobly; but the son—with his deeply provoked, passionately excited, thoroughly Italian nature—has been more lamented than blamed by posterity."* The popular enthusiasm which had welcomed Caius on his first appearance as the defender of his friend Vettius, when we are told "all the rest of the orators seemed to the people mere children in comparison with Gracchus," and the eloquence he had displayed in discussing the rogations of Carbo and of Pennus, warned the nobles that their new adversary was as dangerous as he was determined. They attempted to keep him in Sardinia by prolonging the command of the proconsul Aurelius; but Gracchus returned on his own responsibility (B.C. 124). His conduct in Sardinia had added to his own reputation and to the jealousy of the nobles. The young quæstor's personal influence had procured supplies of clothing from the islanders, after they had successfully appealed to the Senate against the consul's requisitions, and the Numidian king Micipsa had proved his respect for the grandson of Africanus by sending corn to Sardinia at a time of scarcity. The attempt to call Gracchus to account before the censors as a deserter only gave him the opportunity of recounting his unrequited services.† His military career had lasted twelve years, instead of the legal term of ten; he had acted as quæstor two full years, instead of one; and, what was a singular distinction in that age, he could add, that his quarters had been free from luxury and the use of slaves for prostitution, as well as his hands from all corruption:—"When I left Rome, Quirites, I took my bags full of money, and I have brought them back from the province empty. Others have taken with them jars filled with wine; they have carried them back home crammed with silver." The story that he was tried and acquitted as one of the instigators of the revolt of Fregellæ is of doubtful authority.

Caius Gracchus now came forward as a candidate for the tribu-

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 109. In quoting this passage, as admirably descriptive of the true position of Caius Gracchus, we have purposely stopped short of the conclusion, "and posterity has been right in its judgment." The lessons of ancient history are better learned by a careful study of the events and their consequences than by a partisan discussion of the conduct and motives of the actors.

† It is conjectured that, when he appeared before the censors to give up his "public horse" at the expiration of his service as an *Eques*, it was sought to visit him with the stigma of taking away the horse ignominiously. The difficulties of this view are discussed by Mr. Long, *Decline, &c.*, vol. i., p. 245.

nate, and he was elected for the year B.C. 123 in an unusually large assembly of the people, who crowded from all parts of Italy to the Comitia. The vehement opposition of the nobility was, however, so far successful that Gracchus only stood fourth on the poll of the ten new tribunes. His first object was to command the passions of the populace by that vehement oratory of which no Roman was ever a greater master, and to convince them that his every movement was made at the risk of sharing his brother's fate. Cicero quotes a passage which was still in every one's mouth when he was a boy:—"Where shall an unhappy man like myself fly for protection? To the Capitol? But it streams with my brother's blood. To my own house? What! to see my wretched mother weeping and in despair?" His words were accompanied with actions, gestures and tones, which moved all his hearers alternately to rage and tears. Plutarch has preserved a vivid record of the traditional reputation of the two Gracchi as orators:—"In the character and expression of his countenance and in his movements, Tiberius was mild and sedate; Caius was animated and impetuous. When Tiberius harangued the people, he would stand composedly on one spot; but Caius was the first Roman who moved about on the Rostra and pulled his toga from his shoulder while he was speaking, as Cleon the Athenian is said to have been the first popular orator at Athens who threw his cloak from him and struck his thigh. The manner of Caius was awe-striking and vehemently impassioned; the manner of Tiberius was more pleasing, and calculated to stir the sympathies: the language of Tiberius was pure and elaborated to great nicety; that of Caius was persuasive and exuberant." And Cicero, who was able to enliven his own judgment on the extant speeches of Caius by the reminiscences of those who had heard him,* speaks of him as a man whose surpassing genius was quickened by ardent study and by the learning he had acquired from his boyhood, and commends the avowal of Brutus, that he read scarcely any other orator. "I know not," he adds, "whether he had any equal in eloquence. His language was elevated, his thoughts full of wisdom, his style grave and solemn: the finishing touch was wanting: there was much which was excellently designed, but it was not brought to absolute perfection. This orator, if any other, should be read by young men; for he had the power not

* C. Gracchus was killed in B.C. 121; Cicero was born at the beginning of B.C. 106, an interval of less than fifteen years.

only to sharpen, but to mature the mind."* Nor can this eulogy of the orator be quoted, without adding the testimony which Cicero, in spite of the part he had himself taken, bears to the politician and the man :—"The Roman state and Latin literature suffered loss by his untimely death. Would that he had not chosen to set his affection for his brother above his duty to his country! How easily, with such powers as his, might he, if he had lived longer, have attained to the glory of his father or his grandfather!"

Before commencing his reforms, Caius resolved to guard against the interference which had impeded the measures of Tiberius, and the attacks to which he and his followers had succumbed. To deter any tribune from repeating the opposition of Octavius, he proposed a bill disabling any magistrate who had been deposed by the people from again holding any office—a sentence upon Octavius of perpetual exclusion from the honours of the state. He withdrew this measure at the request of his mother Cornelia; but he carried another for giving effect to the ancient right of appeal to the citizens in criminal cases. The terms of the law are somewhat obscurely stated, but its purport seems to have been that no judicial proceeding affecting the life or status† of a Roman citizen should be instituted without the previous sanction of the people. The chief object of the law was to prevent the repetition of such proceedings as had taken place under the inquisition against the partisans of Tiberius. Popillius, who had conducted that inquisition, was arraigned before the people, and retired into voluntary exile without waiting for their sentence. After the fall of Gracchus, he was restored to his status by a vote procured by the tribune L. Calpurnius Bestia (B.C. 121).

Having thus established his power against the party of the nobles, Caius Gracchus proceeded with his legislation, which effected nothing short of a complete revolution in the Roman state. He began with the great economical mistake of supplying corn to the citizens at a price below its market value. "Corn-laws" (*leges frumentariæ*)—a term that had at Rome its natural

* Brutus, c. 33. In another passage, Cicero tells us that C. Gracchus was liable, in impassioned phrases, to raise his voice to a scream, and at other times to let it fall into a weak key. To remedy both defects he had a man placed behind him to sound an ivory pitch-pipe from time to time, that he might recover the proper tone,—an example of that care in the artificial mechanism of rhetoric, which the Romans had now begun to learn from the Greeks.—*De Oratore*, iii. 60.

† In Roman language, a *capital* charge, that is, one affecting not only the life, but the condition (*caput*) of the accused.

sense of laws designed to aid, not to restrict, the supply of corn to the people—had been known from a very early period. The general object of these laws was the distribution to the poor citizens, at a nominal price, of the tithes of corn that were paid by subject states. But the Sempronian corn-law went much further. Every citizen, who made personal application at Rome, was to receive monthly a certain measure of corn at a fixed price.* The balance of loss was of course borne by the treasury, and the state had to keep on hand large stores of grain in public granaries, for the building of which Gracchus provided. The distribution was not confined to the poor, but formed a privilege of every citizen; and the consular, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who had been assailed with bitter invective by Gracchus for speaking against the law, availed himself of the opportunity to make a practical comment on its working. Caius was in the act of addressing the people who had come to claim their portions, when he saw Piso among the applicants; and he asked him how he could apply for corn, especially after he had spoken against the law. Whereupon Piso answered, "I should have been better content if you had not chosen to distribute my property among the Roman citizens, but if you will do it, I shall demand my share."

The law was doubtless intended for the relief of the poor, but its practical working was to pauperize them more and more, while it wasted the resources of the state. Moreover, as the distribution was made at Rome, a crowd of the idlest and lowest of the rural citizens were attracted to the capital, where, with the corresponding class of townspeople, looking up to the tribune for their daily bread, they were always at hand to support him in the Comitia, to guard his person, and, in case of need, to attack his enemies. It would probably be unfair to Gracchus to say that this was the chief object of the law; but it was a part of its working to which he could not have been indifferent. His memory has to bear its part of the responsibility of a system which has been used, even down to our own time, as the means of securing the favour of a turbulent civic populace, sometimes by the chiefs of a democracy, and sometimes by a despot who claims to rule by the people's will. The citizens were relieved from a part of their military burthens by the supply of clothing to the soldiers without any deduction from their pay; and youths under

* The quantity appears to have been 5 *modii*, about 1¼ bushel; the price 6½ ases, about 3*d.*, *per modium*, which was less than the half of a low average price.

seventeen were exempted from the levy. But these regulations seem to belong to the second tribunate of Caius Gracchus. There is considerable doubt about the genuineness of the fragment of Sallust, on the authority of which Caius is said to have made a change in the order of voting in the Comitia Centuriata—namely, the determining by lot the order in which the centuries of the first class should vote, in place of that "prærogative" of the first century, which had given a preponderance of voices to the rich.

Next to the Corn Law, and the re-enactment of his brother's Land Law, the most important measure of Caius Gracchus was the law by which, in public trials before a magistrate, the jury (*Judices*) were to be taken from the Knights (*Equites*) instead of from the Senate alone as heretofore. It has already been seen that certain of those offences against the state, which by the old constitutional law were tried by the whole body of the people, had been transferred to a special court, appointed from time to time, in which a large body of *Judices* give the verdict by their vote. This form of trial had been first instituted by the Calpurnian law *de Repetundis* (B.C. 149); * and it was as yet almost exclusively applied to offences committed by magistrates in their office. Now, as the Senate was composed of the men who had held the magistracies, they formed a court directly interested in screening such wrong-doers. Appian tells us that there were now pending some trials for misconduct in provincial governments of so scandalous a sort that the Senate were fain to yield. It is commonly stated that the *Lex Judiciaria* of Caius Gracchus excluded the senators from acting as jurymen; but it would rather seem to have added 600 Knights to the 300 Senators already inscribed in

* *Repetundæ*, or *Pecuniæ Repetundæ* (literally, *money sought to be recovered*), was the term applied both to the form of action and to the offence itself, which consisted in the illegal acquisition by a magistrate of money or other valuables from the allies or subjects of Rome, whether states or individuals. The great example of this action was the accusation of Verres by Cicero, a trial as celebrated in Roman history as that of Warren Hastings in our own. The earliest complaints of such extortion were made by the Italian allies about B.C. 173, and were tried under a special process instituted by the Senate. The first law on the subject (the *Lex Calpurnia de Repetundis*), was carried by the tribune L. Calpurnius Piso, in the first year of the Third Punic War (B.C. 149). It applied only to provincial magistrates, charges against whom were to be tried before a prætor, the penalty being a pecuniary fine. The sentence of banishment appears to have been added by the Junian law (about B.C. 126), and was certainly enacted in the Servilian law, which referred such actions to the prætor peregrinus and a jury of 450 *judices*, who must not be senators (B.C. 100). Other laws on the subject were the Cornelian (B.C. 81) and the Julian (B.C. 59), enacted by Sulla and Julius Cæsar.

the roll from which the jury in each case were to be taken,* thus giving a preponderance to the Equites of two to one, which might, however, be disturbed by challenges. The effect was to raise up in the state a new order, antagonistic to the Senate. The Equites, being placed in that rank by a property qualification, and not forbidden—as the Senators were, though they often evaded the law—to improve their wealth by commerce, contracts, leases, and farming the public revenue, formed the monied class of Rome. Such a class is naturally ambitious of distinction above their fellow-citizens; and their elevation to the office of Judices gave them power not only with, but over the Senators. It is from this time that we begin to trace the great influence of the "Equestrian Order," in which all were included whose wealth entitled them to be inscribed in the lists of Judices. The working of the change is described by Appian in a very important passage:—"Thus the power in the courts was transferred to the Equites from the Senate. It is said that, as soon as the law was enacted, Caius remarked that he had by one blow destroyed the Senate; but when the new law came to be applied, the truth of the words of Caius appeared still plainer. For the power which the Equites now had of acting as jurymen both on the trial of Romans and all the Italians and of the Senators themselves, where the result of their verdict might be fine or ignominy or exile, elevated the Equites above the Senators, as if they were their masters, and reduced the Senators to the condition of subjects. The Equites now siding with the Tribunes in all matters of voting, and receiving from the Tribunes in return whatever they wanted, became very formidable to the Senators; and it soon turned out that the political power had changed hands, for the Senate had now only the rank, and the Equites had the power." The charges of insolence and corruption, which he goes on to bring against the new judicial order, apply to the later working of the public trials; but, on the other hand, we can hardly accept the testimony of Cicero, a witness deeply interested in the reputation of the equestrian order, that for nearly fifty years there was not a single case of the bribery of a Knight in the office of Judex.† And, if it was the interest of the

* The *Album Judicum Selectorum*. An *Album*, in the Roman sense, was a tablet on which any matter of public interest was inscribed, usually to be hung up to public view,—a sort of notice-board.

† "An instance of virtue absolutely incredible," observes Mr. Long; "for if the Senators were often corrupted, while they held the office, we cannot believe that not a single Eques was as bad as many Senators had been."

Senators to acquit the accused governors, it was no less the interest of the Equites to screen the offences of the *publicani* and contractors, who belonged to their order. By these functions, as Mr. Long points out, "they could plague an honest governor if he did not wink at their extortion, and they held a dishonest governor at their mercy by their knowledge of his guilt. Thus Caius succeeded, with the aid of voters many of whom were partially supported at the expense of the state, in giving increased power to the money class and setting them against the Senate and the nobility, who after all were still the best part of the Roman state, and the only power that kept it alive."

Another of the Sempronian laws touched one of the most cherished privileges of the Senate, and one in which their interests were directly concerned—the allotment of the Provinces to the magistrates.* It had hitherto been the practice that after the result of the elections was declared, the Senate named the two provinces which were to be assigned to the new Consuls, who then arranged between themselves, either by agreement or by lot, which of these provinces each of them should have. Remembering that the consulship had now become almost the possession of a few great families, we see how easy it was to arrange by this process who should have the enjoyment of a lucrative government or the conduct of an important war, or, on the other hand, how an intruder into the charmed circle could be saddled with a dangerous or disagreeable duty. By the law of Gracchus † the two consular pro-

* On the exact meaning of this common term, Mr. Long has the following important remarks :—"The word 'province,' which in the genuine Roman form is not *Provincia*, but *Provintia*, as the best manuscripts show, is a corruption of the word *Providentia*, an etymology which I believe was first suggested by Hugo, and afterwards rejected for other etymologies and explanations which are inconsistent both with the form and the use of the word. The term *Provintia* merely meant the *function* or *duty* of the person to whom the particular office was given. It does not signify a territorial government out of Italy. The office of the prætor Urbanus, who stayed at Rome, was called the *Provintia Urbana*. The word could of course be applied to designate the function or duty of governing a Roman dependency or province, such as Sicily or Sardinia, and this finally became the common meaning. We see in a passage of Sallust (*Bell. Jug.* c. 27,) an example of the use of the word, where he says that, in a certain year, and pursuant to the Lex Sempronia, the 'provinces' assigned to the future consuls were Numidia and Italy. Numidia was not then a province in the common sense of the term, but a country in which the Romans were carrying on war against the Numidian Jugurtha: and the province of Italy merely meant that the other consul stayed in Italy, and that his operations were limited to Italy, which never was included in the common meaning of the term 'province' in the sense in which that word was applied to a foreign dependency."—(*Decline, &c.*, vol. i., pp. 269, 270.)

† Its title was *Lex Sempronia de Provinciis Consularibus.*

vinces for the next year were to be named before the election of the consuls, and thus, though the Senate still had the choice of the provinces—a choice, however, very generally dictated by the course of foreign affairs,—yet, as they could not foresee with certainty, and often not at all, who would be the consuls, the chances of partiality and jobbing were reduced within narrow limits. The change appears to have been made more palatable to the Senate by the abolition of the veto which the tribunes had formerly had the power to put on the selection of the consular provinces; but on that of the prætorian provinces their veto still remained in force. Caius Gracchus also carried two laws regulating the management of the provincial revenues in the interest of his new allies, the Equites. One of these was a general law for the compensation of *Publicani* who might suffer losses in the collection of the taxes, by the inroads of an enemy or other disasters: the other enabled the censors to let out to the Publicani the wealthy province of Asia, which became henceforth a scene of corruption and extortion.

Thus, by the legislation of a single year, the power of the Senate was shaken, the Equestrian Order raised to a new influence in the state, and a revolutionary agitation established in permanence by means of a populace fed at the public expense. Henceforth it became necessary to bring forward new changes to satisfy that populace, and there were some parts of the Sempronian programme as yet untouched. Though the Agrarian Law of Tiberius had been re-enacted, the means of working it remained to be devised, for Caius did not venture to resume the distribution which Africanus had interrupted; and the claims of the Italians had still to be satisfied. How this was to be done was clearly shown by the re-election of Caius Gracchus as tribune for B.C. 122, with Fulvius Flaccus for one of his colleagues. Caius is said to have been elected without offering himself as a candidate, a circumstance which indicates prudence both on his part and that of the nobles, if, as seems probable, the re-election of a tribune was still illegal.* The means by which Gracchus proposed to provide the poorer citizens with land was the foundation of new colonies both within and without the limits of Italy. Of these Plutarch names only two, at Capua and Tarentum; but it is evident that several others were contemplated; and in connection with this scheme, Caius intersected Italy with those magnificent roads, which were

* See Mr. Long's discussion (*Decline, &c.*, vol. i., p. 272) of the statement of Appian, adopted by Mommsen and others, that a law had been passed legalizing the re-election.

driven in a straight line, and raised by embankments and bridges over valleys, water-courses, and ravines, with mile-stones and horse-blocks along their whole course. The lasting benefit thus conferred upon the country is not lessened by the probability that these roads were partly designed to make the concourse to Rome easier for the citizens of the new colonies and the allies whom Gracchus proposed to enfranchise.

The confusion among the ancient authors concerning the manner in which Caius Gracchus proposed to confer the Roman citizenship on the Latins and allies is of little consequence, as the Senate procured the rejection of the measure by the veto of the tribune M. Livius Drusus. If, as Cicero tells us, the speech of the consul Fannius against the bill was the best extant oration of that age, we can form but a low opinion of the arguments at the command of the nobles; unless we should rather infer that such reasons as the impediments which the influx of new citizens would cause to hearing the speeches of the orators and seeing the public spectacles were clever appeals to a people already jealous against the bill. The more popular measures of Gracchus were found so difficult to oppose, that the Senate stooped to the dishonest artifice of outbidding the proposer. The tribune Drusus was their agent in this manœuvre also. Instead of the two colonies which Caius Gracchus had proposed to found in Italy, Drusus promised twelve, each to form a settlement for 3000 poor citizens, and that free from the annual payments to the treasury which Caius had made a condition of the grants of land. While Gracchus was active in the foundation of the colonies he had projected, and used them as sources of patronage for his friends and others, Drusus declared that he would have nothing to do with the offices or the money connected with those which he proposed,—an easy mode of earning the praise of disinterestedness, as we cannot believe that his measure was intended to be carried out. The petty concession which Drusus mocked the Latins by offering in place of the franchise—that they should be exempt from corporal punishment even when on actual military service—appears, from an incident in the Jugurthan War, not to have become a law.*

The artifices of the Senate and Drusus succeeded, however, in undermining the popularity of Caius, and his absence in Africa for seventy days, to found his new colony of Junonia, on the site of

* The scourging and beheading of Titus Turpilius Silanus, an officer in the African army, by Metellus, is explained on the very ground, "*nam is civis ex Latio erat.*"—(Sallust, *Jug.* c. 69.)

Carthage, gave them the opportunity of effecting his ruin.* Caius appears to have returned to Rome about the time of the consular elections of B.C. 122; and no doubt it was from the consciousness of increasing danger that he left his house on the Palatine, and went to live among the lower class of people near the Forum. Rome was again filled with crowds flocking in from the country; when, at the instance of the Senate, the consul Fannius put into force the law of Pennus for driving away all who were not citizens. Gracchus promised his support to those who should disobey the edict; but when the consul's lictors dragged away a friend of his before his eyes, he could offer no resistance. The failure of Caius Gracchus to obtain his re-election as tribune for the third time is ascribed by Plutarch to a fraudulent return of the poll. His greatest enemy, L. Opimius, the destroyer of Fregellæ, was elected to the consulship.

On his entrance upon office with the new year (B.C. 121), the consul lost no time in commencing the attack which Caius well knew would not stop short of his destruction. We are told in general that Opimius proposed the repeal of the Sempronian laws; but the specific ground of collision was the rogation to annul the act for colonizing Carthage. The assembly, like that in which Tiberius lost his life, was summoned in the Capitol; and Caius and his partisans went armed with daggers beneath their togas, though he himself steadfastly resisted the advice of his friends to appeal to force. While Fulvius was haranguing the assembly against the consul's motion, Caius turned aside with some of his attendants to walk in the porch of the Capitoline temple, either to meditate his speech, or from a presentiment which kept him aloof from the crowd. Under the portico, a certain Quintus Antullius (or Antyllus) was offering a sacrifice probably on the part of the consul. What followed is told with the confusion natural to such a scene. It seems that when Antullius saw Gracchus and his party approach, he ordered the "bad citizens" to depart and leave the sacred porch to "better men." A gesture, which was interpreted as an intention to enforce his warning by violence,† or a look of indignation from Gracchus, fired the train which hardly

* We have already had occasion to notice this attempt to found a Roman colony on the site of Carthage. Vol. II., p. 534.

† "The other version was that Antyllus, having taken the hand of Gracchus, the reason for which the historian attempts to explain by three conjectures, entreated him to spare his country. This is most improbable, that a mere servant, a man who handled the viscera, should either make his country his chief thought or address a Roman noble in this way."—(Long, *Decline, &c.*, vol. i., p. 281.)

needed a spark, and a stroke from the dagger of an attendant laid Antullius dead. The bystanders fled, carrying the news into the assembly, whither Caius also hastened to explain what had occurred. But all shrunk away from him as from a guilty and doomed man: a torrent of rain fell at the same moment: the meeting was adjourned: and Caius and Fulvius returned home. "Caius learned too late," says Mr. Long, "that a popular leader, when he is become a private citizen, will find no friends among those whom he has tried to save." The consul* passed the night in the temple of Castor and Pollux, in the Forum, where the whole area was filled by midnight with a crowd expecting mischief, and composed—it would seem—of the followers of the nobles. At daybreak the Capitol was occupied with a guard of Cretan archers, and the Senate was summoned by the consul. Just as their proceedings had commenced, the corpse of Antullius was borne past the door of the Senate-house. Opimius affected to wonder what the noise of lamentation meant, and the Senate went out to see the cause. On their return, Opimius had no difficulty in procuring the vote which, since the cessation of the dictatorship, was the formula for proclaiming martial law under the authority of the consul:—"That the Consul provide that the Republic shall sustain no harm."† He called on the Senators and Equites, with their retainers, to supply the want of an armed force; and it was found that the Order which Gracchus had raised as a rival to the Senate would take part with them against a common danger from the populace. The command was entrusted to Decimus Brutus, the conqueror of the Gallæci, who was supported by the venerable Q. Metellus Macedonicus. Meanwhile the two popular leaders had spent the night each in a manner consistent with their very different characters. Gracchus had remained quiet in his house, round which his followers watched and slept in turns, while that of Fulvius was the scene of riotous feasting and boasting of to-

* Opimius was the only consul present at Rome. His colleague, Q. Fabius Maximus, had gone to conduct the war with the Allobroges in Gaul.

† "The usual formula, giving the power to both consuls, was *Videant* or *dent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat.* The dictatorship, in the proper sense, '*rei gerundæ causâ*,' had ceased in B.C. 216. Dictators were appointed, merely for holding the elections in the absence of the consuls, down to the end of the Second Punic War, B.C. 202. When the title was revived by Sulla (B.C. 82), it was a mere attempt to cloak the nakedness of his despotism under a constitutional name. His office of '*dictator reipublicæ constituendæ causâ*' was utterly unknown to the Roman commonwealth. The same remark applies to the dictatorship of Cæsar, after whose death the office was for ever abolished."

morrow's deeds.* It is even said that Fulvius himself got drunk. As soon as the decree of the Senate was known, he armed his followers with the spoils of his Gallic campaign, and led them with tumultuous shouts to the old rallying-place of the plebeians on the Aventine. Thither C. Gracchus also repaired, dressed in his ordinary costume, and armed only with a short sword, having taken a last farewell of his wife Licinia and his infant son. "Caius went unarmed," says Mr. Long, "to join a body of armed men, and he must have foreseen what his fate would be. If his conduct seems strange, it is explained by the fact that he could not safely stay at home, nor could he venture to go to the Senate."

By these movements on both sides civil war was begun in the heart of Rome. According to Appian, Fulvius and Gracchus did not retire to the Aventine till they had been summoned to attend the Senate and explain their conduct; and it is agreed that such a mandate was the reply to overtures sent by the insurgents through the youthful son of Fulvius. It is said that Caius was willing to have gone; but his wish was overruled by Fulvius, who repeated his former message. This time the boy was kept a prisoner, and Opimius led the Senate and their followers to storm the Aventine. A conflict took place on the Clivus Publicius, the road up the northern face of the hill, in which P. Lentulus, the Father of the Senate, was severely wounded. The partisans of Flaccus were overpowered, and he himself fled with his infant son, and took refuge, some said in an empty bath, others in a shop. On the consul's threat to burn all the buildings in the street, the fugitives were given up and put to death. Caius Gracchus had refused to fight against the Senate. He had retired to the temple of Diana, which Servius Tullius had founded as the sanctuary of the Plebs; and would have put himself to death, but the two faithful friends who still followed him took away his sword and persuaded him to fly. "It is said that he went down on his knees in the temple, and stretching out his hands to the statue of the goddess, prayed that the Roman people for their ingratitude and treachery to him might always be slaves; for the greater part of them had openly gone over to the other side upon an amnesty being proclaimed." At the wooden bridge over the Tiber his two friends checked his pursuers at the cost of their own lives; and he continued his flight,

* The discrepancy between Plutarch and Cicero as to the interval of a day has no bearing on the result. It seems most probable that only one night intervened between the first assembly and the final conflict.

attended only by a Greek slave. The bystanders cheered him on, as if they had been the spectators of a race; but none answered his cries for help or for a horse. He just distanced his pursuers enough to reach the sacred grove of the goddess Furina, under whose gloomy shelter his faithful slave put him to death, and then slew himself on his master's corpse. A man, whom Plutarch names Septimuleius and Diodorus L. Vitellius, cut off the head of Caius Gracchus, and brought it to the consul. The transaction is best related in the words of Mr. Long:—"Proclamation had been made before the fight began that those who brought the heads of Caius and Fulvius should have the weight of them in gold. This is the first instance in Roman history of head-money being offered and paid, but it is not the last. The head of Caius was brought to Opimius stuck on the end of a spear, and 'it weighed'—says Plutarch—'seventeen pounds and two-thirds in the scales. Septimuleius was a scoundrel and a knave here also, for he had taken out the brain, and dropped melted lead in its place.' Opimius was as great a knave as the man who brought the head, if he paid gold for lead instead of brains, for such a fraud was palpable. Plutarch says that those who brought the head of Fulvius got nothing, for they belonged to the lower class; and this was another knavish trick of Opimius, if he had promised to pay for both heads. Perhaps we may accept Appian's simpler story, that Opimius paid in gold the weight of both."

Like Popillius after the murder of Tiberius,* so now Opimius headed a commission of legal revenge on the partisans of Caius Gracchus. The captives taken at the storming of the Aventine were cast into prison and there strangled. The account followed by Plutarch and Orosius makes the victims no fewer than 3000.† The son of Flaccus, who had been sent as an envoy to the Senate, a youth of eighteen, universally beloved, was permitted to choose the manner of his death. The houses of Caius and Flaccus were plundered, and the latter demolished. The city was purified by a lustration, and the confiscated property of Gracchus and his adherents was devoted to the erection of a temple to Concord in the Forum, on the open space beneath the Capitol, in which Camillus had set up an altar to the same deity after the reconciliation of the

* One of the measures that followed the fall of Caius Gracchus was the recal of Popillius from banishment, and his restitution to his civil rights.

† Plutarch states this as the number of those who fell in the fight, which Orosius reckons at 250. Appian says nothing of the number that perished either in or after the conflict.

patricians and plebeians.* The inscription which commemorated the origin of the building received one night this addition from an unknown hand :—

"The work of Discord makes the temple of Concord."

The statues of the two Gracchi were set up in Rome at a later period, perhaps when the nobles in general, and Opimius in particular, fell into contempt for their dealings with Jugurtha. Meanwhile their enemies, in denying them a place in their fathers' tomb, ensured for them the honour long since described by the lips of Pericles,—"the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men,"—and they had a still nobler shrine in the heart of their heroic mother. Whether it was granted to Cornelia to perform for Caius those rites of sepulture which had been refused to Tiberius, is doubtful; and we are told that she was forbidden to wear mourning for his death.† Nor had she the consolation of seeing the race of the Gracchi continued; for the sons of Tiberius and Caius both died young. But her whole remaining life was spent in cherishing their honour rather than in sorrowing for her own loss. That life has been described by Plutarch in one of the most touching passages of ancient literature :—"Cornelia is said to have borne her misfortunes with a noble and elevated spirit, and to have said of the sacred ground on which her sons were murdered, that they had a tomb worthy of them. She resided in the neighbourhood of Misenum without making any change in her usual mode of life. She had many friends, and her hospitable table was always crowded with guests: Greeks and learned men were constantly about her, and kings sent and received presents from her. To all her visitors and friends she was a most agreeable companion: she would tell them of the life and habits of her father Africanus, and what is most surprising, would speak of her sons without showing sorrow or shedding a tear, relating their sufferings and their deeds to her enquiring friends, as if she was speaking of the men of olden time. This made some think that her understanding had been impaired by old age or the greatness of her sorrows, and that she was dull to all sense of her misfortunes, while in fact such people themselves were too dull to see

* See Vol. II., p. 278.

† Plutarch says that the bodies of Caius and the rest who fell on the same day were thrown into the Tiber; but Orosius states that the body of Caius was carried to his mother at Misenum. Both in his case, and that of Tiberius, it should be remembered that bodies thrown into the Tiber at Rome would probably be washed up at Ostia, if not sooner.

what a support it is against grief to have a noble nature and to be of honourable lineage and honourably bred; and that, though fortune has often the advantage over virtue in its attempts to guard against evils, yet she cannot take away from virtue the power of enduring them with fortitude."* That a Greek philosopher could thus describe the fortitude with which the daughter of Scipio Africanus, the widow of the consul Gracchus, and the childless mother of Tiberius and Caius, could thus bear her loss, may give a lesson even to Christian mourners. Let those who have the hope of being for ever reunited to the kindred of whose perfect happiness they are assured learn to be doubly active in continuing their good deeds. And the nobler the character of the departed, the more exalted the station illustrated by their virtues and left vacant by their loss, the better is their memory adorned, not by letting grief deaden the heart that should be their living shrine, but by making them live again in duties discharged with double energy for their sake. This may not be easy, but what a noble Roman matron could do should not be impossible for a Christian.

Besides the memory of her heroic virtues, Cornelia left some letters, of which there only remain two or three fragments of doubtful authenticity. "Most of her letters," says Mr. Long, "may have been on the ordinary affairs of life, which make up the chief material of epistolary correspondence. But they would not have been the less valuable on that account. We should have had a sample of that pure Latin which the noble ladies of Rome spoke and wrote." Not less to be regretted is the loss of the orations of the Gracchi, which were still extant in the second century after Christ, and were read with delight by the emperor M. Antoninus when he was a boy. Their possession would not only have given us the noblest examples of Latin prose in the age preceding that of Cicero, but materials for a juster view of the history of their times.

The fall of Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus left the popular party without a leader, or rather with no other choice but to follow the course of reaction into which they had already been led by Drusus. Pursuing the same policy by which they had ruined Gracchus, the Senate did not attempt to touch those parts of his legislation which bore directly upon the interests of the city rabble—such as the distributions of corn, nor would they offend the Equites by repealing the law about the jury-lists. But a

* The passage is quoted from Mr. Long's translation, *Decline, &c.*, vol. i., pp. 290, 291.

stop was put to the colonization of Carthage, as well as to the Sempronian colonies in Italy, with the exception of Tarentum, and a new course of legislation was begun in antagonism to the Sempronian laws respecting the public land. But they were not permitted to proceed altogether unopposed. As soon as Opimius had been reduced to a private station by the expiration of his consulship, he was accused before the people by the tribune Q. Decius, on the charge of casting Roman citizens into prison and putting them to death without a trial; but the influence of the Senate was strong enough to secure his acquittal (B.C. 120). Not so, however, in the case of C. Papirius Carbo, the former associate of Gracchus, and the consul for the present year, who came forward to defend Opimius. His justification of the murder of his friend completed the disgust inspired by his political apostasy, and the nobles were probably not unwilling to let him serve for a scapegoat. On the expiration of his consulship, he was prosecuted on we know not what charge, and he is said to have escaped condemnation by a voluntary death. The case is chiefly remarkable because of the subsequent fame of the accuser, the great orator L. Licinius Crassus, who now commenced his career at the age of twenty-one (B.C. 119). At a later period of his life, he declared that he never repented so much of anything as the part he had taken against Carbo.

In the same year, the tribunate of CAIUS MARIUS proved that the popular party was not to want a leader. He proposed a change in the mechanical arrangements to secure greater freedom of voting in the Comitia; and he overcame the opposition of the Senate by ordering the consul Metellus to be carried off to prison. On the other hand, he asserted his independence by opposing a new distribution of corn among the citizens, and thus, we are told, "he established himself in equal credit with both parties, as a man who would do nothing to please either, if it were contrary to the public interest." The whole career of this remarkable man will soon claim our attention. The following year was marked by a measure similar to one of the favourite schemes of Caius Gracchus—the establishment of a colony at Narbo Martius (*Narbonne*) on the Gulf of Lyon, in opposition to the Senate. Reserving for a future chapter a general view of the progress of the Roman arms in Transalpine Gaul, we need now only mention that the friendly relations of the Republic with Massilia had led to hostilities with the Gallic tribes in and about the valley of the Rhone. In B.C. 125, the consul M. Fulvius Flaccus, who bore so

conspicuous a part in the Sempronian revolution, conducted a successful war with the Salluvii, who dwelt in the mountains between the Rhone and the Var. In the three following years, C. Sextius Calvinus, as consul and proconsul, defeated the Allobroges and Arverni, and completed the subjugation of the Salluvii, in whose territory he founded the colony of Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix*), the ruins of which still exhibit some of the most splendid remains of Roman architecture (B.C. 122). The conquest of the Allobroges and Arverni, in the next year, conferred on the consul Q. Fabius Maximus the title of Allobrogicus. The lower valley of the Rhone was now formed into the province which remained down to the time of Cæsar the sole possession of the Romans in Transalpine Gaul, and was hence distinguished from the rest of the country by the name of *Gallia Provincia*, or simply *Provincia*, a name perpetuated in that of *Provence*. The full establishment of this eleventh Roman province was marked by the colonization of Narbo Martius, which soon began to eclipse Massilia in prosperity. The blow which fell upon the Gallic province some years later by the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones will be related in the following chapter.

Meanwhile the nobility at Rome, having recovered the government, proceeded with their measures for annulling the agrarian laws of Tiberius Gracchus. The details of this interesting but intricate subject may be left to the special works on Roman history and antiquities.* It is enough to say that, after the repeal of the law which prevented the small landholders from selling their possessions had removed the obstacle to their passing back into the hands of the rich, the tenth and the cattle-tax which were reserved as a compensation for the poor were finally remitted by what is commonly called the Thorian Law, which also regulated the public lands of Achaia and Africa in the interest of the wealthy possessors. But the same year in which this law was probably enacted witnessed the beginning of the fall of the Optimates through the display of their corruption and incompetence in the war with Jugurtha (B.C. 111).

One incident of this period is enough to illustrate the state of religious feeling at Rome. In B.C. 116 it was discovered that, out of the six vestal virgins, three had abandoned themselves to systematic prostitution. According to the terrible penalty provided for such a crime, they were carried in a close litter with

* See the full discussion of the *Leges Boriæ* and *Thoriæ* in Long's *Decline, &c.*, vol. i., chap. xxiii. xxiv. xxv.

funeral ceremonies through the Forum, and there solemnly delivered by the chief pontiff to the executioner, at the mouth of a subterranean cave, containing a couch, a light, and a table with some food upon it. Their paramours were whipped to death in the Comitium by the hand of the chief pontiff. The Sibylline books were consulted, and found to contain a prophecy of the crime, with directions to avert its consequences by sacrifices to strange deities. Sulpicia, the wife of Q. Fulvius Flaccus, was chosen by the Roman matrons as the chastest of their number, to consecrate a new temple to Venus Verticordia, with prayers that the goddess of lust might turn the hearts of the vestals to purity! Four foreigners were selected—a Greek and Gallic man and woman—and buried alive in the cow-market, to appease the foreign deities. Such is the practical comment on the boast that Rome, in destroying Carthage, at least rendered the service of abolishing the lustful orgies of Astarte and the horrid rites of Moloch! Admirably does the historian remark that "the savage superstition of Rome required human sacrifices to allay its miserable terrors; and the Roman poet's line is as applicable to the vestals of Rome as to the daughter of Agamemnon:

'Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.'"

CHAPTER XXXII.

RULE OF THE RESTORED OLIGARCHY. THE WARS WITH JUGURTHA AND THE CIMBRI. B.C. 121 TO B.C. 100.

"Pro pudore, pro abstinentiâ, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant."
SALLUST.

"The history of Rome from the time of the Gracchi is the history of a state that was hurried to its ruin by the ignorance of the people and the vices of their leaders. We now and then meet with an honest man, but the number is small."—LONG.

HOW THE NOBLES USED THEIR VICTORY—OPTIMATES AND POPULARES—THE CONFLICT TENDING TO DESPOTISM—GOVERNMENT OF THE RESTORED OPTIMATES—THE METELLI—DALMATIAN AND OTHER WARS—CATO AND THE SCORDISCI—THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES—AFFAIRS OF NUMIDIA—ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF JUGURTHA—HE SERVES AT NUMANTIA—DEATHBED OF KING MICIPSA—MURDER OF HIEMPSAL—ROMAN COMMISSIONERS BRIBED BY JUGURTHA—CAPTURE OF CIRTA AND DEATH OF ADHERBAL—THE JUGURTHINE WAR—CORRUPTION OF BESTIA AND SCAURUS—THE TRIBUNE MEMMIUS—JUGURTHA AT ROME—MURDER OF MASSIVA—SPURIUS ALBINUS IN AFRICA—CAPITULATION OF A. ALBINUS—INDIGNATION AT ROME—PROSECUTIONS OF THE OPTIMATES—METELLUS SENT TO AFRICA, WITH MARIUS AS LEGATE—OVERTURES OF JUGURTHA—BATTLE OF THE RIVER MUTHUL—SUCCESSES OF METELLUS—HE IS REPULSED FROM ZAMA—CONSPIRACY OF BOMILCAR—RISE OF CAIUS MARIUS—HIS MARRIAGE WITH JULIA—THE SOOTHSAYER AT UTICA—MARIUS ASPIRES TO THE CONSULSHIP—SCORN OF METELLUS—ELECTION OF MARIUS—METELLUS TAKES THALA—BOCCHUS AND JUGURTHA—NEGOTIATIONS WITH METELLUS—MARIUS ARRIVES IN AFRICA—HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN—TAKING OF CAPSA—EXPEDITION TO THE MOLOCHATH—THE LAST BATTLE OF JUGURTHA—TREACHERY OF KING BOCCHUS—MISSION OF SULLA AND CAPTURE OF JUGURTHA—TRIUMPH OF MARIUS—HIS JEALOUSY OF SULLA—THE COMING CONFLICT—THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES—DEFEATS OF CARBO, SILANUS, LONGINUS, AND OF MALLIUS AND CÆPIO—SUCCESSIVE CONSULSHIPS OF MARIUS—HIS VICTORY OVER THE TEUTONES AT AIX—VICTORY OVER THE CIMBRI—CONDITION OF ROME AND ITALY—INSURRECTIONS OF SLAVES—SUFFERINGS OF THE PROVINCES—PIRACY—SECOND SERVILE WAR IN SICILY—SIXTH CONSULSHIP OF MARIUS—BIRTHS OF CICERO, POMPEY, AND CÆSAR.

IF the failure and death of the Gracchi averted a democratic revolution at Rome, it was at the cost of destroying every hope of moderate reform. The victorious party returned to power with all the vices and dangers inherent in a restoration. The conflict, in which they had gained their victory, was of a totally different character from that between the patricians and the plebeians in the early age of the republic. That was an honest effort for a fair share of political power, made by a body which was qualified to use it when obtained, and granted by the original citizens when they were convinced that the demand could no longer be resisted. The result was to make Rome a free and powerful state, on the basis of the union of the two orders. But out of that union there had grown up a new nobility, partly patrician and partly plebeian, no longer banded together in defence of those political privileges

which give a certain dignity to an aristocracy—for all Roman citizens now possessed the equality of civil rights and universal suffrage—but holding its grasp upon the administrative government by means of and for the sake of wealth alone. That wealth, obtained by the depopulation of Italy and the plunder of the provinces, was employed in bribery at home: and the people, who were ever ready to attack a delinquent governor, got their share of the plunder at the elections. The Roman Equites and Italian capitalists reaped their full share of the booty as contractors and farmers of the revenue (*negotiatores* and *publicani*). In such a state of things it was no wonder that the effort failed, either to raise up an independent opposition to the great families from a middle class whose interests were identical with theirs, or to lay a new foundation of freedom on the basis of a populace held in subservience by corruption, nor that the use of the influence thus acquired decided the failure of the revolution. The victory was one of personal interests, and it was now to be followed up for personal interests alone.

The absence of definite political principles was implied by the new party names that now came into use. The ruling faction called themselves the *Optimates* (*those of the best class*)—a term which seems to have come into use about the time of the Gracchi. The name was of course intended to assume that they were what Cicero describes them, "all good and honest people, of all ranks and conditions;" but a far truer idea is given by Mr. Long's description:—"We may easily guess who were the Optimates. They were the rich and powerful, who ruled by intimidation, intrigue, and bribery, who bought the votes of the people, and sold their interests." Opposed to them were the *Populares*, or *men of the people*, a title just as much self-assumed as the other, not signifying the people themselves, but men who assumed the character of popular leaders for purposes generally as selfish and corrupt as those of the Optimates. "From the time of the Gracchi to the time of C. Julius Cæsar the contest was between the party of the Optimates and the party of the Populares. It was a contest in which the rich and powerful on both sides struggled for political superiority and personal aggrandizement. The party of the Optimates had a plainer object than the opposite party: they wished to maintain the power of their faction and the authority of the Senate. The leaders of the popular party could have no other object than to overthrow their opponents by means of the people, that is, by the votes of a body of men, many of whom were poor

and venal."* Rome possessed neither of those elements by which a healthy commonwealth secures its own perpetual renovation,—a class of public men able and willing to devote themselves to the service of the state without making it the means of livelihood or of wealth, and an independent public opinion, sufficiently intelligent, strong, and constant in its action, to influence the whole course of the government, and especially to recal it to first principles. Where such elements are in action, the motto of "measures rather than men," however hypocritical as a party cry, will fairly represent the general working of the state: in the long run, the men will govern for the sake of the measures. But such a contest of personal greed and ambition as commenced at Rome at the time of the Gracchi can have but one end—an end which the impracticable reforms of the few honest men help to bring about. The popular party is the first to yield up its liberties to a leader powerful enough to overthrow the nobles and then to play the despot over those who fancied him their champion and servant; and the nobles can only recover their lost ground by submitting their mutual jealousies to a leader equally despotic. At Rome the popular party found such leaders in Marius and Julius Cæsar, the aristocracy in Sulla and Octavian; and when the impenetrable cunning of the last had induced the people to accept him as their hereditary leader, while the true spirit of his government was aristocratic, the empire was firmly founded on the traditions of both parties, as the old republic had been based on the union of the patricians and plebeians.

Meanwhile the restored government of the Optimates was as destitute of ability and common honesty as it was of moderation, and terror had its natural effect on their policy. "While the aristocracy had formerly governed as it chose, and for more than a century without any substantial opposition, the crisis which it had now passed through revealed to it, like a flash of lightning in a dark night, the abyss which yawned before its feet."† With the failure of the agrarian legislation of the Gracchi and the removal of the last restrictions on the old possessors, the social miseries of Italy revived. Farms were again swallowed up in sheep-walks: capital was concentrated in so few hands that, by the end of the century, but 2000 wealthy families were numbered among the Roman citizens: the slaves employed to till the vast possessions of the rich broke out into almost annual insurrections: the

* Long, *Decline, &c.*, vol. i., p. 296.

† Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. iii., p. 137.

provinces were filled with the like disorders: and the Mediterranean swarmed with pirates, especially on the coasts of Asia. One thing only was wanting to display the corruption of the ruling party in all its shamelessness and their incompetence in all its shame. The disgrace they brought upon themselves in conducting the foreign relations of the republic was also the occasion of bringing to light the men who were the first to usurp despotic power at Rome, Marius in the name of the people, Sulla as the champion of the Optimates.

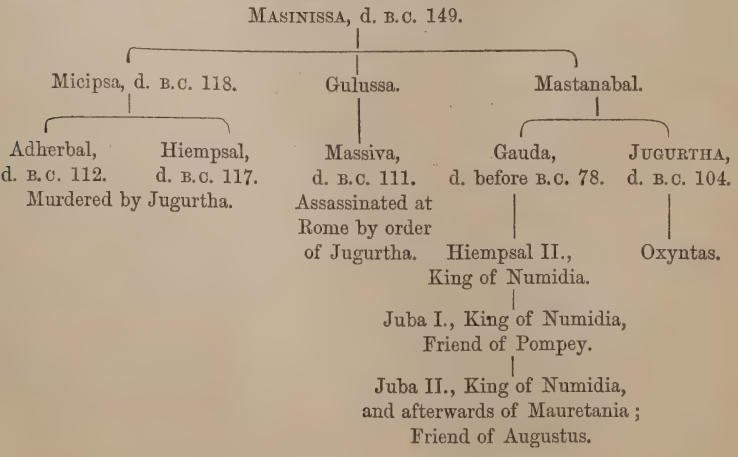
During the twenty years succeeding the fall of Caius Gracchus, there were wars with barbarians on the mountain frontiers of Italy and Greece, wars in which we read of more triumphs than victories. A large share of these triumphs was enjoyed by the Metelli, six of whom—four sons and probably two nephews of old Metellus Macedonicus—held the consulship within a period of fifteen years (B.C. 123-109). It was at a cheap rate indeed, if we may believe the story, that L. Cæcilius Metellus, consul in B.C. 119, obtained the surname of Delmaticus, and a triumph over the Dalmatians (B.C. 117).* This Illyrian people inhabited the central part of the eastern coast of the Adriatic, whose indented shores sheltered their corsairs. They had been subdued, at least nominally, by the consuls C. Marcius Figulus and P. Scipio Nasica (B.C. 156-155). Metellus is said to have led his consular army into their country solely to obtain a pretext for a triumph, and to have been received without opposition. Still the triumph would not have been granted unless he had at least made some show of military operations; and the plunder he brought home from his two years' government sufficed for the restoration of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum, which had been built after the battle of the lake Regillus. Two more Metelli obtained triumphs in B.C. 113 for victories in Sardinia and Thrace. C. Porcius Cato, the grandson of the censor, was less fortunate in his government of Macedonia as consul (B.C. 114). In a war with the Scordisci, a people probably of Gallic origin, who extended from the Danube to the frontier of the province, he lost his army; and on his return to Rome he was convicted on a charge of extortion (B.C. 113). He retired to Spain, and renounced the Roman citizenship for that of Tarraco. The honour of success against the Scordisci was

* The name is commonly spelt *Dalmatæ*, but the old form on coins and inscriptions is *Delmatæ*. After the destruction of Delminium by the Consul C. Marcius Figulus, in B.C. 156, their capital was at Salona, which still retains the name.—See Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Dalmatia and Montenegro*.

reserved for the consulship of M. Livius Drusus, the same who as tribune was the rival of C. Gracchus (B.C. 112). Amidst these petty campaigns, the Romans were called to meet a barbarian invasion scarcely less formidable than that of the Gauls nearly four centuries before. The vast hosts of the CIMBRI and TEUTONES were imprudently engaged in Noricum by the consul Cn. Papirius Carbo, who was utterly defeated (B.C. 113). But as the invaders fortunately turned aside into Gaul, where they were finally defeated twelve years later by C. Marius, we may postpone further notice of them till we have related the great African war, which furnished the crowning proofs of the corruption and incapacity of the nobles, which gave Marius a triumph no less over them than over Jugurtha, which laid the foundation for the career of Sulla, and was no remote cause of the Civil Wars of Rome.

Micipsa, King of Numidia, died in B.C. 118. We have already seen how, by the death of his two brothers, the dominions of his father Masinissa had been reunited under his sceptre.* Maintaining a steady fidelity to the Romans, he reigned peacefully at his capital of Cirta (*Constantineh*), which he embellished with splendid buildings. Here he gathered about him a circle of educated Greeks, and passed his old age in those literary pursuits for which the African princes became distinguished. But there was one among them, who inherited the rude vigour of the old Nomad chieftains, and secretly resolved to supplant his gentler kinsmen. JUGURTHA, the illegitimate son of Mastanabal, the youngest brother of Micipsa, inherited from his grandfather those qualities of which

* The relationship between the princes of the house of Masinissa will be seen from the following table :—


MASINISSA, d. B.C. 149.
Micipsa, d. B.C. 118.
Gulussa.
Mastanabal.
Adherbal, d. B.C. 112. Murdered by Jugurtha.
Hiempsal, d. B.C. 117.
Massiva, d. B.C. 111. Assassinated at Rome by order of Jugurtha.
Gauda, d. before B.C. 78.
JUGURTHA, d. B.C. 104.
Hiempsal II., King of Numidia.
Oxyntas.
Juba I., King of Numidia, Friend of Pompey.
Juba II., King of Numidia, and afterwards of Mauretania; Friend of Augustus.

popular belief is apt to ascribe the choicest share to bastards.* The prudence of Masinissa had consigned him to a private station, from which he was raised by the kindness of Micipsa, who brought up the youth with his own sons. Conspicuous for strength and manly beauty, Jugurtha was still more distinguished for the power of his mind. As if his plan of life had been formed from the very beginning, he abjured the luxurious indolence of his uncle's refined court, and trained himself in the old Numidian exercises of riding, hurling the javelin, and racing. The victories which he won over his youthful comrades gained him their esteem instead of jealousy; and, even when he obtained the reputation of the boldest of lion-slayers, he was never heard to speak of himself. The natural joy with which Micipsa saw these excellences in his ward was soon damped by a foresight of the dangers to which his two sons might be exposed from an older and abler rival; and, if we may believe Sallust—whose constant writing for effect requires us to follow him with the greatest caution—the king set his nephew the example of cruel treachery. As the popularity of Jugurtha forbad any direct practices against his life, it was resolved to expose him to the risk of war; but he returned from his service before Numantia as commander of the Numidian contingent with military glory added to his other merits, with the esteem of Scipio and intimate relations with many of the leading Romans. Sallust tells us that the ambitious youth in the army, who were themselves full of plots to disturb the state, encouraged Jugurtha to kill Micipsa and usurp the throne, trusting to his own merits and the pardon which it would be easy to buy at Rome:—("*Romæ omnia venalia esse.*") But Scipio, who passed upon him a farewell eulogy in presence of the army, admonished him in private to avoid all these dangerous plots, and to pursue an open course of honourable friendship to Rome, which would ultimately bring him the crown as its reward. His experience of the Romans led him to prefer the course congenial to his subtle African nature.

When Micipsa found the praises which fame had sounded of his nephew confirmed by the letters of Scipio, his generous feelings were re-awakened, and he resolved to bind Jugurtha if possible by the ties of kindness. He made a will, adopting him as equal with his own two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and leaving the kingdom to be their joint inheritance; but yet he betrayed his misgivings by placing the disposition under the guarantee of Rome. On his death-bed the aged king summoned a full assembly of his

* See Shakspere, *King Lear*, act i., sc. 2.

relatives and friends, in whose presence he besought Jugurtha, by all the benefits he had received, to be the friend and protector of his adopted brothers, and exhorted them to look up to him with the respect due to his age and wisdom.* Jugurtha promised all that was asked; but he well knew that the confession of his own superiority was the only part of the king's dying speech which expressed either his real feelings or his expectations of the future. The designs of Jugurtha were hastened by the rashness of Hiempsal, who at the very first meeting of the three princes not only assumed the most insolent demeanour towards the concubine's son, but charged him with undue influence over the late king. The scheme of a joint reign was at once found impracticable. The treasure accumulated by Masinissa and Micipsa was divided: a partition of the kingdom was agreed upon; and the princes retired to different parts of Numidia. The vengeance of Jugurtha followed Hiempsal to the town which he had selected for his abode; and his assassination was the signal for a civil war between the partisans of Adherbal and Jugurtha. The greater number of the Numidians remained faithful to the son of their late king; but the flower of the warriors naturally sided with such a leader as Jugurtha. Adherbal, defeated in battle, fled into the province of Africa, whence he carried in person his complaint to Rome. He was followed thither by the envoys of Jugurtha, amply furnished with those means of persuasion of which he had learnt the efficacy from his Roman friends before Numantia. They replied to Adherbal's statement in the Senate, that Hiempsal had been justly slain for his tyranny, and that Adherbal had been the aggressor in the recent war. Ten commissioners were sent to divide Numidia between the rival claimants, but with no instructions to enquire into the murder of Hiempsal. Lucius Opimius, the chief of the commission, the same who had conducted the inquisition against the partisans of Caius Gracchus, and who had taken the part of Adherbal in the recent debates, sold himself to Jugurtha as soon as he reached Numidia; and so did the majority of his colleagues. The commissioners, following the ancient division of the kingdom into the countries of the Massæsylii and the Massylii,† assigned the former or western division, which was much the larger and more fertile, to Jugurtha, the eastern, which

* As Jugurtha was of full military age at the siege of Numantia, in B.C. 134, he was probably not less than 35 at the time of Micipsa's death. The two sons of Micipsa appear to have been ten or fifteen years younger.

† The western division corresponded to the later Mauretania Tingitana and Sitifensis, the eastern to the later Numidia.

was for the most part arid, but contained the best ports and chief cities, including the capital Cirta, to Adherbal, who seems to have been mocked with a pretence of fairness in receiving the original dominions of his grandfather. But even these he was not long permitted to possess. Pursuing the ancient policy of Masinissa against Carthage, Jugurtha tried to provoke Adherbal to war by wantonly invading and cruelly ravaging his territory. But when Adherbal's only answer was an embassy of remonstrance, Jugurtha, encouraged by his former impunity from Rome, marched with his whole force against his rival. After sustaining a severe defeat,* Adherbal barely escaped with a few horsemen to Cirta, and that fortress was only saved by the prompt resistance of a body of Italian residents. Even when thus brought into collision with Roman subjects, Jugurtha pressed the siege in the hope of taking Cirta before the arrival of the commissioners appointed by the Senate upon Adherbal's complaint of the invasion.

These commissioners, three inexperienced young men, with no other instructions than to require both kings to desist from war, were content to receive Jugurtha's professions of good will to Rome and his asseverations that he was making war in self-defence, and they returned home without entering Cirta or seeing Adherbal. Their departure was followed by a close circumvallation of the city, which was almost impregnable to assault. Cirta stands upon a rocky promontory surrounded by the river Ampsaga on all sides except the south-west, where a narrow isthmus connects it with the land on the left bank. Here lies the principal, and in Jugurtha's time the only entrance. The other face of the rock ends in lofty precipices, which the Romans afterwards joined to the right bank of the river by a bridge across the ravine of two stories of arches a hundred cubits high, leading to the eastern gate. Constantineh, as the city was called from the emperor who restored it, is described by the Arabian geographer Edrisi as "one of the strongest places in the world. It towers above extensive plains and vast cultivated tracts sown with wheat and barley. Within the town there is a watering-place for cattle, which might be useful in a siege. There are in all the houses cellars hollowed out in the rock: the temperature, which is always fresh and moderate in these cellars, contributes to the preservation of grain." If these cellars could always have been full, the place would have been equally secure against famine and the enemy. But the place does not seem to have been provisioned for a long siege;

* On the locality of this battle, see Long, *Decline &c.*, vol. i. p. 390.

and in the fifth month Adherbal persuaded two of his followers to steal out through the enemy's lines, and to carry a letter to the Senate, reminding them that he had been made king by the Romans, placing Numidia at their disposal, and entreating them by the majesty of the Roman empire, by regard for the friendship between them and himself, if they had not quite forgotten his grandfather Masinissa, to save him from the hands of his cruel enemy. But the appeal to their generosity and the offer of the kingdom were equally fruitless. The proposal of the minority to despatch an army to the relief of Adherbal was overpowered by the hired advocates of Jugurtha, and another commission of three was headed by M. Æmilius Scaurus, a man who very unworthily held the position of Chief of the Senate.* Jugurtha obeyed the summons of these commissioners to meet them at Utica, but the interview ended in talk, and the commission returned to Rome.

The Italians in Cirta, relying for their own safety on the respect due to Roman subjects, now persuaded Adherbal to surrender, stipulating only for his own life, and leaving all else to the future decision of the Senate. The king complied, but with misgivings that were speedily justified. He was tortured to death, and all the men in the garrison were massacred, the Italians not excepted. Their fate roused the indignation of the mercantile class at Rome; but the partisans of Jugurtha again tried every resource of procrastination. It was now that the case assumed its full importance as bearing upon the contest between the Optimates and Populares; and the threat of the new tribune C. Memmius to call the delinquents to account before the people forced the Senate to declare war with Jugurtha about the close of B.C. 112. Surprised that his success in corruption had found a limit, the king sent his son, with two of his friends, to renew the process; but, on the motion of Bestia, the consul elect, they were commanded to leave Italy, unless they bore a commission to surrender the kingdom. Early in the following year, the consular army of Bestia landed in Africa, and began its march up the Bagradas. Leptis Magna, the chief city of the African Tripolis, offered its submission, and other cities were taken. Bocchus, King of Mauretania, though he was the father-in-law of Jugurtha, proposed an alliance with the Romans, which broke down however because his envoys approached the consul with empty hands. Jugurtha was better acquainted with the customs of the Roman nobles; and his bribes won over

* The *Princeps Senatus* was the senator on whom the censors conferred the honour of placing his name first on the roll.

not only Bestia, who had begun the war with such vigour, but Scaurus, hitherto his chief opponent, who was serving with Bestia as legate. The price, however, was enormous, "and Scaurus had the credit of not doing a dishonest act for a small sum." The quæstor Sextius was sent to Vaga (*Beja*) in the upper valley of the Bagradas, nominally to collect corn, but really to serve as a hostage for Jugurtha, who repaired to the Roman camp. He made his proposals to a military council, for form's sake; but the whole matter was arranged in private with Bestia and Scaurus. Jugurtha obtained peace by the nominal surrender of his kingdom, which he received back again on payment of a small sum in silver, besides a large number of cattle and horses, and thirty elephants, most of which he afterwards bought back from the Roman officers. The Roman army remained in Africa, while Bestia returned home to hold the consular Comitia rendered necessary by the death of his colleague, P. Scipio Nasica (B.C. 111).

His return to Rome was the signal for the outburst of a storm before which the Senate was again compelled to bow. The tribune Memmius harangued the people in a series of speeches, one of which—in substance at least—is preserved by Sallust. He recounted all the offences of the Optimates against the people during the last twenty years, their murder of popular tribunes, their ostentatious exercise of the power which they used for the corrupt betrayal of the state; and, retorting upon them the charge they had made against the Gracchi, of aspiring to royalty, he exclaimed, "This is no case of peculation of the treasury, nor of money forcibly taken from allies, which are indeed grave offences, but we are so used to them that we consider them nothing. To your greatest enemy has been surrendered the authority of the Senate: nay your own imperial power has been betrayed: at Rome and in foreign parts the interests of the state have been sold. If we shall not enquire into these matters, if we shall not punish the guilty, what will remain except to live and to obey those who have committed such crimes? For, when men can do with impunity what they like, that is really kingly power." In fine, he carried a bill, to which the Senate dared not refuse their assent, that the prætor L. Cassius should be sent to bring Jugurtha to Rome under a promise of safe conduct, to which Cassius added the pledge of his own word. Sallust says that the engagement of one honest man had as much weight with Jugurtha as the promise of the Roman Senate and People; "perhaps," adds the modern historian, "he might have said more, for Jugurtha knew by

experience that the knaves in the Senate had hitherto been a majority."

Jugurtha appeared before the people, not in regal state, but in the sordid garb of a person under prosecution; but even this humiliation was not enough for the popular indignation. Some cried out that he should be put in chains; others called on him to confess the names of his accomplices, or they would do summary justice on him as a public enemy. Memmius only stilled the tumult by declaring that he would not suffer the safe conduct of the Roman people to be broken; and he then proceeded to recount all the crimes of Jugurtha, and finally demanded of him the names of his abettors. The king's silence—he added— would not screen the guilty, for they were well known already, but he could only merit clemency by a full confession. The mode of meeting this demand had been previously arranged. Jugurtha came forward as if to make a clean breast of it; but before he opened his lips, the tribune Caius Bæbius, whom he had bribed for the purpose, interposed his veto on the king's speaking. After an empty outburst of popular fury, the assembly was dissolved, and time was once more gained, while the discussion on the ratification of the peace was protracted in the Senate. Meanwhile the Comitia had been held, and Spurius Postumius Albinus, one of the consuls elect, eager for the command in Africa, took a new step to bring on war. Gulussa, the second son of Masinissa, had left a son Massiva, who had fled to Rome after the death of Adherbal. This Massiva was now persuaded by Albinus to lay before the Senate his claim to the throne of Numidia. He had no sooner taken this step than Bomilcar, the trusty adherent of Jugurtha, planned Massiva's death. But one of the hired assassins, being caught in the act, was induced to make a full confession. Bomilcar was placed upon his trial; and Jugurtha, after persuading fifty of his Roman friends to become sureties for the man's appearance, sent him home out of the way. It says much for the amount of good faith which had survived the corruption of Roman morals, that Jugurtha's safe conduct was still respected. The treaty of Bestia was of course cancelled, and the king was ordered to depart from Italy. When beyond the walls, he cast many a silent look back upon Rome, and at last exclaimed—"That city is for sale, and will soon perish if it finds a purchsaer"* (B.C. 110).

Albinus had obtained the coveted command so late in the year, that he was now only eager to finish the campaign before he

* Sallust, *Jug.* c. 35.

should be recalled for the elections. He little knew that a war in the region of the Atlas and under the climate of Africa was one of the most difficult in which Rome had yet engaged. Jugurtha amused him with promises of surrender, which were as often broken on the not unfounded pretext of personal danger; till not only was the season wasted, but the consul had incurred a strong suspicion of complicity with the king. Albinus was at length obliged to return to hold the Comitia, leaving the command to his brother Aulus as proprætor. At Rome, the efforts of two of the tribunes to secure their re-election caused the repeated postponement of the Comitia, an interruption of constitutional order which henceforth frequently recurs.

In this delay Aulus thought he saw an opportunity for signalising his temporary command, if not by a victory over Jugurtha, at least by an advantageous bargain for peace. In the month of January (B.C. 109), he called his army out of winter-quarters to attack the town of Suthul, where Jugurtha kept his treasure. The place was one of those strong African fortresses that stand perched on steep hills, in the midst of vast plains, which the winter rains had now converted into a muddy swamp. While Aulus wasted his time in the pretence of an impossible siege, Jugurtha led him on with promises of submission; and at last, under pretence of finding a favourable place for concluding the bargain, he enticed the proprætor into the desert. Here, having first corrupted several of the officers, Jugurtha surrounded the camp of Aulus on a cloudy night; his confederates admitted him within the entrenchments; and the darkness alone saved the Roman army from destruction. On the following day Aulus consented to purchase safety on the condition that his army should pass beneath the yoke, and that he should evacuate Numidia within ten days (B.C. 109).

When the news of this disgrace reached Rome, the Optimates attempted by a show of energy to avert its consequences from themselves. Spurius Albinus was the first to bring his brother's conduct before the Senate, and to obtain the cancelling of the treaty, while he exerted himself to raise reinforcements. Prevented by the tribunitial veto from leading the new levies into Africa, he crossed over by himself, but found his former army demoralised and mutinous Meanwhile the popular indignation refused to be trifled with any longer. The tribune C. Mamilius Limetanus carried—in spite of the intrigues of the Optimates who dared not openly oppose the bill—a motion for a commission of enquiry into the conduct of the partisans of Jugurtha,

from those who had first abetted him in his disobedience to the Senate down to those who had given him back the elephants and deserters. Scaurus, who as Bestia's legate had been the arch culprit, had influence enough to procure his own appointment as one of the three commissioners; and he seems to have felt it politic to sacrifice some of his own friends, including his chief fellow-offender, Bestia. Among the other victims of the severity with which the commissioners discharged their functions, and of the resentment of the equestrian judices, whose fellow-capitalists had been massacred at Cirta, were the late consul Albinus, and Opimius the slayer of Caius Gracchus, who died in exile and poverty at Dyrrachium.

The conduct of the war against Jugurtha was committed to the new consul Q. Metellus, an aristocrat, like the rest of his haughty house, but yet so free not only from corruption but even suspicion, that when after his prætorship in B.C. 112 he was prosecuted on a charge of extortion, the jury acquitted him without even looking at his accounts. The confidence felt in his character facilitated the preparations for the new campaign. A fresh levy was made to reinforce the demoralised army of Albinus; and abundant resources were furnished by the Italian allies. The first efforts of Metellus were devoted to the restoration of discipline by measures such as those taken by Scipio with the army before Numantia. The camp followers were driven away; and the soldiers, who had long remained idle in one place, without even throwing up the usual entrenchments, were exercised in rapid marches, every halt being marked by a camp duly fortified. Nor was it the least of the merits of Metellus that he looked for his lieutenants beyond the limits of his party, and chose such men as Caius Marius and the celebrated disciplinarian P. Rutilius Rufus.

When Jugurtha learned the character of the new commander, he felt that his artifices were exhausted, and made serious proposals for surrender. But now his arts of treachery and procrastination were turned against himself. Metellus gave him encouraging replies, but secretly won over his envoys and even his officers, who furnished the consul with supplies when he advanced into Numidia. Jugurtha, finding that his own servants were bribed to deliver him up alive or dead, resolved to risk a battle, and took his post on the river Muthul, which appears to have been a southern tributary of the Bagradas. The valley was bounded by a chain of lofty hills at the distance of about twenty miles; and the basin of the river itself was marked by a lower

range, clothed with olive, myrtle, and other shrubs. On the ridge nearest the river Jugurtha placed his elephants and part of his infantry, under Bomilcar, while he himself took post, with the cavalry and picked infantry, under cover of the vegetation, near the foot of the slope by which the Romans must descend into the valley. But the cover was not dense enough for effectual concealment, and as Metellus marched down from the high ground, he saw Jugurtha's men and horses on his right. An engagement on this side of the plain would expose his weary troops to be cut off from the river, where alone they could find water and a proper camping-ground, while the march across the open ground would be harassed by the Numidian cavalry. So the consul drew up his line of battle facing Jugurtha; but, as soon as it was formed, the soldiers were ordered to face to the left, so that the line became a column, and began to move across the plain. The cavalry of the left wing, now the van, were led by Metellus himself: those of the right, now the rear, and the critical position in such a manœuvre, had in Marius a commander equal to the emergency: while the other trusted legate, Rutilius Rufus, was sent forward with a detachment of cavalry and light* cohorts to pitch a camp on the bank of the river. Jugurtha remained immovable till the rear of the Roman column had passed his extreme left, and then despatched 2000 infantry to seize the heights from which they had descended, and so to cut off their retreat. He then attacked the Romans on every side; and there ensued an irregular fight, in which the Numidian light horse, though unable to withstand the shock of the Roman cavalry, showed their usual superiority in skirmishing over the broken ground. But the African infantry, though in their own climate, were unable to match the endurance of the Roman legionaries. Towards evening Marius led a charge up the hill against the 2000 Numidians who had hung all day upon the heights, threatening the Roman rear, and their instant dispersion decided the fate of the battle on this side. Meanwhile, the advanced guard under Rutilius had reached the river and formed their camp. Bomilcar suffered them to pass him, and then moved down with his whole line to cut off the legate from returning to the consul's aid. A cloud of dust, rolling down the hill-side, announced his approach to Rufus, who drew up his line

* It is convenient to explain, once for all, that the terms *expediti, sine impedimentis*, and so forth, refer to troops disencumbered for the occasion of the personal baggage, rations, stakes, and entrenching tools, which made up the ordinary load of a Roman soldier to as much as sixty pounds.

in front of the newly-formed camp. The elephants, entangled among the bushes, were easily surrounded: four of them were taken, and the remaining forty killed; and the Numidian infantry were rapidly dispersed. The two victorious divisions met in the midst of the plain, not without a momentary panic—each being ignorant of how the other had fared, and mistaking their comrades in the darkness for the enemy—and both returned to rest in the camp beside the river. Jugurtha's infantry dispersed, according to the Numidian custom; and he fled, with his cavalry only, into the mountain fastnesses. Instead of entangling his army in a dangerous pursuit, Metellus moved into the richest districts of Numidia, ravaging the fields, taking and burning the cities that were ill-defended, and putting their male inhabitants to the sword. These successes restored confidence at Rome, and a public thanksgiving was decreed by the Senate.

Meanwhile Jugurtha had collected in his mountain retreat an army which Sallust describes as consisting of cultivators and shepherds, though it cannot be doubted that many of his veterans would rally round him. He proved his military skill in a most effective guerilla warfare, sometimes hanging on the Roman rear, sometimes going before to waste the country on their line of march, and sometimes waylaying them when they had to cross the hills. Even when Metellus formed two divisions, under himself and Marius, Jugurtha would appear unexpectedly now to the one, and then to the other; but all the while he avoided a pitched battle. To put an end to this indecisive campaign, Metellus resolved to attack the city of Zama, the same near which Scipio had gained his decisive victory over Hannibal. But Jugurtha, informed of the consul's design, was at Zama before him, and prepared the city for resistance not more by his exhortations to the inhabitants than by the despair of the Roman deserters whom he added to the garrison. He then marched off to Sicca (*El-Kef*),* hoping to surprise Marius, who had been sent to that place with a few cohorts to collect corn; but the Romans were extricated by generalship and discipline, and arrived safe before Zama. The siege of that city again displayed the able conduct of Metellus and Marius, and of Jugurtha, who hung with his cavalry about the outskirts of the Roman army, and at one time penetrated to their camp. The defence was successful, and Metellus, having gar-

* This inland town in the valley of the Bagradas derived its epithet of Venerea from the worship of Venus, the Phœnician Astarte.—See Vol. II. p. 384.

risoned the towns he had won, retired into winter quarters in the province of Africa.

It was the character of this war that the campaigns of arms were varied by interludes of treachery. The commander who had restored the prestige of the Roman legions was not above using the services of Bomilcar, who saw that his own sacrifice, as the murderer of Massiva, would be a condition of any peace granted to Jugurtha. Having secured a promise of pardon if he delivered up the king, alive or dead, Bomilcar persuaded his master to offer a full submission. Step by step he was required to pay an immense sum of money, to give up all his elephants and 300 hostages, and lastly, to surrender the Roman deserters. Of these a few escaped to Mauretania in time; the rest were put to death by Metellus with cruel tortures.* Now came the final demand, that Jugurtha should repair to Tisidium, and receive the orders of the proconsul; but, helpless as he seemed after all these exactions, he preferred the risk of continuing the war. During the ensuing winter, the city of Vaga revolted from the Romans, and all the garrison were put to death, except the commander, T. Turpilius Silanus, who was scourged and beheaded as a traitor by Metellus, when he retook the city two days afterwards.† Meanwhile the rupture of the negociations left Jugurtha and Bomilcar each the prey to well-founded suspicions of each other; and a detected plot against the life of the king delivered Bomilcar to the executioner. After this discovery of the treachery of those whom he had most trusted, Sallust tells us that Jugurtha became suspicious of everybody, and subject to such sudden alarms as to act like a man who is beside himself.‡

The services of Caius Marius during this eventful campaign had been too great not to rouse his own ambition and the jealousy of his commander; and his bearing in the camp had won the hearts of the soldiers. As firm in governing himself as he was strict in commanding others, he shared the food and labours of the legionaries, even to working with them in the trenches. Their letters carried his praises to Rome, where his tribunate was

* Several had their hands cut off: others were buried up to the middle in the earth and so made a mark for the Roman archers, and finally burnt alive. So at least say Appian and Orosius. Sallust does not mention their fate. "Perhaps," says Mr. Long, "he assumed that everybody would know that they were put to death."

† His execution was justified, as has already been observed, on the ground that he was a Latin.

‡ "So says Sallust in one laboured sentence, which I do not suppose that the author himself intended to pass for anything else than ornament."—Long.

not yet forgotten; and while the state paid due honours to the merits of Metellus, his lieutenant became the favourite of the people, who looked upon him as the future consul. The same thought possessed the mind of Marius the more ardently as he felt that his want of nobility was the only obstacle to his success. He was close upon his fiftieth year, having been born in B.C. 157 at Arpinum, the same small town among the Latin hills, near the banks of the Liris, that was the birthplace of Cicero just half a century later. But proud as the orator was of his fellow-townsman, their characters and trainings were as opposite as their careers. The child of poor parents, who were clients of the Herennii, a plebeian house which had attained the honours of nobility, Marius had neither the opportunity, nor had he the natural taste, to acquire Hellenic culture, legal lore, or forensic eloquence; he was simply a hardy soldier. He entered the army as soon as he reached the military age; at the siege of Numantia he is said to have been noticed by Scipio as a man destined to attain high distinction (B.C. 134);* and his election by the people as military tribune was a decisive testimony to the reputation he had won. In B.C. 119, at the age of 38, he was tribune of the Plebs; and we have seen the boldness with which he espoused the popular cause. His canvass for the curule ædileship had so little prospect of success, that, Plutarch tells us, he changed about, and became a candidate for the plebeian ædileship; but in this also he failed. He gained the prætorship, but he was the lowest on the poll of the six who were chosen. He was prosecuted for bribery, and only acquitted by the equal division of the jury. He gained no distinction in this office (B.C. 115), and his proprætorship in Further Spain seems to have afforded Marius no better employment than to put down the robbery which was still the chief occupation of the ruder tribes (B.C. 114). It was probably about this time that he married into the high patrician house of the Julii,

* A well-known passage of Juvenal preserves a tradition, that Marius worked for hire at the plough before he suffered the severities of military discipline. After an allusion to Cicero's birth at Arpinum, he says (*Sat.* viii. 245):—

> "Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
> Poscere mercedes, alieno lassus aratro;
> Nodosam posthæc frangebat vertice vitem,
> Si lentus pigrâ muniret castra dolabrâ."

On which Mr. Long observes—"His parents may have been poor, but it was not the fashion for free men to work for wages at that time; nor would it have been necessary for a youth of Marius's temper to do it when the Romans were always wanting soldiers."

who traced their mythical descent from Iülus, the son of Æneas, and were said to have been removed from Alba on its destruction by Tullus Hostilius. Their chief family, the Cæsars, had made but little figure before this age, when we find them taking the aristocratic side in the first civil war. C. Julius Cæsar, whose sister Marius espoused, was the father of the renowned dictator; and this connection was a main element in determining the political course of the latter. The marriage proves that a successful soldier, however humble his origin, might aspire to the highest alliances in the state; but it does not seem to have hastened the political advancement of Marius, who was already several years past the legal age for the consulship, when the fame he had earned in Africa encouraged him to aspire to the supreme magistracy.

Marius was offering a sacrifice in his winter quarters at Utica, when the seer (*haruspex*), on inspecting the entrails of the victim, perceived signs of a wondrous destiny, and bade him trust to the gods and do what he was thinking of, for it would turn out well. Like every Italian, Marius was a believer in omens, and the voice of heaven echoed the call of the people and the promptings of his ambition. But his request for leave of absence to stand for the election roused all the aristocratic pride of Metellus. In the tone of that friendship which had hitherto done both so much honour, the proconsul remonstrated with his legate for aspiring to an honour so much above his position, and, instead of being content with what he had won, asking for that which the people would certainly deny him. Still he promised to grant the request when the public service would permit. But he showed no haste in fulfilling this promise, and when Marius at last became importunate, Metellus gave vent to his scorn by telling him that it would be time enough, when his son became a candidate, for Marius to stand with him. The young Metellus, whose presence as a youth in the African army made the insult sharper, was about twenty years old, and would be of the legal age for the consulship in about twenty years more, when Marius would be just seventy! The cruel taunt gained Metellus an enemy for life; and its effect was soon felt. The court which Marius paid more assiduously than ever to the common soldiers and to the Italian merchants at Utica was now mingled with boasts of how soon he would end the war, if he had only half the army of Metellus. The knights, always jealous of the nobility, added their desires to those of the common soldiers and the merchants, in the letters which were constantly arriving at Rome. To these influences Marius contrived

to add another in the representations of Gauda, the legitimate son of Jugurtha's father Mastanabal, who, having been named in the will of Micipsa as reversionary heir to the crown, might be supposed to represent the family of Masinissa and the wishes of the Numidian people. So that at last, when Marius obtained leave of absence from Metellus only twelve days before the consular election, his success was the more assured by the obstacles that had been raised to his canvass. Received with enthusiasm by the people, he joined in the harangues of the tribunes against Metellus, and promised either to kill Jugurtha, or bring him a prisoner to Rome. The prescription which had long confined the consulship to a few noble families was broken through by the vehement current of popular feeling. Marius was elected consul with L. Cassius Longinus, and was appointed to the province of Numidia and the conduct of the war with Jugurtha. The Senate had intended to prorogue the command of Metellus for another year, but the tribune Manlius Mancinus carried a rogation which placed the allotment of the provinces for the coming year in the hands of the people (B.C. 108).

Metellus meanwhile renewed his efforts to finish the war, and avoid the humiliation of handing it over to the plebeian successor whom he had insulted. Jugurtha, deserted by all his friends, was suddenly attacked by the Romans, with the usual result. The Numidian infantry were scattered before the legions, but the king vanished from the field with his chosen cavalry. He fled far inland to the strong city of Thala,* where he kept his chief treasure, and where his children were brought up. By incredible exertions, and favoured by an opportune fall of rain, Metellus crossed the fifty miles of waterless desert, and came so unexpectedly upon Thala, that Jugurtha had barely time to escape with his family and a part of his treasures. The city, however, withstood a siege of forty days, chiefly through the desperation of the Roman deserters, who, when they found further defence hopeless, collected all the gold and silver and other valuables into the

* The site of this place is doubtful. Shaw is clearly wrong in identifying it with Thelepte (now *Ferianeh*). Davis places it at *Aïn-Thala*, the large ruins of which have no mark of identification but the name, and its site cannot be reconciled with Sallust's description. Pellissier finds another Thala in the south-eastern part of Tunis, to reach which from Utica, Metellus must have passed through a district of the Regency of which Pellissier says that "the worst part of Algeria is an Eden compared with this horrible country." This position would agree also with the embassy which Metellus received from Leptis Magna.—(See Long, *Decline &c.*, vol. i. pp. 450—454.)

royal palace, which they burnt over their heads after feasting and getting drunk together.* The region of the Tripolis was made secure by a garrison which Metellus sent to the friendly port of Leptis Magna; while Jugurtha, so fearful of treachery that he dared not trust himself for more than a single night in any city, fled westward into the country of the Gætulians, the sandy region between the Atlas and the Sahara, which the Arabs call the Land of Palms (*Beled-el-Jerid*) from the Oases interspersed amidst its wastes. The Gætulians, who were as yet strangers to the Romans, furnished Jugurtha with fresh forces, and his movement to the west brought him near Mauretania. Bocchus, whom the tribes of the Mauri acknowledged as their king, was the father-in-law of Jugurtha; but this relation was a weak bond of union among a people who practised polygamy. The Mauretanian king found stronger motives for aiding Jugurtha in the former rejection of his overtures by the Romans, and in the prospect of being himself soon attacked; and Jugurtha plied the Moorish counsellors with gold. The alliance was cemented by a personal interview, and the two kings marched together against Cirta, hoping to seize the stores, booty, and prisoners placed there, before Metellus could arrive to the relief of the city. The proconsul had advanced to meet them, and was entrenched in a camp near Cirta, when letters from Rome brought the news that Marius had gained the consulship and the province of Numidia. Metellus was more vexed, says Sallust, at the honour given to Marius than at the slight put upon himself, nor did a Roman's ideas of manliness forbid his venting his indignation in tears. Instead of risking his reputation against an untried enemy, Metellus sent envoys to warn Bocchus against plunging into a war with Rome.† The Mauretanian replied with friendly assurances, and tried to make stipulations in favour of Jugurtha. Without as yet, probably, contemplating treachery, he felt the advantage of holding the person of Jugurtha. Thus repeated

* Sallust tells us that Metellus gained great glory by the capture of Thala. Mr. Long points out the marks of Sallust's inaccurate rhetoric in his description of the siege. Though Metellus had compelled his men to take with them nothing but ten days' supply of food, we find the army provided with all the military engines required for a regular siege.

† Mr. Long says of the arguments which the historian ascribes to Metellus:—"He gave this Mauretanian excellent advice about the danger and uncertainty of war. His best remarks were probably derived from the wise speech of Archidamus in the first book of Thucydides, which every statesman should read before he resolves upon war. If Metellus did not take his excellent precepts from the Greek historian, Sallust perhaps did it for him."

embassies passed to and fro without result, till it was time for Metellus to leave the province.

Marius was meanwhile enjoying his triumph over the Roman nobility, and openly calling his consulship the spoils of their conquest. The Senate are said to have ordered a new levy the more readily as a means of emperilling the consul's popularity. But volunteers came forward in abundance from the bravest men of Italy, secure of fame and booty under such a leader. When all was ready for the enrolment, Marius called an assembly of the people, and harangued them, not certainly in the words which Sallust puts into his mouth but in the blunt speech of a rude soldier,—on his own merits as illustrating the virtues of the people from whom he had sprung,—on the vices and corruption of the nobles, as proving the degeneracy of their race. So consistently did he adhere to these principles, that in selecting his recruits from all who were willing to serve, without regard to the classes of Servius Tullius, he ever gave a preference to the "Capite Censi," who were usually called out only to ward off a pressing danger from the city. This statement, when divested of Sallust's rhetoric, seems to imply, as Mr Long observes, "that many of the better sort were not very eager for an African campaign, and would gladly let others have the labour and profit of it. If Marius cleared Rome of her rabble, he did the state good service in two ways. As to making his recruits into soldiers, he had no doubt about that." In the end, he led over a greater number than had been fixed by the Senate to Africa, whither his legate A. Manlius had preceded him with money, material, and arms. Metellus, with the shame of wounded pride, left his legate to hand over the command, and returned to Rome to enjoy a triumph, with the new title of Numidicus, and to inveigh against the tribunes who had espoused the cause of Marius in the bitterest language of aristocratic scorn (B.C. 107).

Marius, on arriving in his province, led his army into the fertile regions of Numidia, at once to exercise his new recruits and to gratify their desire for plunder. By Jugurtha's advice the two kings divided their forces, in the hope of surprising detached bodies of the Romans. Bocchus held aloof, sending friendly messages to Marius, while Jugurtha led his Gætulians on a predatory incursion into the province of Africa. In order to put an end to this desultory warfare, and to rival the fame which Metellus had acquired by the capture of Thala, Marius planned an expedition against Capsa (*Ghafsa*), a hill fortress in an oasis still further within the Tunisian desert. The details of his opera-

tions are difficult to trace. All we know for certain is, that he caused his cavalry to advance before the main body, collecting and driving before them vast herds of bullocks, which supplied food for the soldiers; and their skins, carefully preserved, were filled with water at a river which they reached on the sixth day of the march. Then, setting forward at sunset, marching by night and resting by day, Marius arrived on the third night, long before daybreak, on an eminence within two miles of Capsa, where he concealed his forces as well as he could. In the morning, the cavalry of Jugurtha came pouring out of the town with all the disorder of irregular troops that have no fear of an enemy at hand. Marius sent forward his cavalry and light infantry to seize the gates. The place was completely taken by surprise; the men were massacred, the women and children sold for slaves, and the town plundered and burnt. The other strongholds of Numidia were surrendered or abandoned and destroyed. The Roman soldiers, flushed with fame and booty, adored their general, and the dispirited Africans trembled at his name.

All Numidia being thus subdued, except the force with which Jugurtha still hovered about the fastnesses of the land, Marius turned his attention towards Mauretania. The rough soldier seems to have been too impatient to temporize with Bocchus, whom his advance to the river Molochath, the boundary of Mauretania, drove into a close alliance with Jugurtha. The only military result of the expedition was the capture, by a happy accident, of a fort which had almost baffled the whole Roman army; and, on the march back to Cirta, Marius was attacked by the united forces of the two kings, and taken completely by surprise. Fortunately the day was near its close, and the habits of Roman discipline, animated by the conduct of Marius, who flew from point to point of the field with a body of his best horsemen, enabled the broken column to form in squares* against the swarms of cavalry that poured around them; till at nightfall they made good their retreat to two hills. The Africans spent the night in noisy rejoicings for an assured victory, but towards morning they fell asleep. They were now surprised in their turn by the Romans, with a loss exceeding that of all their previous battles; and the consul continued his retreat. On the fourth day, when Cirta was nearly reached,

* We use the modern phrase; but the exact Roman formation in such cases was in solid circular masses, called *orbes*, into which the instinct of the soldiers enabled those who found themselves together to fall, even without directions from their officers. The *orbes* correspond to our "rallying squares."

the scouts reported that the enemy were again at hand, and Marius halted to give them battle. The first attack was made by the Moorish horse upon the Roman cavalry on the right wing, under the command of L. CORNELIUS SULLA, who had joined the army as quæstor just before the march to the Molochath. While the conflict here was at its height, Bocchus led a fresh body of Mauretanian infantry, who had just come up under his son Volux, against the rear of the Romans. Jugurtha, who was engaged with Marius in the front, hearing the noise of this new attack, flew round with a few men to the scene. Rushing among the foremost combatants, he held up his sword reeking with the blood of a soldier he had just slain, and cried out in the Latin language, which he had learnt at Numantia, that it was useless for the Romans to fight, as he had just slain Marius with his own hand. Terrified as much by his furious gestures as by the news he brought, the Romans were beginning to give way, when Sulla, victorious in his part of the field, fell upon the flank of the Mauretanians. Bocchus fled at once; and Jugurtha, surrounded on every side, cut his way through the enemy, escaping alone of all his retinue through the storm of javelins. "This was the last fight of the Numidian king, who, if his ally had been faithful and as bold as himself, might have succeeded in cutting off the Romans' retreat. He had maintained the war against the soldiers of Italy with the skill of a man trained to Roman discipline and the ferocity of an African chief." If we may believe the account which Orosius gives of the battle, it was far more critical than Sallust represents it: it lasted three days, and brought the Romans to the brink of destruction, but in the end the African host of ninety thousand men were annihilated. In this whole campaign Marius carried boldness to the verge of rashness; and the safe return of his army to Cirta was due as much to his good fortune as to his courage and skill in the hour of actual combat.*

* Sallust represents the whole expedition to the Molochath and the return to Cirta, including the march of about 800 miles and the reduction of several cities on the way, as taking place within the period from the taking of Capsa in the autumn to the retirement of the army into winter-quarters. Mr. Long sums up a masterly discussion of the improbabilities of this account in the following terms:—"The conclusion is certain. Sallust was utterly ignorant of the geography of the country, and his narrative is false. It is false in the matter of distance, false in the matter of time, and totally unworthy of credit. It may be true that Marius did reach the Mulucha, and besiege a fort near this river; but the historian, whose object was only effect, has told the story in such a way as to destroy his credibility altogether; and any man who takes the pains to examine his history will be amazed when he reads the terms in which some modern writers have lauded the historian of the Jugurthine war."

The details of the treachery to which a deceiver like Jugurtha fell the unpitied victim are as confused as they are revolting. It is enough to say that, a few days after the battle, Sulla and Manlius were sent as envoys to Bocchus at his own request, and that afterwards an embassy, despatched by the Mauretanian king first to the camp of Marius and then to Rome, brought back the Senate's acceptance of his submission, with the assurance that he should have the friendship of the Roman people when he had earned it. All that now remained was to pay the implied price by the surrender of Jugurtha. A letter from Bocchus to Marius requested that Sulla might again be sent to him. Sallust draws a graphic picture of the apparent dangers of the mission, first from the tumultuous host with which Volux met the quæstor to conduct him to his father's camp, and then from the appearance of the army of Jugurtha, through the very midst of which Sulla courageously allowed his guide to lead him. To the last moment, Sallust tells us, Bocchus was undecided whether he should give up Jugurtha to Sulla, or Sulla to Jugurtha; "his inclination was against us: his fears made him disposed to the Roman side." Jugurtha seems to have counted on his irresolution; but for once the wily Numidian was outwitted in the game of dissimulation. His ambassador was allowed to be present at a public interview, in which, by a previous arrangement between Sulla and Bocchus, the envoy was told to wait ten days for the king's final decision; but the real business was transacted in a secret meeting during the ensuing night. Jugurtha was informed that favourable terms had been obtained for him; but he required Bocchus to prove his fidelity by giving up Sulla to him at a conference to be held on the pretext of arranging the conditions of peace. It is impossible to pity the monster of perfidy who was thus caught in his own snare. Confident in the success of his treacherous plan, Jugurtha came unarmed as was agreed, and with a few confidential friends, to the meeting with Bocchus and Sulla; when the party were surrounded by men who had been placed in ambush. All were killed except Jugurtha, and he was handed over in chains to Sulla, who conducted him to the camp of Marius. He arrived at Rome as a prisoner, with his two sons, just at the time when the consul Mallius and the proconsul Cæpio had been defeated in Gaul by the Cimbri, and Marius was elected by the acclamations of the people as consul for the second time, to retrieve this disaster,* and

* Sallust (*Jug.* c. 114). The historian furnishes us with a very confused account of the chronology of the Jugurthine war. It is usually inferred from the course of

remove the fear with which all Italy was trembling. For the wars with these barbarians differed, says the historian, from all others in this, that Rome contended with other nations for glory, with the Gauls for safety; all hope of that safety was now reposed in Marius. Such was his proud position on the 1st of January, B.C. 104, the day on which he at once entered on this second consulship and triumphed over Jugurtha. Before the consul's car there walked in chains, with his two sons, the still noble form of the fierce African, who had been the friend of Scipio, the comrade and corruptor of Roman nobles, an object of execration to the people, a name that had been the watchword of those party conflicts which were never to be healed again. As the victor's procession climbed the slope of the Capitol, the fallen king disappeared, like so many former victims, to be plunged into what he called the "ice-bath" of the Tullianum, there to be strangled or starved to death. But he bequeathed to the rival factions of the state a new source of deadly hatred, and of that jealousy between his captors which was soon to deluge Rome with blood. Even on that day of triumph Marius heard Sulla extolled as the real conqueror of Jugurtha. It was Sulla who had saved the army from defeat: Sulla who had sent the Mauretanian ambassadors to Rome, fixed the wavering counsels of the Mauretanian king, outwitted the treason of Jugurtha, and brought him in fetters to the camp. Bocchus himself had declared to Sulla that his confidence in him had led him to trust the Romans; and Marius was enraged when the king dedicated in the Capitol a sculpture in gold, representing the surrender of Jugurtha to Sulla. To the nobles, discomfited and discredited as they had been by the whole course of this African business, the young Cornelius was pointed out by fate as the avenger of the humiliation to which Marius had subjected Metellus, and as the champion of their order. We shall soon see how fatally he justified their hopes. Meanwhile it is time to cross from the Atlas to the Alps, and to trace the causes of the danger which Marius was now called on to avert.*

his narrative that the surrender of Jugurtha took place about the end of the second year of Marius's command (B.C. 106); but in this passage Sallust distinctly states that the surrender of Jugurtha was about the same time (*per idem tempus*) as the Gallic disaster, and makes the second election of Marius its immediate consequence; nor is there any hint that Marius remained in Africa for a whole year after finishing the war. The gap might perhaps be supplied in part, if we knew the true history of the Mauretanian campaign or campaigns, which Sallust compresses into that incredible autumn raid from Capsa to the Molochath and back again to Cirta.

* Numidia, conquered but not subjugated, and requiring a force which could not well be spared to keep the desert tribes at bay, was not at present constituted a

The region beyond the Alps, not only in Gaul, but along the course of the Danube and its confluents, was at this time occupied by branches of the great Celtic people, who, according to their traditions, after migrating from the East into Gaul, had again sent forth their surplus multitudes by a reflux movement towards the East. We have traced their partially successful attempts to establish themselves in the fairer regions of Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. The Romans had learnt to cope with them in arms, and to curb their inroads as often as they were renewed. But now there appeared amidst these Celtic tribes a new and strange people, the first forerunners of

> "A multitude like which the populous North
> Poured [often] from her frozen loins, to pass
> Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
> Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
> Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands."

Such is one view:—that the migration of the CIMBRI and the TEUTONES (or Teutoni) formed the first occasion on which the Germanic nations came into collision with the arms of Rome: but the question is still unsettled, whether these peoples were Germans or Celts, or whether, as the names alone would seem to show, the Teutones were Germans and the Cimbri Celts. Their apparent identity with the *Teutsch* and *Cymry* is however by no means decisive; for names constantly adhere to the same localities, and are hence transferred to the successive races of inhabitants.* Thus much seems clear, that the chief seats of the Cimbri were in the peninsula of *Jutland*, which received the name of the Cimbric Chersonese from the people dwelling there when the country became known to the

Roman province. The western part, which Bocchus had already exacted from Jugurtha as the price of his alliance, was secured to him by the Romans as the reward of his treachery. The eastern part was given to Gauda, the legitimate brother of Jugurtha, whom we have seen Marius using as his tool, and whose descendants reigned for three generations. (See the genealogical table on p. 48.) After changes which we cannot stay to describe, the eastern part of the kingdom, restricted to the region between the rivers Ampsaga and Tusca, with Cirta as its capital, was made a Roman province by Augustus, who gave in exchange for it to Juba II. the kingdom of Mauretania, now enlarged as far eastward as the Ampsaga (about B.C. 25); and after the murder of Juba's son Ptolemy by Caligula (A.D. 40), Mauretania was divided into two provinces, named from their capitals, Tingis (*Tangier*) and Cæsarea (*Zershell*). Mauretania Tingitana, the original country of the Mauri, as far east as the Molochath, corresponds to *Morocco*. Mauretania Cæsariensis (the old Numidia of the Massæsylii), as far as the Ampsaga, corresponds to the west and central part of Algeria; but the portion east of Saldæ was erected by Diocletian into a separate province, called Sitifensis, from the town of Sitifi (*Setif*).

* Thus we, the Saxon English, glory in the Celtic name of Britons, and our Nor-

Romans, and that the Teutones were their neighbours, inhabiting the maritime lowlands from the Baltic to the Elbe, and still further westward, where Teutones are placed by the geographers of the first and second centuries, and where their name is still preserved in such places as *Teutenwinkel* and *Teutendorf*.* But whether these regions were still inhabited by the original Celtic population of Western Europe, or by the Germans who certainly occupied them in the next generation,† or whether the latter had just driven out the former, and so forced them to seek for settlements in the South, are questions not yet decided. The last hypothesis goes far to account for the migration, and there are traces of Celtic nationality in the arms and customs of the people, their mode of warfare, and the names of their chieftains. On the other hand, the grey-headed bare-footed priestesses, clothed in long white robes, who presided over the merciless immolation of the prisoners taken in war, belong rather to the Germans. Some indeed find traces of a Slavonic origin in rites so closely resembling those of the Tauric Artemis, as well as in the covered waggons which the barbarians used to transport their families and effects. Much that seems inconsistent in the descriptions given by the ancient writers may probably be accounted for by the fact that, while wandering about—a nation without a home—they would attract to themselves the unsettled elements of other races, and would borrow something from their customs and modes of warfare. For the rest, their manners were savage, and they often fed upon raw flesh. Their chieftains were chosen from the bravest and tallest men in the host. They were addicted to the Celtic practice of appointing the time and place where they would meet their enemies, and, when there, of challenging conspicuous foes to single combat. Their order of battle was a rude phalanx of equal width and depth, the men of the front rank being often tied together by cords fastened to their metal belts. The combat was preluded by insulting cries and gestures, and begun amidst furious shouts, mingled with

man families are equally proud of being Englishmen; while, on the other hand, we treat our English ancestors as foreigners, calling them Anglo-Saxons.

* If the Teutones once extended over the maritime lowlands in the north-west of Germany from the Baltic to the Rhine, and if they were originally the chief tribe of the Low Germans, their reduction to insignificance by their slaughter in Gaul will go far to account for the curious fact, that a name which afterwards again became and still remains the national appellation of all the German tribes should have been scarcely known to Cæsar and Tacitus.

† Cæsar clearly regards both the Cimbri and the Teutones as Germans, and the geographers reckon them, with the Ingævones and Chauci, among the Germanic tribes.

the noise of the women and children drumming on the leathern tilts of the waggons. In the battle they fought with dauntless courage, preferring death to dishonour.

Such were the people whose presence near the passes of the eastern Alps was first announced to the Romans in the consulship of C. Cæcilius Metellus and Cn. Papirius Carbo (B.C. 113). A host of Cimbri, estimated at 300,000 fighting men, besides women and children, had penetrated the barrier opposed to them by the Danubian Celts, and especially by the Boii,* either because the latter were weakened by their wars with the Romans, or because they called in the Cimbri to their aid. The consul Carbo was sent to the province of Illyricum to prevent the Cimbri (or, as Appian calls them, the Teutones)† from penetrating into Italy. Whether he took post on the upper Athesis (*Adige*) or further east, in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, is uncertain; but he watched the passes over which the barbarians might be looked for. Finding that they did not come, the consul advanced into Noricum, and commanded them to withdraw from the territory of the friends of Rome. "The Teutones [or Cimbri] sent an answer singularly polite for such barbarians: they did not know, they said, that the people of Noricum were friends of the Romans; and indeed it is very likely that the Norici themselves did not know that they had such good friends." (Long.) In the midst of these amicable conferences, Carbo suddenly advanced upon the host of the Cimbri, and was punished for his treachery by an utter defeat near Noreia. His army, dispersed in the woods, was with difficulty rallied on the third day. It is clear which nation played the part of the barbarians in this business. Instead of following the path thus laid open into Italy, the migrating hosts resumed their vague wanderings along the northern side of the Alps towards the west. Passing through the Tyrol and Switzerland, they crossed the Jura into the territory of the Sequani, who, like the Rhætians and Helvetians, granted them a friendly passage; and four years after the overthrow of Carbo, the consul M. Junius Silanus (the colleague of Metellus Numidicus), being sent to protect the Allo-

* The branch of the Celtic nation from which *Bohemia* derives its name.

† Appian is the only authority for mentioning the Teutones thus early in connection with the Cimbri—in fact he speaks of the Teutones alone. Other writers name the two peoples in a vague sort of connection, evidently scarcely knowing or caring which was which. The Epitome of Livy alone marks the exact point at which the Teutones joined the Cimbri, namely on the banks of the Seine, after the return of the latter from their Spanish expedition.

broges and the valley of the Rhone, sustained another defeat (B.C. 109). Such was again the moderation of the barbarians, that after this victory they were content to ask the Romans for lands to settle upon. The Senate refused; "in fact they had none to give:" and the Cimbri occupied themselves in subduing the neighbouring Celtic tribes. Meanwhile a portion of the Helvetii—the Gallic inhabitants of Switzerland—crossed the Jura into Gaul, and defeated the army of the consul L. Cassius Longinus, who suffered himself to be decoyed into an ambush, and was slain with his legate, the consular Caius Piso. C. Popillius, who succeeded to the command, purchased the safety of his army by passing under the yoke (B.C. 107).*

Q. Servilius Cæpio, who had the province of Gaul as consul in the following year, retook the important town of Tolosa (*Toulouse*), which had seized the opportunity of the Roman disasters to revolt; and an incident followed, thoroughly characteristic of the public morality of the age. The town contained a temple of the Celtic deity whom the Romans identified with Apollo. The immense treasures of this temple, forwarded under a weak escort from Tolosa to Massilia, were seized on the way by a band of robbers; and the consul was more than suspected of having arranged the attack for his own profit (B.C. 106). At length, in the next year, the Cimbri prepared to pour their immense hordes into Italy; and the Romans, aware of the danger, opposed to them three powerful armies on the Rhone. Cæpio, who remained in the province as proconsul, was posted on the right bank; and the left was occupied by the consul C. Mallius Maximus, and his legate, the consular M. Aurelius Scaurus. The latter, who held a separate command nearest to the enemy, was overpowered and taken prisoner. When taken before king Boiorix, Scaurus warned him with all the pride of a Roman that if he entered Italy he would be rushing to destruction; and the incensed barbarian put his prisoner to death. Mallius now resolved to abandon the right bank of the Rhone, and recalled Cæpio to Arausio (*Orange*). The proconsul obeyed, but, chafing beneath his subjection to a superior more incapable than himself, he kept in a separate camp; and when the consul received envoys from the Cimbri, Cæpio, fearing lest Mallius should have all the credit of terminating the war, made a hasty and disorderly attack upon the enemy. His inferior numbers were completely overpowered and cut to pieces, and his camp fell into the hands of the barbarians (Oct. 6, B.C. 105). Inflamed with

* It is usually stated that Longinus was defeated by the Cimbri.

rage, the victorious host fell upon the army of Mallius, which was annihilated as completely as the other. The total loss was reckoned at 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 camp followers; but the statement that only ten men escaped is doubtless an exaggeration. The two commanders survived the carnage only to become the victims of a prosecution still fiercer than that of the partisans of Jugurtha. A popular vote deposed Cæpio, first from his proconsulship, and afterwards from the Senate. His property was confiscated, and he was put on his trial before a special commission for "majestas" and embezzlement. He was deprived of the customary alternative of voluntary exile by close imprisonment; and was at length condemned to death, with Mallius and other leading Optimates. The sentence would have been executed but for the resolute intervention of a friendly tribune.

The battle of Orange made an impression throughout Italy as profound as the catastrophe of Cannæ. As on that occasion, the period of mourning was shortened by a decree of the Senate, and a new levy was ordered. But the scanty return showed the results of the selfish policy of the nobles. An oath was exacted from all Italians able to bear arms that they would not leave the country to avoid enlistment, and the captains of all outward bound vessels were forbidden to take able-bodied passengers. The universal alarm, which portended another day as "black" as that of the Allia, and another sack of Rome, might have been realized had the Cimbrian host pursued its route to the passes of the Alps. But, after exhausting their patience in besieging some cities of the Arverni, and perhaps dreading the resistance they would encounter in Italy, they turned aside to find easier plunder beyond the Pyrenees, and gave Rome a respite of two full years, just when she had found a general who knew how to use it. The law which prohibited the re-election of magistrates was set aside, and Marius was chosen consul the second time amidst universal acclamation. Nor was this all. The low-born plebeian, whose presumption in once aspiring to the consulship had roused the bitter scorn of Metellus, was re-elected for five successive years (B.C. 104—100). The prescriptive tenure of the consulship by the Optimates gave place to a popular dictatorship for that term, during which Marius had the opportunity, which no former chief magistrate had even imagined, of transforming the annual levies of the citizens into a permanent force, paid, trained, and officered to do the bidding of their chief. "In the Roman military system"—says Dr. Mommsen—"the profound traces of this unconstitutional

commandership-in-chief of the first democratic general remained visible for all times."

After his triumph over Jugurtha on the first day of his second consulship (B.C. 104), Marius set out for Gaul at the head of a fine army commanded by the best officers of the republic, among whom Sulla again served. The departure of the Cimbri into Spain gave him leisure to settle the disordered affairs of the Province, to train and discipline his army, and to complete the important canal (*fossæ Marianæ*), which avoided the difficult navigation of the Delta of the Rhone. Meanwhile the Cimbri had found a resistance on which they had not counted from the Celtiberians and other Spanish tribes; and in B.C. 103 they recrossed the Pyrenees by the western passes, and ravaged the Atlantic shores of Gaul, and the valleys of the Garonne and the Loire. At length, when they reached the Seine, their progress was checked by the more warlike Belgæ, who dwelt between that river and the Rhine.* About this time they seem to have been reinforced by the Helvetians and by the Teutones under their king Teutobod; and with these augmented forces, being still unable to overcome the resistance of the Belgæ, they once more resolved to invade Italy. The immense booty they had collected was left behind under a guard of 6000 men, who, after the destruction of the main body, settled between the Scheld and Meuse, about the Sambre, and became the ancestors of the Aduatuci. The immense host then parted into two divisions. The Cimbri, with a part of the Helvetians, crossed the Rhine, in order to re-enter Italy by their old route through the Carnic Alps; while the Teutones, with the other tribe of the Helvetians, and the Ambrones,† marched towards the Rhone, which they were allowed to cross unopposed. Marius had fortified a strong camp on the left bank of the river, at its junction with the Isara (*Isère*), commanding both the road down to the coast and that leading to the pass of the Little St. Bernard. The desperate efforts of the barbariaus to storm the Roman camp were continued for three days; and, when all proved fruitless, they

* Cæsar's well-known division of Gaul into three parts is based on a true ethnic distinction. The pure CELTS or GAULS occupied the great central division, between the Garumna (*Garonne*) on the south, and the Sequana (*Seine*) with its confluent the Matrona (*Marne*) on the north, as well as the Provincia (the region of the Rhone and its tributaries) in the south-east. The AQUITANI, between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, were an Iberian people, probably intermixed with Celts. The BELGÆ, in the north, appear to have been a Celtic stock, but greatly affected by the infusion of a German element from beyond the Rhine.

† These were another Celtic people, who had joined the Teutones.

resolved to pursue their march. For six days the Romans beheld from their entrenchments the vast host, with its long train of waggons, defiling past the camp with many an insulting enquiry, whether the soldiers had any message to their wives at home. Not till all had passed did Marius break up his position and follow with his army in perfect order, entrenching a camp at the close of each day's march, and waiting an opportunity for attack. It was in the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix*),* where the Roman camp had been formed, as usual, upon the summit of a hill, that their light Ligurian troops came into conflict with the Ambrones, who formed the rear-guard of the barbarians. A successful skirmish raised the spirits of the soldiery to such a pitch, that Marius resolved to venture a decisive battle. He led out his army onto the slope of the hill, and awaited the attack which the Teutons had long been eager to deliver. Their impetuous charge up-hill was firmly sustained by the Romans, who in their turn long failed to break the front ranks of the phalanx, linked together after the Teuton fashion. But the soldiers of Marius had been trained to endure the summer sun of Provence, whose fierce heat began to tell upon the less nervous strength of the barbarians. At the critical moment of their exhaustion, they were alarmed by a cry in their rear, where Marius had placed an ambuscade of camp-followers under cover of a wood. A universal panic seized the host: the legionaries were in the midst of their broken column plying their short two-edged swords: most of those who escaped the slaughter put themselves to death; and even the women ensured the fate which they preferred to slavery by a desperate resistance at the waggons. The nation of the Teutones was annihilated, with the exception of a few prisoners, among whom was the king Teutobod. The broken arms were collected into a vast heap for an offering to the gods, and Marius was in the act of setting fire to the pile, when a party of horsemen from Rome rode up to him with the news that he had been elected consul for the fifth time, to lead his victorious army against the Cimbri, who had accomplished their purpose of entering Italy (B.C. 102).

Q. Lutatius Catulus, the colleague of Marius, had been sent to guard the passes of the eastern Alps. Not daring to lead his raw levies into the mountains, where his flank might have been turned, he took post on the left bank of the Adige below Trent, and threw a bridge across the river to secure his retreat. But

* The name *Aquæ*, with its French abbreviation *Aix*, always indicates the warm or mineral springs which the Romans so eagerly turned to account for bathing.

when the multitudes of the Cimbri came pouring down from the Brenner pass, the Romans were seized with a panic, and the consul barely saved his army from being cut off by the breaking of the bridge. Unable to make head against the invaders in the plain, Catulus retired behind the Po, and Cisalpine Gaul was once more overrun by barbarian hosts. As on previous occasions, the Cimbri relaxed their efforts after this great success, and spent the winter in the unwonted enjoyment of the luxuries afforded by the great cities.

Marius, on his return to Rome, refused to accept a triumph while Northern Italy remained in the possession of an invader. With the early spring he joined the proconsul Catulus; and their united forces, numbering 50,000 men, recrossed the Po, up which the Cimbri had meanwhile marched in search of an easy passage. The armies met on the Raudine Plain, which is probably the great plain between Vercelli and Novara, bounded by the river Sesia on the west and the Agogna on the east. It was in the same region that Hannibal gained his first victory on the Ticinus, and that Charles Albert was defeated by Radetzky at the battle of Novara. The vast level was favourable to the strong cavalry of Marius, which came suddenly upon the enemy's horse under cover of the morning mist. The flight of the latter carried confusion among the Cimbric infantry, which was forming for the battle; and a far easier victory than that of Aix was followed by an equally complete annihilation of the barbarians. Once more the women found the death they courted; and the king Boiorix was esteemed more happy than Teutobod in being left upon the battlefield. The Helvetii, who had remained behind to guard the Alpine passes, hastened home. "The human avalanche, which for thirteen years had alarmed the nations from the Danube to the Ebro, from the Seine to the Po, rested beneath the sod, or toiled under the yoke of slavery: the forlorn hope of the German migrations had performed its duty: the homeless people of the Cimbri and their comrades were no more." (Mommsen.) Little did the Romans imagine that the two hosts which they had thus shattered were but the first broken waves of the inundation which was destined five centuries later to overwhelm their empire.

The triumph which Marius had before refused was now celebrated with double splendour for the double victory. More conspicuously even than when he led Jugurtha in chains, that triumph was over the aristocratic government as well as over the enemy; and the spirit of political faction was only embittered, in both

cases, by the share of an aristocrat in the victory. The merit claimed by Catulus in this case, as by Sulla in the former, irritated the one party more than it gratified the other. The proconsul boasted that the centre division, which he commanded, had decided the battle and captured thirty-one standards, while Marius had only taken two; the consul represented the share of Catulus in the triumph as a magnanimous concession of his own; and the people were indignant that another should divide the honours of their favourite. Marius, having in five consulships delivered the state from her foreign foes, was elected to his sixth, that he might perform the promise given from the year of his tribunate,—to succeed and avenge the Gracchi, and to redress the evils in attempting to cure which they had perished. Before showing how his attempt to effect a democratic revolution resulted for the time in civil war and aristocratic despotism, it will be well to glance at the social state of Rome and Italy at the beginning of the first century before Christ.

It was always the policy of the Roman aristocracy to expend a large portion of their wealth in magnificent public works. The frequent fires at Rome furnished opportunities for the restoration of the temples and other edifices. In the year 111 B.C., for example, a large portion of the city was destroyed by a fire, which consumed the temple built on the Palatine to enshrine the rude stone that Attalus I. had sent from Pessinus in Phrygia as the image of the Mother of the gods. The restored temple was again burnt down in A.D. 3, and on both occasions the statue of Claudia, probably one of the first priestesses, escaped injury! The censorship of M. Æmilius Scaurus (B.C. 109) was distinguished by great works of public utility, the building or restoration of the Milvian Bridge (*Ponte Molle*) over the Tiber, the rebuilding of the temples of Fidelity and Prudence, the draining of the marshes of the Po between Placentia and Parma by navigable canals, and the continuation of the coast road from Pisa to Vada Sabbata west of Genoa. The growing luxury and extravagance of private life are attested by the sumptuary legislation, which was the protest of the old Roman spirit against the evils it could not cure. Such laws, usually proceeding from the aristocratic party, may have been partly an attempt to avert political changes by a social reformation. A law of P. Licinius Crassus, surnamed the Rich, probably in B.C. 110, prescribed the amount that might be spent on eatables, both upon festal and common days. "It is not,"—says Mr. Long—"an improbable conjecture that this and other

absurd laws prepared the way for the class of people named *delatores* (informers), who under the empire were the terror of every body." The political conflicts of the last ten years of the century were concerned, as we have seen, rather with foreign administration than constitutional reforms; but we have an example of the latter in the law carried by the tribune Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, that the priests should be elected by the people, instead of by their own colleges (B.C. 104).

Of the relapse of Italy into the social and agrarian evils which the Gracchi had tried in vain to cure, the most striking proof is furnished by the servile insurrections which broke out almost every year. It was a new feature of the social declension when the insurgents in the territory of Thurii found a leader in a Roman knight, Titus Vettius, who, overwhelmed with debt, manumitted his slaves in a body, and declared himself their king, and was only subdued by the urban prætor through treachery (B.C. 104). The sufferings of the provinces are well described in a few words by Dr. Mommsen:—"We shall have an idea of the condition of Sicily and Asia, if we endeavour to realize what would be the aspect of affairs in the East Indies, if the English aristocracy were like the Roman aristocracy of that day. The legislation which entrusted the commercial class with control over the magistrates compelled the latter to make common cause to a certain extent with the former, and to purchase for themselves unlimited liberty to plunder, and protection from impeachment, by unconditional indulgence towards the capitalists in the provinces." Nor could it be expected that a government so disorderly on the land should maintain an efficient control over the great sea of which Rome had now become the mistress, or that the provincial governors should care for the security of their coasts. It was only when piracy grew to such a height as to endanger all maritime commerce, that an effort was made to check it. The sheltered creeks and caves on the rocky southern shore of Asia Minor were a complete nest of corsairs; and in B.C. 102 the prætor M. Antonius was sent to Cilicia with a powerful fleet. It was found necessary to occupy the country itself; and it was probably at this time that Western Cilicia became a Roman province, while the great eastern plain remained a part of the Syrian kingdom.

In the provinces, too, the revolts of the slaves often assumed the dimensions of petty wars; and Sicily, in particular, was the scene of a second servile war scarcely less formidable than the first.*

* See Vol. II. p. 545.

On that occasion we have seen that the wretched state of the lowest class of freemen drove them to make common cause with the insurgents; and, in the reaction that ensued, the landholders and capitalists revenged themselves by claiming many freemen as their slaves. A decree of the Senate was directed against this outrage, and the governor of Sicily, P. Licinius Nerva, established a court of enquiry, which in a short time restored freedom to eight hundred persons, and new claims were pouring in every day (B.C. 104). The alarmed planters intimidated the proprætor into sending the applicants back to their masters. The slaves flew to arms; but the first body of revolters was put down by a strange league between the governor and a captain of banditti, who betrayed them for the price of his own pardon. Another band, however, gained a victory over the garrison of Henna; and being thus provided with weapons, they swelled to an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, under a leader named Salvius. Like Eunoüs in the first insurrection, he was saluted king by his followers, who were for the most part Syrians, and he assumed the name of Tryphon, who had usurped the throne of Syria about forty years before. The slaves became masters of the open country about Henna and Leontini, and had laid siege to Morgantia, when the prætor hastened to its relief, with an army consisting of the island militia, which dispersed during the engagement. The city was saved by the fidelity of the slaves within it on the promise of their freedom, which Nerva immediately declared null and void, as having been made under compulsion.

The insurrection in the west of the island was headed by a far abler leader, Athenion. Like Cleon in the first revolt, he had been a leader of banditti in Cilicia, where he had been captured and sold as a slave into Sicily. Like Eunoüs, he gained ascendancy over the superstitious Greeks and Syrians by prophecies and conjuring tricks. But he was vastly superior to both, as well as to Tryphon, in ability and moderation. Of the numbers who flocked to him, he only armed as many as he could form into a compact force, in which he preserved the strictest discipline. He permitted no excesses against the peaceful inhabitants, and treated his prisoners with kindness. His crowning proof of capacity was given by his cheerful submission to the orders of Tryphon. The whole plain country of the island fell into the power of the insurgents; and its rich produce was cut off from the people of the towns, who had to be fed from Rome. The force at the disposal of the governor barely sufficed to protect these cities, where the in-

habitants were shut up with the domestic slaves whose revolt they daily dreaded; and Messana almost fell into the hands of Athenion.

In the midst of their preparations to meet the Cimbri in Gaul, the Romans sent an army of 14,000 men into Sicily under the prætor L. Lucullus, who gained a complete victory near Sciacca. But, while he neglected to follow up his success, Athenion, who had been left for dead upon the field, rejoined the remains of the army under Tryphon, and animated them to fresh resistance. The fact that such a force could be thus rallied proves the success of his previous discipline. Neither Lucullus, nor his successor C. Servilius (B.C. 102), achieved anything further; and both were prosecuted for wilful negligence. It seemed as if the island, like Hayti in modern times, were about to become an independent state of self-emancipated slaves under Athenion, who succeeded to the royal title on the death of Tryphon (B.C. 102). At length the Romans made efforts commensurate with the danger. Manius Aquillius, who had distinguished himself under Marius in Gaul, was elected as his colleague in the consulship, and appointed to the province of Sicily (B.C. 101). It took him two years of an incessant and exterminating war to subdue the insurrection. Athenion is said to have fallen in battle by the hand of Aquillius. The prisoners were sent to Rome and condemned to fight with wild beasts; but they disappointed the spectators in the Circus by falling upon one another till all were slain. In B.C. 99, after five years of war, the province was restored to tranquillity, and Aquillius returned to Rome laden with the spoils of his extortions.

Such was the state of the Roman republic, when, on the first day of the first century before Christ, Caius Marius entered on his sixth consulship, with the purpose of finally overthrowing the government of the nobles. How he fell from the height on which he now stood, will be related in the next chapter; and this may be closed by referring to the great men whose entrance on the world marks the present epoch. MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO was born on the 3rd of January, B.C. 106; CNEIUS POMPEIUS MAGNUS on the last day of September in the same year;* and the sixth consulship of Marius was the natal year of his illustrious nephew, who was destined to achieve the work in which he failed. CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR was born on the 12th of Quinctilis, the month which was afterwards called in his honour July, B.C. 100.

* When Pompey is said to have been born on the 30th of September, the date is adapted to the reformed calendar which did not yet exist. The 29th was the last day of September. T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, was born in B.C. 109.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FIRST PERIOD OF CIVIL WARS.—MARIUS AND SULLA. B.C. 100 TO B.C. 78.

"The Roman, when his burning heart
Was slaked with blood of Rome,
Threw down the dagger, dared depart
In savage grandeur home.
He dared depart in utter scorn
Of men that such a yoke had borne,
Yet left him such a doom!
His only glory was that hour
Of self-upheld, abandon'd power."—Byron.

MARIUS IS HONOURED AS A SECOND CAMILLUS—HIS DEFECTS—HE CREATES A STANDING ARMY—HIS LEAGUE WITH GLAUCIA AND SATURNINUS—THE APPULEIAN LAWS—BANISHMENT OF METELLUS—SEDITION AND DEATH OF SATURNINUS—TRIUMPH OF THE OPTIMATES—RETIREMENT OF MARIUS—FOREIGN AFFAIRS: SPAIN AND CYRENE—LEX CÆCILIA—JUDICIAL ABUSES BY THE EQUITES—Q. SCÆVOLA IN ASIA—CONDEMNATION OF RUTILIUS RUFUS—PROSECUTION OF SCAURUS—TRIBUNATE OF M. LIVIUS DRUSUS—HIS MEASURES OF REFORM—THEIR PASSAGE AND REPEAL—ASSASSINATION OF DRUSUS—REVOLT OF THE ALLIES—THE SOCIAL OR MARSIC WAR—THE ITALIAN CONFEDERATION, AND ITS NEW CAPITAL—THE STATES FAITHFUL TO ROME—THE TWO SCENES OF THE WAR—SUCCESSES OF THE INSURGENTS IN CAMPANIA—L. JULIUS CÆSAR—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF RUTILIUS LUPUS—SUCCESSES OF MARIUS, SULLA, AND POMPEIUS STRABO—THE ROMANS GRANT THE CITIZENSHIP TO THE ALLIES—THE LEX JULIA AND LEX PLAUTIA PAPIRIA—THE FRANCHISE IN CISALPINE GAUL—SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR—SUCCESSES OF POMPEIUS STRABO AND SULLA—RESISTANCE OF THE SAMNITES—WAR WITH MITHRIDATES—CONSULSHIP OF SULLA—JEALOUSY OF MARIUS—TRIBUNATE AND LAWS OF SULPICIUS RUFUS—MARIUS APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND AGAINST MITHRIDATES—SULLA MARCHES UPON ROME—FLIGHT AND ADVENTURES OF MARIUS—PROCEEDINGS OF SULLA—CINNA ELECTED CONSUL—SULLA DEPARTS FOR ASIA—ATTEMPT AT A COUNTER-REVOLUTION—CINNA DRIVEN OUT OF ROME—HE COLLECTS AN ARMY—RETURN OF MARIUS TO ITALY—SIEGE AND CAPITULATION OF ROME—MASSACRE OF THE OPTIMATES—SEVENTH CONSULSHIP OF MARIUS—THE FIRST MITHRIDATIC WAR—CHARACTER OF MITHRIDATES VI.—AFFAIRS OF CAPPADOCIA AND BITHYNIA—INVASION OF ASIA, AND MASSACRE OF THE ITALIANS—INSURRECTION OF GREECE—SULLA LANDS IN EPIRUS, TAKES ATHENS, AND DEFEATS ARCHELAUS—PEACE WITH MITHRIDATES—THE CIVIL WAR EXTENDS TO ASIA—DEATHS OF FLACCUS AND FIMBRIA—SULLA RETURNS TO ITALY—GOVERNMENT AND DEATH OF CINNA—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—SULLA DEFEATS NORBANUS—IS JOINED BY POMPEY AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE OPTIMATES—MARIUS THE YOUNGER AND PAPIRIUS CARBO—DEFEAT OF MARIUS—MASSACRE AT ROME—SULLA DEFEATS THE SAMNITES BEFORE THE COLLINE GATE—DEATH OF MARIUS—AUTOCRACY OF SULLA—THE FIRST GREAT PROSCRIPTION—TRIUMPH, DICTATORSHIP, AND LEGISLATION OF SULLA—HIS RETIREMENT, DEATH, AND FUNERAL.

Since the day when Camillus, having rescued the city from the Gauls, consecrated the restored harmony between the orders of the state, no Roman had occupied a prouder position than Caius Marius, when he celebrated his double triumph (B.C. 101). Not only had he saved Rome: he was confessed to be the only man who could have saved her. In the libations at banquets his name was coupled with the gods, and men called him the third founder of Rome. While family legends invested Camillus with the glory

of that deliverance, which had in fact been purchased by a heavy ransom, and which secured only the retreat of the invaders, Marius had annihilated one barbarian host on its march to cross the Alps, and a second on the soil of Italy itself. But he was utterly destitute of those qualities which gave the ancient hero the right to set up the altar of Concord, the "*ingenium civile*," which the old Roman aristocracy, with all its faults, so conspicuously possessed. His long military career had made him almost a stranger at Rome, and his blunt nature was uncongenial with the society to the head of which he had now risen. His inability to converse in Greek, and his impatience of Greek plays, his growing addiction to deep drinking and the still more unpardonable fault of keeping a bad cook, and his contempt for official etiquette, exposed him to sarcasms, which were envenomed by his arrogance in prosperity. He was wont to compare his marches from Africa to Gaul, and from Gaul to Italy, to the processions of Bacchus from continent to continent, and he had a cup made after the model of that which the Greek poet calls "the shield of Dionysus." Nor was he endowed with the eloquence which at Rome commanded the respect of all parties; and he seems to have been alike ignorant of legal and political culture. This personal severance from the class among which he remained a stranger, after he had risen to its ranks, confirmed his hostility to their vices of corruption and extravagance, and threw him entirely into the arms of the people, who already idolized him for having humbled the oligarchy in conquering Jugurtha and the barbarians. The peculiar position in which he was thus placed, acting upon a nature undisciplined by polite culture, will go far to account for the horrors which marked the last period of his career. His military work being finished, he was now expected to complete the victory of the people over the Optimates, and he seemed to be furnished with an irresistible force in the new standing army which his changes had created. How little he was likely to be restrained from its use by constitutional scruples he had already shown, when he excused the act of giving the Roman franchise to two Italian cohorts, as the reward of their bravery at the Raudine plain, by declaring that he could not hear the laws amidst the din of arms. "If once, in more important questions, the interest of the army and that of the general should concur to produce unconstitutional demands, who could be security that then other laws would not cease to be heard? They had now the standing army, the soldier-class, the body-guard (or privileged *prætorian cohort*). As in the civil con-

stitution, so also in the military, all the pillars of the future monarchy were already in existence: the monarch alone was wanting. When the twelve eagles circled round the Palatine Hill, they ushered in the kings; the new eagle which Caius Marius bestowed on the legions proclaimed the advent of the Emperors." (Mommsen.)

The time, however, had not yet come; public feeling would not suffer the laws to be silenced by the sword within Rome itself; and perhaps Marius abstained from the attempt through underrating the constitutional power still wielded by the Senate. He disbanded his army, as usual, after his triumph, and threw himself upon the support of the popular party and its leaders. Both had deteriorated since the fall of Caius Gracchus. The patriotic fervour which hailed the Sempronian reforms had degenerated, from causes which our narrative has developed, into hatred and contempt for the nobility. The popular leaders were no longer men who, like the Gracchi, had long pondered over the intolerable evils, which they felt an irresistible call to combat. They were either novices in political life, whose popular zeal soon subsided into a conservative reaction, like the tribune C. Memmius and the orator L. Crassus, both of whom had now gone over to the government; or adventurers who played the game of the demagogue with the rashness of men who had none but the last stake to lose. Such were Caius Servilius Glaucia, a shameless but witty mob orator, whom Cicero calls the Roman Hyperbolus, and the abler and more respectable L. Appuleius Saturninus, the most vehement opponent of the order from whom he had received a gross insult in his quæstorship. As tribune in B.C. 103, Saturninus had carried the bill for prosecuting Cæpio, and had mainly contributed to the re-election of Marius, with whom both he and Glaucia had the fellow-feeling of personal enmity to Metellus Numidicus. In the elections for B.C. 100, the coalition formed in order to secure the consulship for Marius, the prætorship for Glaucia, and a second tribuneship for Saturninus, had been successful, by bribery and open violence,* against the opposition of the Optimates, who put forward Metellus against Marius; and the time had now come both to revenge themselves and satisfy the popular demands. Saturninus proposed an Agrarian Law, to

* Nonius, the candidate of the Senate for the tribunate, was murdered on the eve of the election by a band composed chiefly, it was alleged, of the discharged soldiers of Marius. Some say that he was actually elected, and that Saturninus was chosen to fill the vacancy by a packed meeting called very early on the following morning.

confer on the soldiers of Marius, Italians as well as Romans, the lands of which the Cimbri had obtained possession in Gaul, to devote to it the plundered treasures of the temple at Tolosa, which Cæpio and his associates had been sentenced to refund, and to place the distribution in the hands of Marius, whose continued re-election to the consulship was doubtless contemplated. In order to carry the measure, the people were bribed with a bill for a new distribution of corn at a nominal price which would have caused a national bankruptcy; an extension of judicial power was offered, to prevent the Equites from making common cause with the Senate; and the proposal to overawe the latter by the prospective sentence of expulsion and a heavy fine against any senator who refused to take an oath of obedience within five days, was expressly designed to secure the ruin of Metellus. A contest ensued, such as had never been seen in the Comitium. When the opposing tribunes uttered their veto, Saturninus ordered the voting to go on. When the Senate sent a messenger to say that thunder had been heard—a portent which always dissolved the assembly—they were told to keep quiet, or hail would follow. The command of the prætor Cæpio to the city bands to disperse the meeting was the signal for bringing forward the force which had been provided for such an event in the armed soldiers of Marius, and so the laws were carried. Saturninus now called the Senators to the Rostra to swear obedience to measures carried thus manifestly by means that made them null and void. Even Marius made the reservation, that he would obey the Appuleian laws so far as they were valid, and the rest of the Senate followed his example. Metellus alone refused; and the next day he was dragged from his seat in the Senate by order of the tribune. Not content with this humiliation, Saturninus proposed the exile of Metellus, who retired privately from the city, declining the offers of his friends to protect him by force. Of the tribune's other measures for carrying out the Gracchan scheme of colonization it is needless to speak, since all the Appuleian laws shared the fate of their author. With the political indecision that so often marks the mere soldier, Marius had kept aloof from these scenes of illegal violence, and he soon came to an open rupture with his associates. They found it necessary to pursue their headlong course without him. In spite of his remonstrances, Saturninus again offered himself for the tribuneship, and Glaucia, disregarding the interval of two years which the law demanded after the prætorship, came forward for the consulship. The candidates of the opposite party were

M. Antonius, and Memmius, once the popular tribune. The mob that re-elected Saturninus proved their spurious enthusiasm for the memory of the Gracchi by releasing from prison a runaway slave, who claimed to be the son of Tiberius, and choosing him also for a tribune. The consular elections were still to be decided; and Antonius being safe, Memmius was got rid of, like Nonius the year before, by a murderous assault. The Senate had only waited for a pretext to resort to force; this outrage enabled them to do it with the approval of all who cared for the public safety; and their political victory was already gained when the popular consul himself was required "to see that the Republic sustained no harm."* Marius professed no reluctance for the duty; and, at the head of the Senate and the young men of the civic force, he attacked Saturninus and his followers, who had broken open the prisons and armed their inmates and the slaves. Driven out from the Forum to the Capitol, the insurgents were compelled to capitulate, and the fury of the young nobles took their fate out of the consul's hands. They stripped off the tiles of the Curia Hostilia, where Marius had placed the prisoners, and stoned them to death. Thus perished Saturninus, one of his colleagues, and the quæstor Saufeius, with their chief adherents: while a fourth magistrate, the prætor Glaucia, was dragged from a hiding-place and put to death. The Senate ratified the deed by conferring the citizenship on a slave named Scæva, who was believed to have given Saturninus the mortal blow (B.C. 100). Nearly forty years later, the popular party, which was again struggling for the ascendancy under C. Julius Cæsar, almost succeeded in taking vengeance on an aged Senator, C. Rabirius, for his alleged part in the death of Saturninus. He was tried before Cæsar himself and his relative Lucius, as "Duumviri Perduellionis." Being condemned by them, he appealed to the people, and was defended by Cicero, who was then consul. But his life was only saved by the courage of the prætor, Q. Metellus Celer, who broke up the Comitia by lowering the flag on M. Janiculus—the ancient, though now unmeaning sign of danger, which called the citizens to man the wall against an approaching enemy (B.C. 63).

Meanwhile the events of that one day had restored the complete ascendancy of the Optimates, who exulted in seeing Marius commit political suicide with the sword he was compelled to draw against his own party. He found an excuse for leaving Rome before the recal of his hated rival Metellus, in a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Great Mother in Asia Minor. There is no sufficient

* Concerning this formula, see p. 36.

ground for the charge that he went to plot with Mithridates against his country. That course seems to have been pursued by several of the democratic exiles; but Marius more probably used the occasion to view the fields on which he hoped to recover his true prestige as a soldier. When he returned to Rome, he was left by both parties in a solitude amidst which he nursed the hopes he would not abandon, of revenge and fame. The prediction of the Utican seer had thus far been realized; but the promise that he should be consul seven times still remained to be fulfilled; and its ultimate accomplishment formed one of the strangest examples of the destiny of men. He returned to it from scenes of imminent death and hopeless exile through seas of blood, to die quietly in his bed almost at the moment of its fruition.

The violent course of Saturninus had made a complete breach between the Equites and the popular party; and the alarm of the capitalists was shown in the unsparing judicial condemnation of all who had the remotest connection with the fallen leaders. The reaction extended even to the city mob, which tore in pieces a tribune who opposed the recal of Metellus. The foreign government of the Optimates was redeemed by the victories of the consuls Didius and Crassus over the insurgent Celtiberians and Lusitanians (B.C. 98—97)—a war in which the celebrated Sertorius served as military tribune—and by those energetic measures in the East which will presently claim our notice. On the southern shore of the Mediterranean the beautiful territory of Cyrene was bequeathed to Rome by its last Egyptian viceroy, Apion, and erected, with Crete, into the province of Cyrenaica (B.C. 95). The laws of Saturninus were of course repealed; and the consuls of B.C. 98 imposed a most important check on the legislative power of the tribes, by the *Lex Cæcilia Didia*, which forbad the enactment of any law containing provisions on different subjects, and restored the old rule, that seven days must elapse between the proposing and passing of a bill. It seemed as if the aristocratic government was completely restored at home; but it remained to rescue the provinces from the control which the possession of the judicial power gave to the Equites. In fact the abuses of the capitalists had become so intolerable, that the men distinguished for their weight of character and their legal learning—men who were never wanting in the Roman Senate—resolved to attempt their suppression.

Such was Q. Mucius Scævola, the worthy son and grandson of Q. Scævola the augur and P. Scævola, the Pontifex Maximus—a dignity which he also attained—and a man lauded by Cicero, who

heard him in his youth, as the most eloquent speaker of all the jurists, and the most learned jurist among orators. The moral purity and strict integrity, for which he was no less distinguished, were manifested in his government of Asia as proprætor, in B.C. 98.* That wealthy province was the richest field for the extortions of the tax-gatherers, merchants, and contractors, who had hitherto secured the connivance of the governors by interest or terror. But Scævola was neither to be bribed nor frightened. His tribunal was open to all complaints: nobles and commons, Italians and provincials, met with equal justice: and the most guilty suffered crucifixion. The enraged equestrian order did not dare to attack Scævola, whose conduct was held forth by the Senate as a pattern for all governors; but they found a victim in his legate, the consular P. Rutilius Rufus, a man of kindred spirit, who added to the fame of being the first tactician of his day,† that of a jurist and historian. Apicius, a man of infamous character, accused Rufus himself of extortion in his province (B.C. 92). Condemned by the equestrian judges, and stripped of his moderate property, he retired to Asia, and spent his life in literature amidst the honours conferred by those he was said to have plundered. Prosecutions and judgments fell thick upon Senators, while every guilty capitalist was sure to escape; and when it came to the turn of M. Scaurus, who had now reached the age of seventy, his former corruption by Jugurtha, already overshadowed by time and the splendour of his censorship, was forgotten in the indignation at such an attack on the venerable father of the Senate. He was once more fortunate enough to be acquitted; and in the course of his defence he summoned by name the man who was regarded as the fittest in all the state to wrest the judicial power from the hands of the equestrian order. The call was answered in a manner far beyond his expectation.

MARCUS LIVIUS DRUSUS was still a young man when he came forward as tribune of the plebs to attempt a new revolution (B.C. 91). The son of that Drusus who had been the successful opponent of C. Gracchus, his entire devotion to the aristocratic party was tempered by the strictest purity, integrity, and justice. Anxious to perform the old patrician duties, he opened his door and purse to the people, but his haughty bearing made him less beloved than he was respected. The career of reform, on which his father had entered as a party measure to outbid Caius Gracchus, seems

* Or, as some authorities say, as proconsul in B.C. 95. The province of Asia was at one time prætorian, at another consular.

† See Chap. XXXII. p. 56.

to have been followed by him from an honest conviction of its necessity, a conviction shared by a few moderate men, like Scaurus and Crassus, who unfortunately stood almost alone amidst the interested selfishness of the Senators and Knights; and the very comprehensiveness of the reform made it offensive to all parties. Drusus proposed to restore the judicial functions to the Senators; but, by way of compensation to the Equites, the Senate, which was now reduced below its proper three hundred, was to be filled up with an equal number from the equestrian order; and the punishment of corrupt jurymen was to be entrusted to a special commission. The people were to be conciliated by a fresh distribution of corn; and the ignorance of economical science, so inveterate at Rome, was again shown in the proposal to meet the expense by a new coinage of copper denarii, plated to resemble those of silver, and to circulate (it would seem) at the same value! The whole of the arable public land still undivided—including the rich fields of Campania and the fertile plains of Sicily—was to be devoted to the foundation of new colonies. Lastly, Drusus ventured to revive the final proposal of the Gracchi for the cure of the worst internal evil—the gift of the Roman citizenship to the Italian Allies. The scheme was, in its essential features, the Gracchan reform bill brought in afresh by the aristocracy; and Drusus declared it to be his object "to leave nothing for future demagogues to distribute, but the dirt and the daylight."

Aware of the jealousy which his last proposal would excite among the people, Drusus kept it in the background; and when he found his other measures vehemently opposed by the capitalists, and but feebly supported by the aristocracy, he comprised them all in one enactment, which was carried by the populace and the Italians. This violation of a recent law gave the consul, L. Marcius Philippus, who had been the furious opponent of the Livian Rogations, a constitutional pretext for demanding their repeal; and the discovery of Drusus's intentions on behalf of the Italians united against him all those who dreaded revolution. After a tumultuous agitation, in the course of which Crassus died with a suspicious suddenness, the Senate decreed the abrogation of the laws; and Drusus proudly abstained from using his tribunitian intercession, saying that it was the Senate that riveted the equestrian yoke upon its own neck. But the victory could not be securely enjoyed while he lived,* and he fell on his own threshold, as he was taking

* It appears hardly possible now to determine the truth respecting the secret revolutionary conspiracy which Drusus was accused of having formed with the Italians;

leave of the multitude who had escorted him home, by the hand of an assassin, who made his escape in the twilight. His dying words, "Friends and neighbours, when will the Commonwealth have another citizen like me?"—were more than a personal boast; for he was the last of the reformers, who had offered the blessings of concord to the orders within the state and the Allies as yet without it. When the Optimates and capitalists celebrated their insolent triumph by the law of the tribune, Q. Varius, branding with treason all who proposed the enfranchisement of the Allies, they forgot the warning, which Fregellæ had already given.

By a strange fate, those irreproachable statesmen, who had made the stand against the judicial tyranny of the Equites, and who had supported the reforms of Drusus, had also prepared the last materials for the explosion for which the tribune's murder gave the sign. As consuls in B.C. 95, Quintus Scævola and Lucius Crassus—whose strict but impolitic honesty Mommsen compares to the conduct of George Grenville towards the American colonies—carried a law, the object of which was to put an end to the agitation of the Italians by forbidding any who were not citizens from claiming the franchise, under severe penalties. This Licinio-Mucian law was not permitted to remain a dead letter; and the prosecutions under it had already exasperated the Italians to the last degree, when the murder of Drusus and the law of Varius told them that they had nothing to hope from the ruling powers of Rome.

So, on their part, the Allies decided to keep no further terms with the proud Republic which had resolved to be their mistress and not their head; and a league was formed, no longer to obtain a share in the citizenship of Rome, but to found a new Italian state upon her ruins. In the middle of the seventh century from her foundation, Rome had to renew the struggle of her early years for her very existence. The city itself, long free from enemies near at hand, was in a state so defenceless that a Marsian leader is said to have formed the plan of seizing it by a *coup de main*. Had the Italian states all been united, they must have succeeded at first, whatever fresh difficulties might then have arisen among them; but the states were divided by their interests: an accident, as is usual in such cases, caused the revolt to break out before the preparations were complete: and, when it came to open war, the

nor does it seem fair to imitate the party spirit of his own age, which found the proof of such complicity in his generous warning to his enemy Philippus of the plot against his life at the festival of the Alban Mount.

Romans possessed all the advantage of a compact state over a confederation.

The essential character of the SOCIAL WAR—that is, the war of the *Socii*, or Allies*—is symbolized by a coin of the insurgents, which depicts the Sabellian Ox struggling with the Roman She-Wolf. The conflict first broke out at Asculum† in Picenum, where the prætor Servilius, having ventured to warn the people against the meditated insurrection, was torn to pieces in the theatre, and all the Roman citizens were put to death. The tribes between the central Apennines and the Adriatic, from the Truentus to the Tifernus on the confines of Apulia—the Vestini, Marrucini, Frentani, and Peligni—rose at the signal, headed by the Marsi, who were the first to declare war against Rome, and to provide a leader fit for the occasion in Q. Pompædius Silo. Hence the conflict is often called the MARSIC WAR. The flame soon spread to Samnium, Apulia, and Lucania, involving all the Sabellian states of Central and Southern Italy, which, as they had been the last to submit to Rome, were the first to strike a new blow for liberation. At the centre of the country which had been the focus of the insurrection, in the beautiful upper valley of the Aternus (*Pescara*), the city of Corfinium was marked by the new name of Italica as the new capital of all Italy. The franchise of the united state was conferred on the citizens of the insurgent communities: a Senate of five hundred was appointed; and from them the citizens selected two consuls and twelve prætors; the latter number, so familiar to Italian usages, and double of the six Roman prætors, being doubtless intended to signify a truly united government of the whole peninsula. The two Italian consuls were the Marsian Silo and C. Papius Mutilus, a Samnite. In a word, the constitution, resembling in its main points that of Rome, was modelled upon what was understood to be the ancient form common to the Italian states. We read of no tribunes of the plebs, as no inequality of orders was admitted. The Latin and Samnite languages were equally recognized, though the former was used in official proceedings; and a new coin was issued, resembling that of Rome in all respects, except in the significant substitution of the inscription ITALIA for ROMA. But besides the vain assumption of a union

* Respecting the three classes formed by the Italians, the *Cives Romani*, *Latini*, and *Socii*, see the note on p. 23.

† This town, on the river Truentus (*Tronto*), which forms the northern boundary of the Abruzzi, still bears the name of *Ascoli*. It must not be confounded with Asculum in Apulia, where Pyrrhus defeated the Romans in B.C. 279.

which embraced less than half of the peninsula, the artificial nature of these seemingly complete arrangements was betrayed by a defect ably pointed out by Mommsen:—"This Rome of the insurgents was distinguished—not to its advantage—from the original Rome by the circumstance, that while the latter had at any rate an urban development, and had grown by a natural process from a city to a state, the new Italica was nothing at all but a place of congress for the insurgents, and it was by a pure fiction that the inhabitants of the peninsula were stamped as burgesses of this new capital."

And now the selfish oligarchy of the later Republic were saved from the effects of their own narrow policy by the wisdom of the ancient founders of the state. The admission of so many communities to the full Roman or the less privileged Latin franchise, and the constitution of the free cities and colonies throughout Italy as so many bulwarks of the state, bore its fruit in their fidelity at this crisis. Nor was this all. Among the less favoured states there had always been political divisions, which the government of Rome had turned to its own account. The aristocratic party in the cities of Etruria and Campania and the great landholders of Umbria had generally been able to rely on Rome for support against the people; and they now felt their interests to be identified with Roman supremacy. Even within the insurgent districts, the resistance of some few towns proved that there was still an aristocratic element on the side of Rome, and that the revolters were chiefly of that much-suffering class, the Italian farmers. Upon the whole, the distribution of the two parties in the peninsula closely resembled that which had ensued upon Hannibal's first successes; but with this great difference, that the city was backed by the vast resources of Cisalpine Gaul, now almost completely Romanized, while the provinces furnished troops, such as the Numidian cavalry, the Balearic slingers, the Ligurian and Spanish light infantry. With the energy which she always displayed in a pressing danger, she soon brought an army of 100,000 men into the field, while a fleet was collected by the maritime cities of Greece and Asia Minor. The land force of the insurgents is stated at about the same number. They were divided into two chief armies, the one under Silo in the Marsic territory, the other under Mutilus in Samnium; and throughout the short war these districts formed two distinct battle-fields. They formed the respective scenes of the exploits of Marius, who came forth from his ten years' retirement to serve under P. Rutilius

Lupus, and of Sulla, who was the legate of the other consul, Lucius Julius Cæsar.

While the Roman government were gathering their forces, and meanwhile directing the severest prosecutions against the friends of Drusus and all who were supposed to favour the Italian cause, the first brunt of war fell upon the fortresses and faithful cities in the revolted territory. The Romans met with their accustomed bad luck at the opening of the war. In Campania, Lucius Cæsar reinforced Capua and other chief cities, but his further efforts against the insurgents were unsuccessful: his legate Crassus was cut off in Venafrum; Æsernia, Nola, Venusia, and other cities were lost; the Greek towns on the bays of Naples and Pæstum generally declared for the insurgents; and they were masters of all Apulia and nearly all Campania. When Oxyntas, the son of Jugurtha, whom they had taken prisoner at Venusia, appeared in their ranks in regal purple, the Numidians deserted so rapidly, that Cæsar was obliged to send the whole contingent home. Mutilus now ventured to attack the Roman camp; but he was repulsed with the loss of 6000 men, and in the joy of this first success, the soldiers saluted Cæsar as *Imperator* on the field of battle. The victory was soon tarnished by a severe defeat; but the consul was able to keep the field till winter, without suffering any overwhelming disaster.

His colleague was less fortunate in the Marsian territory. Rejecting the advice of Marius to train his troops by skirmishing, Lupus first suffered the defeat of a division of 10,000 under C. Perperna, and was himself cut off and slain, with 8000 men, by an ambuscade planned by Publius Scato. Then Q. Cæpio, whom the Senate associated with Marius in the command, incurred the like disaster at the hands of Silo. But these heavy losses left Marius in sole command; and, pressing on with his usual caution, he gained two successive victories over the enemy. Once more, however, it was his fate to see his laurels reaped by Sulla, who, co-operating in the second battle with a contingent from the southern army, gained the chief share of honour by cutting off the enemy's retreat. In Picenum, Cneius Pompeius Strabo, the father of the celebrated Pompey, had been defeated and shut up in Firmum; but the advance of Servius Sulpicius, who had gained a victory over the Pelignians, enabled him to defeat the hostile general, and to shut up his broken army in Asculum.

The general result of the campaign had been so discouraging, that the Romans felt the necessity of concession, to secure the

well-affected and, if possible, reclaim the revolted. A decisive proof of reaction was given, when one of the new tribunes, M. Plautius Silvanus, carried a law for depriving the Equites of their judicial power in the trials for treason under the commission of Varius, and entrusting it to Judices chosen by the tribes; a change, of which the result was seen in the condemnation of Varius himself. The consul L. Julius Cæsar had already carried a law for conferring the Roman franchise on the citizens of all Italian states which had not openly revolted; and now the tribune Silvanus, with his colleague C. Papirius Carbo, passed a measure allowing every domiciled citizen of an Italian state to become a citizen of Rome, by presenting himself before the prætor within sixty days —that is, before the opening of the next campaign.* By the Lex Julia and the *Lex Plautia Papiria* the states of Italy Proper won their equal union with Rome, after a struggle of three centuries. The case of Cisalpine Gaul was provided for by a separate enactment, carried by the new consul Pompeius Strabo. A distinction was made between the states on the two sides of the Po, tantamount to fixing the northern boundary of Italy, in its new political unity, at that river. All the cities within that limit, whether Latin or Celtic, received the Roman franchise, which was also bestowed on the Latin colonies of the Transpadane region. But, perhaps from a reluctance to introduce so large a foreign element to a share in the government, the great and numerous Celtic communities between the Po and the Alps were admitted only to that modified citizenship called the "Jus Latii."

These concessions had the immediate effect of stopping the spread of the insurrection which had already broken out in Umbria and Etruria, and giving new life to the aid rendered by the Gauls, while they raised misgivings and divisions among the insurgents. The Romans put forth new efforts to finish the war under the new consuls. Cn. Pompeius Strabo remained in Picenum. L. Porcius Cato succeeded Marius, who was thought to have become sluggish with age; while Sulla, with the rank of proprætor, took the place of Cæsar, who was recalled to fill the censorship. Among the youths who, in their first campaign, enjoyed the favour of living in the tent of the consul Pompeius, was M. Tullius Cicero. Before the winter ended, Strabo won the first honours of the war by the total defeat of 15,000 Marsians who were on their way to aid the insurrection in Etruria. After the death of Cato, in a battle near the Fucine lake, Strabo pressed

* This plebiscitum seems to have been passed about January, B.C. 89.

the siege of Asculum, and defeated an army which marched to its relief under Judacilius. On that day 75,000 Romans are said to have fought with 60,000 Italians. The place, where the outrage that began the war had been committed, resisted with the energy of despair for several months. When surrender became inevitable, Judacilius tortured to death the chiefs of the Roman party—for there was one even in Asculum—and then put an end to his own life. The victorious Romans retaliated upon the citizens; and all who escaped the executioner were driven forth as destitute wanderers. In this and the following campaign, moveable columns reduced the Sabellians in succession: a Samnite army which came to their help under Marius Egnatius was defeated by Strabo at the passage of the Aufidus: Corfinium surrendered; and the remnant of the Italian Senate fled to the Samnites, who now alone prolonged the war. Meanwhile, Sulla drove out the enemy from southern Campania, and won by his defeat of the Samnite general Cluentius the gift of the "corona obsidionalis" by the acclamations of his army. Then, pressing forward into Samnium, and making a fearful example of the town of Æclanum, he turned the position of the Italian consul Mutilus, and followed up the total defeat of his army by the capture of Bovianum, the Samnite capital. At the beginning of the third campaign, the insurrection was everywhere suppressed, except in Samnium and the south of Lucania, and these districts were severed by the Roman occupation of Apulia. But, with a spirit worthy of the times of their dictator Caius Pontius, the Samnites gathered at the fortress of Æsernia for a desperate resistance. Their army of 300,000 foot and 1000 horse, besides 20,000 manumitted slaves, was commanded by the Marsian Quintus Silo, with Mutilus and three other generals. But the success of Silo in retaking Bovianum was soon eclipsed by his fall in a battle won by the Roman general Mamercus Æmilius. Venusia had already yielded to Q. Metellus Pius, the son of Metellus Numidicus; Sulla, who was now consul, had captured nearly all the lesser Campanian towns and had invested Nola; and he seemed within reach of that end of the war, for which he only waited in order to lead his victorious army against Mithridates, when the extraordinary events occurring in the capital itself caused him to march at the head of that army against Rome, and to commence the Civil War, of which the conflicts attending the deaths of the Gracchi and Saturninus had been the prelude.

Not to interrupt the narrative of these strange events, we postpone for awhile to trace the career of that wonderful man who

revived the question that seemed to have been settled by the fall of Antiochus the Great,—whether the empire of the world should be the prize of an Asiatic monarch or of a European republic. For many years the conflict had been threatening; and it is one more instance of Rome's strange exemption from overwhelming combinations of her enemies, that neither the solicitations of refugees nor the direct appeals of the Italians had induced Mithridates to take a decisive part till the crisis of the Social War was past. Like Antiochus in the Hannibalic War, he was just too late to throw a fatal make-weight into the trembling balance of Rome's existence. Meanwhile both Marius and Sulla had kept their eyes upon the future theatre of the war. We have had occasion to notice the suspicious journey of Marius to the East in B.C. 99, seven years after which, Sulla, as proprætor in Cilicia, had come into successful conflict with Gordius, the general of Mithridates (B.C. 92). This success designated him in the eyes of his party for the command in the East; and he gained his new distinctions in the Social War at the very time when the contest with Mithridates became inevitable, and when the recent services of Marius had only brought him into disrepute (B.C. 89). The old man had retired to his splendid villa at Misenum, to brood with redoubled bitterness over the revenge which he still trusted to accomplish in his seventh consulate, when he was roused to action by the election of Sulla to the consulship and to the command in the Mithridatic War. Hastening to Rome, he began to show that age had not impaired his bodily powers, by repairing daily to the Campus Martius and sharing the exercises of the young recruits. His designs were favoured by a new political convulsion. The laws which granted the citizenship to the Italians had branded these new citizens with certain marks of inferiority. Instead of being distributed among all the thirty-five tribes, they were confined to twelve, and thus assimilated with the freedmen, who were enrolled only in the four city tribes. These and other grievances, together with new difficulties between the capitalists and their debtors, excited the reforming zeal of P. Sulpicius Rufus, an adherent of the aristocratic party, who had renounced his nobility in order to qualify for the tribunate. Entering upon that office in the spirit of Drusus, who had been his most intimate friend, Sulpicius proposed to distribute the new citizens among all the tribes, and to extend the same privilege to the freedmen. The latter proposal gained him the favour of the city mob, and he went about, like former agitators, with an escort of 3000 men, besides 600 young

nobles and knights who shared his opinions, and were derisively called his Senate. Sulla, who had come to Rome to assume the consulship, with his colleague Q. Pompeius Rufus, tried to check the progress of the Sulpician Rogations by ordering special religious solemnities, during which all public business was suspended. A fearful tumult ensued, costing the life of young Q. Pompeius, son of the consul Rufus and son-in-law of Sulla, who is said himself to have escaped only by taking refuge in the house of Marius. The laws were now passed, and Sulla, having countermanded the religious fêtes, returned to his army in Campania. His departure was followed by a decree of the people, passed on the motion of Sulpicius, transferring the command of that army and of the Mithridatic war to Marius, with the title of proconsul, and two tribunes proceeded to the camp before Nola, to require the consul to hand over his army.

This step, which Sulpicius seems to have taken through fear that Sulla might throw his army into the scale of parties at Rome, ensured the very evil that he dreaded. Calling together his six legions, amounting to 35,000 men, Sulla told them of the order he had received, and warned them that Marius would lead not them, but a new army, to reap the spoil of Asia. This appeal to the cupidity of the common soldiers was irresistible; but of the superior officers only one quæstor adhered to Sulla. The two tribunes were torn to pieces: the legions marched on Rome: the feeble resistance of Marius and Sulpicius, with the civic force and armed slaves, was overpowered in a combat on the Esquiline; and for the first time in the annals of Rome, a Roman army lighted its watch-fires in the Forum of the captured city. The victory was used with moderation; only Sulpicius and Marius, with twelve of their principal adherents, being doomed to death as public enemies. Sulpicius was overtaken at Laurentum; and his head, brought to Sulla, was exposed on the Rostra, where he had been often applauded as the greatest orator of the age. Marius fled, with his son, hotly pursued by the assassins, and succeeded in embarking at Ostia on a ship bound for Africa. But the wind was adverse, and want of provisions compelled him, with his few attendants, to disembark at the Circeian promontory. The hungry party had wandered on foot through the woods to the mouth of the Liris, when the pursuing Roman cavalry were seen in the distance, and they barely escaped by swimming off to two coasting vessels. The horsemen galloped down to the shore, and demanded with loud threats that Marius should be surrendered or thrown overboard.

At first, the mariners were moved by his prayers and tears; but fear for themselves soon prevailed, and, having persuaded him to disembark and rest while they waited for a favourable wind, they set sail, carrying away his few friends, and leaving Marius all alone in the marshes at the mouth of the Liris. He made his way with difficulty to the hut of a poor man, who hid him in a hole, and covered him with rushes; but, on a new alarm, Marius fled into the marsh, and was found plunged up to the middle in mud. The aged saviour of Rome was dragged forth with a rope round his neck and delivered to the magistrates of the neighbouring town of Minturnæ, who sent their executioner the same night to despatch him in the prison. The man—one of the host of Cimbric slaves whom Marius had sent home to Italy—no sooner found himself alone with the conqueror of his nation, than he was seized with superstitious dread. The eyes of Marius seemed to flash fire in the darkness, and the terrible voice, which this very slave had perhaps heard over the battle din, exclaimed—"Man! durst thou slay Caius Marius?" The executioner rushed forth with the cry, "I cannot kill Caius Marius." His example put to shame the councillors of Minturnæ, who had not resolved on the act without much hesitation, and they sent Marius in safety to the island of Ænaria (*Ischia*). Rejoined here by the companions of his flight, he landed first at Eryx, whence the magistrates ordered him away, and afterwards in the bay of Tunis. He had counted on a secure refuge in the province which had been the scene of his first exploits, but he was met by a warning from the prætor Sextilius to depart if he would save his life. No proverb is more famous than that reply in which the prediction wrung from the mouth of Scipio * was pointed anew by the example of the conqueror of Jugurtha:—"Tell the prætor that you have seen Caius Marius a fugitive, sitting amidst the ruins of Carthage!" Setting sail once more, he at length found, with his son and friends, a retreat in the island of Cercinitis, where he had not long to wait for the fulfilment of his destiny.

While the sufferings of Asia Minor, which was now overrun by Mithridates, combined with the impatience of the army to require Sulla's departure, Rome was not in a state for him to leave without much misgiving. Though he had acted the part of an autocrat in proscribing Marius and his friends, in repealing the Sulpician laws, and in making new enactments for the security of the oligarchy, the popular feeling proved its vitality in the

* See Vol. II. p. 532.

Comitia by the election of L. Cornelius Cinna to the consulship, in conjunction with the Optimate Cneius Octavius. Sulla affected to rejoice in this proof that the freedom of election was still exercised, and contented himself with the oath of both the consuls, to observe the existing order of things. His real dependence was doubtless on the armies which were still in the field against the Italians; and he obtained a vote, transferring the command in Central Italy from Pompeius Strabo to his own colleague and devoted adherent, Pompeius Rufus. But when the soldiers murdered Rufus and recalled Strabo, Sulla did not venture to interfere. He was now at the end of his year of office, and Cinna pressed his departure. A second armed intervention, against instead of by the consul, would have made him manifestly a public enemy; and meanwhile, in place of the gain of spoil and glory, not Asia only but Greece might have been lost. So, leaving a portion of his army in Samnium, under Quintus Metellus Pius as proconsul, he embarked with his legions for Asia (Jan. B.C. 87).

His departure was the signal for the counter-revolution already prepared by the Marian party, whose object now was purely personal—the recal of the exiles and vengeance on their enemies. They found a fit tool in the consul Cinna, who was distinguished only for his unscrupulous violence. The ablest and most respectable of the party was the tribune Quintus Sertorius, who was drawn on by personal hostility to Sulla. Cinna moved the re-enactment of the Sulpician law for enrolling the citizens in all the thirty-five tribes; and the Senate, headed by Octavius, gave the bill their most vehement opposition. Both parties came to the meeting fully armed, and on the signal of the veto by the aristocratic tribunes, a combat ensued, bloodier than the Forum ever witnessed in all the civil wars. The party of Octavius gained the victory, and converted it into a massacre. The number of the slain is said to have been ten thousand. Cinna and the six tribunes of his party were driven out of the city, followed by a sentence of outlawry, and L. Cornelius Merula was made consul in Cinna's place.

The fugitives betook themselves to the newly enfranchised cities of Latium and Campania; and, furnished by them with men and money, they appeared in the camp before Nola. The soldiers, no longer subject to the personal influence of Sulla, and always inclined to the popular side, answered the appeal of men who—like Cinna and Sertorius—had commanded them in the Social War. The army of Campania took the oath to Cinna as consul, and followed

him towards Rome. Marius now landed on the coast of Etruria, and his little band of 500 exiles and mercenary Numidian cavalry soon swelled to a force of 6000 men. Forty vessels which he seized blockaded the mouth of the Tiber and cut off the ships that supplied Rome with corn, while he reduced the places on the coast, and finally took Ostia, which he gave up to massacre and pillage. In spite of the reluctance of Sertorius and others to identify their cause with the personal revenge of Marius, Cinna invested him, as proconsul, with the supreme command on the coast. Both armies were soon encamped on the right bank of the Tiber, over against the Janiculan Mount, while Pompeius Strabo took post opposite to them on the left bank. His attitude was ambiguous, though he had a smart skirmish with Sertorius and repulsed an attack of Marius on the Janiculum; and it was a relief to the Senate when his sudden death, either by pestilence or a stroke of lightning, enabled them to incorporate his army with the force collected under Octavius for the defence of the city. The recal of the army under Metellus enabled the Samnites to resume the offensive and to send troops to the aid of the insurgents, whose capture of Ariminum also cut off the supplies and reinforcements expected from Cisalpine Gaul. Famine and desertion soon made the city indefensible, and Rome capitulated to a besieging army of her own citizens. When the envoys of the Senate appeared before Cinna, he granted their sole condition, that he would abstain from bloodshed, but the stern silence of Marius, who stood by his chair, showed the meaning of the consul's refusal to confirm his promise with an oath. How resolved the real victor was to have his full revenge was seen in his insisting on the reversal of his outlawry by an assembly convened for that purpose before he would enter the city. The gates were then closed, and the soldiers were let loose for a massacre which lasted five days and nights. Octavius, arrayed in his consular robes, came forward to Janiculum to await the assassin's stroke; and those who sought the flight which he refused were hunted down for months all over Italy. Among the most memorable deaths were those of the late consul L. Julius Cæsar and his brother Caius (surnamed Strabo Vopiscus), one of the chief orators and poets of the age;—of the great forensic speakers M. Antonius and Publius Crassus;—of L. Merula, who was impeached before the people for the sole crime of having been elected against his will to the consulship in the place of Cinna, and who opened his own veins in the temple of Jupiter, and died there after reverently laying aside the sacred fillet which was the badge of his priest-

hood;—of Q. Catulus, who at last atoned for the distinction of sharing in the triumph of Marius over the Cimbri by obeying the stern command to die. Nor was the death of the noblest Romans enough to slake the thirst of Marius for revenge. They might have said with the victims of Domitian, "præcipua miseriarum pars erat, videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur." Many who came to salute him, doubtful of their reception, read their sentence in his silence or his averted look. The bodies of the murdered were denied burial, and in some cases dragged with insult through the streets. Sulla had set the example of affixing the heads of his victims to the Rostra; but we do not read of his rising from table to salute the assassins who brought the ghastly offerings.* In short, Marius was possessed with a frenzy of destruction, to which there is scarcely a parallel in history except Marat, and which Sertorius and the few moderate men of the party in vain entreated Cinna to check.

On these waves of blood Marius was at length borne forward to the seventh consulship he had so long expected; but still it needed a contempt for all constitutional forms to fulfil the prophecy. Without even the show of an election, Cinna reappointed himself as consul for the ensuing year, and named Marius as his colleague. But when, after those long years of waiting which had hardened his heart and envenomed his revenge, he attained the summit of his wishes, not as the chosen head of a free state but as the usurping chief of a band of assassins, his hope seemed to have been granted but in mockery. After twelve days spent in a delirium alternately of fever and drunkenness, he expired on the 13th of January, B.C. 86. "He died, more than seventy years old, in the full possession of what he called power and honour, and in his bed; but Nemesis assumes various shapes, and does not always expiate blood with blood. Was there no sort of retaliation in the fact, that Rome and Italy now breathed more freely on the news of the death of the famous deliverer of the people, than at the tidings of the battle on the Raudine plain?" (Mommsen). The organized system of murder was at once put down by the energy of Sertorius, who found a pretext for calling 4000 of the bandits together, and then cut them down with the swords of his trusty Celts. But the government, or rather tyranny, remained in the hands of Cinna, till he was overthrown in his fourth consulship (B.C. 84) by the return of Sulla. Meanwhile, L. Valerius Flaccus was ap-

* It is recorded that Marius thus showed his delight at receiving the head of the orator Antonius.

pointed consul in the place of Marius, and was sent out to supersede Sulla, if he could, in the command of the Mithridatic War. It is time now to trace the course of that renewed contest for the dominion of the East.

We have already seen that when the western part of Asia Minor fell under the power of the Romans, the northern and eastern provinces of Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, remained under the rule of the princes, who, having originally governed them as satraps of Persia, had gradually acquired the power and style of independent kings. In the contest with Antiochus, these princes had naturally inclined to the side of Rome, and in those with the Galatians and the usurper Aristonicus, they had taken the same side in the common interest of civilization and self-defence. The latter war, especially, had brought these lands into close connection with the Romans,* who treated them very much as dependent states. The extortions of the Roman tax-gatherers, the chicanery of mercantile adventurers, and the oppression of speculators in slaves, were already felt in these countries as well as in the Province. The most remote of these kingdoms, in the north-east of the peninsula,—extending along the Euxine Sea, (from which it obtained its Greek name of PONTUS, the Sea-province), from the Halys to the mountainous shore of Colchis, and divided on the east and south from the table-land of Armenia and Cappadocia by the chain of Anti-Taurus,—possessed some of the first requisites for an independent kingdom. The fertile western plains, watered by the Iris and Thermodon and the eastern tributaries of the Halys, produced abundant crops of corn and wine and oil, besides being rich in fruits, some of which were first brought into Europe from this region.† The barren highlands in the east, where the mountains approach the sea, are rich in mineral wealth; and here especially Greek tradition placed the earliest known iron works, where the inhospitable Chalybes, the most laborious of men, neglected the ploughing of oxen and the planting of sweet fruit, to dig into the hard iron-bearing earth and busy themselves about works of iron, enduring grievous labour with the black smut and smoke.‡ Known to the Greeks by the earliest maritime intercourse, this region was the scene of some of their choicest heroic fables. It was the abode of the Amazons, and was visited by the

* See Vol. II. p. 552.

† The *cherry* derives its name from the Pontic city of Cerasus, whence it is commonly said to have been brought by Lucullus; but there is no doubt that it was known in Europe earlier.

‡ See Æschylus, Prometh. 714; and Apollon. Rhod. *Argonaut.* Lib. ii., v. 1000.

Argonauts; and Xenophon, who passed along its coast on his celebrated retreat, was the first to compare these legends with the actual state of things. He found the country peopled, like the adjoining table-land, by the Cappadocians or "White Syrians"—so called to distinguish them from the swarthy inhabitants of Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia—who, the extreme outpost of the Semitic race towards the west, were among the most hardy of the whole family.* The land, thus rich in its own resources, was placed between the more fertile and civilized regions in the west of the peninsula, whose boundless wealth invited the enterprise of the conqueror, and the mountains of Armenia and the coasts of the eastern Euxine, which offered temptations to hardy adventure and refuge in case of adversity. About the very time when Xenophon visited the country—the beginning of the fourth century B.C.—its independence was won by the satrap Ariobarzanes, a lineal descendant of Darius Hystaspis, and the kingdom is considered to have been founded by his son Mithridates I.,† from whom the sceptre descended through eight generations to MITHRIDATES VI., surnamed EUPATOR and the GREAT. The family, which was thus of the purest Persian blood, formed marriage alliances with the Greek kings of Syria, and adopted much of the mixed Hellenic civilization which prevailed in Western Asia.

Mithridates was a boy in his twelfth year, when his father, Mithridates V. Euergetes, who has been mentioned as an ally of Rome, was cut off by the dagger of an assassin; but his natural powers and his early training had already prepared him to cope with the dangers that at once beset him. "His guardian, and even as it would seem his own mother, called to take a part in the government by his father's will, conspired against the boy-king's life. It is said that, in order to escape from the daggers of his legal protectors, he became of his own accord a wanderer; and, a fugitive in his own kingdom during seven years, changing his resting-place night after night, he led the life of a homeless hunter. Thus the boy grew into a mighty man. Although our accounts regarding him are in substance traceable to written records of contemporaries, yet the legendary tradition which is generated with the rapidity of lightning in the East early adorned the mighty king with many of the traits of a Samson and a Rustem. These traits,

* Some ethnographers contend for a mixture of Aryan blood in the peoples of the north and east of Asia Minor.

† This name, more correctly spelt Mithradates, is a sacred appellation belonging to the royal family of Persia, and signifying "given by the Sun" (from *Mithra*, the *Sun*, and the root *da*, *give*).

however, belong to his character just as the crown of clouds belongs to the character of the highest mountain-peaks; the outline of the figure appears in both cases only more coloured or fantastic, not disturbed or essentially altered. The armour which fitted the gigantic frame of King Mithridates excited the wonder of the Asiatics, and still more that of the Italians. As a runner, he overtook the swiftest deer; as a rider, he broke in the wild steed, and was able by changing horses to accomplish 120 miles in a day; as a charioteer, he drove sixteen in hand, and gained in competition many a prize—it was dangerous, no doubt, in such sport to carry off victory from the king. In hunting on horseback, he hit the game at full gallop, and never missed his aim. He challenged competition at table also—he arranged banquetting matches, and carried off in person the prizes proposed for the most substantial eater and the hardest drinker. His intellectual wants he satisfied by the wildest superstition—the interpretation of dreams and the Greek mysteries occupied not a few of the king's hours—and by a rude adoption of Hellenic civilization. He was fond of Greek art and music; that is to say, he collected precious articles, rich furniture, old Persian and Greek objects of luxury—his cabinet of rings was famous; he had constantly Greek historians, philosophers, and poets in his train, and proposed prizes at his court-festivals, not only for the greatest eaters and drinkers, but also for the merriest jester and the best singer. * * * He prosecuted the experimental study of poisons and antidotes as an important branch of the business of government, and tried to inure his body to particular poisons. * * * What really distinguishes Mithridates amidst the multitude of similar sultans is his boundless activity. He disappeared one morning from his palace and remained unheard of for months, so that he was given over as lost. When he returned, he had wandered incognito through all Asia Minor, and reconnoitred everywhere the country and the people. He was not only generally fluent in speech, but he administered justice to each of the twenty-two nations over which he ruled, in its own language, without needing an interpreter. * * * Of higher elements—desire to advance civilization, earnest leadership of the national opposition, special gifts of genius—there are found, in our traditional accounts at least, no distinct traces in Mithridates, and we have no reason to place him on a level even with the great rulers of the Osmans, such as Mahomet II. and Suleiman. Notwithstanding his Hellenic culture, which sat on him not much better than the Roman armour on his Cappadocians, he

was throughout an Oriental of the ordinary stamp, coarse, full of the most sensual appetites, superstitious, cruel, perfidious, and unscrupulous; but so vigorous in organization, so powerful in physical endowments, that his defiant laying about him and his unshaken courage in resistance frequently looked like genius. * * He was the only enemy, before the Parthian wars, who gave serious trouble to the Romans in the East. * * The Mithridatic wars formed at once the last movement of the political opposition offered by Hellas to Rome, and the beginning of a revolt against the Roman supremacy resting on very different and far deeper grounds of antagonism—the national reaction of the Asiatics against the Occidentals." * The peninsula of Asia Minor, peopled by the two great races, the Semitic and Indo-European, in a mixture which has not yet been satisfactorily analyzed, and overlaid with a network of Greek cities which groaned under the oppression of the Roman proconsuls and publicans, offered a fit theatre for the enterprize which Mithridates spent the first years of his reign in strengthening himself to undertake.

From his very accession, he had a special ground of quarrel with the Romans, who had resumed during his minority the gift of Lesser Phrygia, with which his father's alliance had been rewarded. But, instead of making any premature attack, he sought first those accessions of empire to the East and North, which he steadily pursued during the greater part of his reign. Gradually extending his power over Colchis and the Caucasian region on the eastern and northern shore of the Euxine, he came into contact with the kingdom of BOSPORUS, which had risen out of the old Greek settlements in the neighbourhood of the Cimmerian Bosporus, with a capital at Panticapæum (*Kertch*) in the Tauric Chersonese (*Crimea*). This kingdom was founded as early as the time of the battle of Salamis (B.C. 480) by the Archæanactidæ, who were succeeded, about B.C. 438, by the line of Spartacus. These reigned down to Parisades, who was glad to purchase protection from the Sarmatians, Roxolani, and other barbarous tribes of the steppes about the sea of Azov, by becoming the tributary of the king of Pontus. After his death Mithridates incorporated the kingdom in his dominions; he made its capital a favourite residence, and found a refuge in the Crimea when he was driven by the Romans out of Asia.† On the East of Pontus, Mithridates subdued the

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Vol. III. pp. 275—8.

† The beautiful Greek temple at Kertch, ascribed to Mithridates, with its fine museum of local antiquities, was wantonly destroyed during the Crimean War.

mountain tribes on the borders of Armenia, added Lesser Armenia to his kingdom, and cemented by the hand of his daughter an alliance with Tigranes, king of Great Armenia. These conquests provided an unlimited supply of hardy soldiers, and gave him the maritime command of the Euxine.

Mithridates now felt himself strong enough to attempt schemes of aggrandizement in Asia Minor. Claiming the principality of Paphlagonia under the will of the last of those native rulers, who boasted their descent from that Pylæmenes who had led the Paphlagonians to the aid of Troy, Mithridates formed an alliance with Nicomedes II., King of Bithynia, for the partition of the country. It was the greater object of his ambition to bring again beneath his rule the large region of Cappadocia, to which Pontus itself had originally belonged, and whose satraps had achieved their independence in the wars that followed the death of Alexander. About B.C. 96, the reigning king, Ariarathes VI., was killed by an assassin named Gordius, who was no doubt instigated by Mithridates, the king's own brother-in-law. A contest ensued between rival claimants set up by Mithridates and Nicomedes and the sons of the late king, one of whom was killed and another expelled by Mithridates. The Romans now thought it time to interpose, and Sulla, who was proprætor in Cilicia, received orders to march into Cappadocia. Mithridates was still so cautious of a direct collision with Rome, that he left the defence of the province to Gordius and an Armenian contingent sent by Tigranes, whom Sulla with his small force drove out of the country. It was in following up this success that the Roman eagles first appeared on the Euphrates, which was destined soon to be once more "the bordering flood," dividing the Eastern Empire of the Parthians from the Western Empire of the Romans. As yet, however, neither was content to own such a divided dominion. Sulla doubtless looked across the stream to the lands overrun by Alexander, in the assurance that their reconquest would be a matter of course when the time should come, while the Parthians anticipated their victories over Crassus and Julian. So, when the Parthian king Arsaces IX., surnamed Mithridates II., who was then at variance with Tigranes, sent an embassy to meet the Roman general on the Euphrates, there was a contest for the precedence due to the master of the world. Sulla was more exalted in the eyes of his countrymen by his persistence in assuming the place of honour between the king of Cappadocia and the Parthian envoy than by the check he had given to Mithridates, and the Parthian was put to death by his offended

master. Meanwhile, Mithridates had yielded to the demands of Sulla, and the people of Cappadocia had been permitted to choose their own king, Ariobarzanes I., surnamed Philoromæus, who was, however, destined to be more than once expelled. Paphlagonia was also evacuated (B.C. 92).

On the death of Nicomedes II. in the following year, Mithridates again interfered in Bithynia, to support Socrates, the late king's younger son, against his elder brother Nicomedes III. Philopator, who was recognized by the Romans, while Tigranes again invaded Cappadocia, and drove out Ariobarzanes. Both kings went in person to Rome, and the consular Manius Aquillius, sent as a special envoy to Asia, with only the support of the small force in the province under Lucius Cassius, restored them to their precarious thrones. Mithridates not only offered no open resistance, but even put Socrates to death. His excessive caution at this juncture betrays the want of real genius; for Rome was just involved in the crisis of the Social War, and the Italians were eagerly soliciting his aid. Probably, from the known character of the Roman government of the day, he judged that their vacillating policy and their reluctance to appeal to arms gave him a fair chance of accomplishing his designs in Asia without the risk of an open conflict (B.C. 90). But he was not permitted thus to take his own course. At the instigation of Aquillius, Nicomedes declared war against Mithridates, closed the Bosporus to his vessels, and laid waste the fertile plains of western Pontus. Still Mithridates refrained from retaliation till he had applied to the Roman legate either to restrain the aggressor or to permit him to defend himself. Aquillius, who had resolved on war for his own profit and glory, intimated that resistance to Bithynia would be deemed hostility to Rome. With the courage of despair, the king exclaimed,—"Does not even he who must succumb at last defend himself against the robber?" The advance of his son into Cappadocia was followed by a declaration of war from the Roman envoy (B.C. 89).

The insurrection of the Italian allies, broken but still unsubdued, and the growing civil discords of Rome, gave Mithridates a breathing-space, which he used for immense preparations. His alliance with Tigranes was drawn into a league for the conquest of Asia Minor, of which Mithridates was to have the dominion and the Armenian the spoil. To the Greek cities Mithridates gave himself out as a liberator from the Roman yoke, nor did his envoys restrict their efforts to Asia. The Cretan league, the last remnant of free Hellas, furnished him with numerous recruits; and attempts

were made to rouse Macedonia and Thrace. The kingdoms of Syria, Egypt, and Numidia, were tempted with the opportunity of shaking off their vassalage to Rome; and the neutrality of Parthia was secured by the offence which had been given by Sulla. Mithridates took the field with an army of 250,000 infantry and 40,000 horse, which bore all the characters of an Asiatic host in the variety and splendour of its equipments and the want of unity in its organization. It was, however, commanded by experienced Greek generals, the chief of whom were the brothers Neoptolemus and Archelaus; and the Italian refugees formed the nucleus of a foreign legion, armed after the Roman fashion. A fleet of 300 decked and 100 open vessels rode upon the Euxine, whence innumerable corsairs issued forth to prey upon the commerce of the Mediterranean. To oppose these forces the Romans had only the small provincial army and the untrustworthy militia of the Greek cities, stationed on the frontiers of Bithynia, Galatia, and Cappadocia, under L. Cassius, M' Aquillius, and Q. Oppius; while the army of Nicomedes held an advanced position in Paphlagonia, and his fleet, in conjunction with a Roman squadron, blockaded the Bosporus.

At the very time when Rome was torn by the intestine conflict, to decide whether Sulla or Marius should have the command against Mithridates—in the spring of B.C. 88—the storm burst upon the undefended province. A brilliant victory over Nicomedes in Paphlagonia was followed by the successive defeats of the Roman generals, who shut themselves up in fortresses, while the conqueror overran the province of Asia. His policy in dismissing his Greek prisoners, and the news of the civil war at Rome, decided the subjects, both Hellenic and Asiatic, to welcome Mithridates as a deliverer. Even the islands joined in the divine honours paid to him, and Mytilene delivered up Aquillius, who was paraded throughout Asia with every indignity, and finally brought to Pergamus and set before Mithridates, who ordered molten gold to be poured down his throat,—a savage satire on the motive with which he had provoked the war. A far more savage deed of impolitic cruelty revealed the true character of the war and its leader. From Ephesus Mithridates issued an edict for the simultaneous massacre of all Italians, whether slaves or free, without distinction of age or sex; and the command was the more zealously obeyed as a means of wiping off the debts of the provincials. In one day 150,000, or, on the lowest computation, 80,000 persons were put to death, and their bodies cast out to the

dogs and birds of prey. Their property was swept into the treasury of the king, who now fixed his court at Pergamus, as the monarch of Asia, leaving his son Mithridates to reign as viceroy at his former capital of Sinope, and erecting Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Bithynia into satrapies. His followers were enriched with gifts of land and money, and the states which had submitted to him were rewarded with freedom from taxation for five years. Caria and Lycia were the only countries not overrun; Magnesia on the Mæander the only city that still held out. The Ægæan was in the full possession of the Pontic fleet, and nearly all the islands had submitted; but Rhodes afforded an asylum to the Romans who had escaped with the governor L. Cassius, and Mithridates was foiled in a great effort to take the city. But the schemes of Mithridates were not limited to the conquest of Asia; he had resolved, like Antiochus, to make Greece his battle-ground for empire. He had already for some time instigated the Thracian tribes to attack Macedonia, which was now entered by an army under his son Ariarathes, while his fleet—after perpetrating savage massacres in Delos and Eubœa—began vigorous operations on the coast. Meanwhile his envoys were busy among the Greek states. At Athens, in particular, a creature of his, named Aristion, who had been first a slave and afterwards a teacher of philosophy, and whose skill in speaking was supported by the wildest fables concerning the great king's power and allies,* persuaded the Attic mob and their literary leaders to revolt from Rome, and to deliver up the Piræus to the fleet of Mithridates, while he himself exercised a sanguinary despotism by the aid of Pontic troops. The example of Athens was followed by the revolt of all Greece as far as Thessaly; and the Roman general Bruttius Sura had hard work to defend Macedonia. An embassy from the Italians who were still in arms now invited Mithridates to pass over into Italy; but he knew that the insurrection had been quelled, he had neither the inclination nor the ability to act the part of Hannibal, and he preferred to await the attack which Sulla was now ready to make upon his forces in Greece.

Sulla landed in Epirus in the spring of B.C. 87, with five legions, amounting to not more than 6000 men,† with an empty military chest, and without a single ship of war. But the general knew

* It is hardly credible that he promised aid from Carthage, as being still a flourishing state.

† The Social War, by cutting off the auxiliary force of the Italian allies, had reduced the legions to about half their former strength.

how to make the war support itself. Before the enemy had time to take military possession of the revolted but helpless states of Central and Southern Greece, he marched across into Bœotia, and there defeated the only army that was in the field, under Archelaus and Aristion. The latter threw himself into Athens, and the former into Piræus, which were now separate fortresses since the demolition of the Long Walls.* The siege of both was formed by Sulla, and the Athenians saw the sacred trees of the Academy and the Lyceum, beneath which they had so long enjoyed the repose of a University, cut down to build the Roman engines. The defeat of a relieving army was balanced by Archelaus's complete command of the sea; and the attempt to storm Piræus failed, after a furious struggle. But the communication between the port and city was almost entirely cut off by the close blockade, and, by the end of winter, Athens was reduced to the extremity of famine. To the offers of capitulation, Sulla replied that he had not come there as a student, to hear the speeches of rhetoricians, but as a general, to enforce obedience to Rome. The city was taken by storm, on the 1st of March, B.C. 86, and given up to massacre and plunder. Aristion, who had retreated to the Acropolis, surrendered, and was put to death with the other ringleaders. After making this example of terror, Sulla restored to the city its freedom, and even allowed it to retain Delos, which it had received from Mithridates.

Still Piræus remained untaken, and a year had passed without the least impression being made on Asia, which seemed in fact beyond Sulla's reach, as he possessed no fleet. Meanwhile he might expect daily to have to meet in battle the consul Flaccus, who had been appointed to supersede him by the authorities at Rome. The impatience of Mithridates had already prepared his deliverance from these difficulties. An army of 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry appeared in Bœotia about the time of the fall of Athens, and Archelaus evacuated Piræus to join this force. A great battle, fought against his advice near Chæronea, was gained by the superb generalship of Sulla against numbers thrice above his own; and Archelaus is said to have drawn off into Eubœa not more than a twelfth of his immense army. But he still commanded the sea, and we find him attacking the Ionian islands, while Sulla was called to meet Flaccus in Epirus. The consul had but two legions; and, when he found Sulla's soldiers proof

* The Long Walls had already fallen into decay in the time of Philip V., B.C. 200. Liv. XXXI. 26). Sulla used their materials in casting up his mounds against Piræus.

against his solicitations, he retired from Macedonia, and marched on through Thrace into Asia, unmolested by his rival. The danger of a civil war in presence of the common enemy was not only averted for the present, but the very jealousy of the two commanders led to those operations in Asia, which Sulla was not in a position to undertake. On this occasion, as when he decided to embark from Campania, he must not be refused the praise of at least postponing his personal ambition to the cause of the Republic. Whether he waited to see how Flaccus would fare in Asia, or whether his presence was necessary to settle the affairs of Greece, he seems to have spent a second winter at Athens (B.C.86—85); and in the spring he defeated another vast army, which Mithridates sent into Greece, with peremptory orders for Archelaus to fight. The battle, which took place near Orchomenus, was more obstinate than that of Chæronea, and the victory is ascribed to an act of personal bravery, like that of Bonaparte at the bridge of Lodi. Seeing the legions wavering beneath the furious charges of the Asiatic horse, Sulla seized a standard and rushed amongst the enemy, crying out to his soldiers that, when they were asked where they had left their general, they might answer —"at Orchomenus." The victory finally decided the fate of Greece. The remainder of this third campaign was spent in driving the enemy out of Macedonia; and Sulla wintered in Thessaly, while ships were building in its ports to carry him over to Asia in the ensuing spring.

Mithridates had meanwhile shown himself in the true colours of a savage Asiatic despot. The Greek cities were alienated by his tyranny; the Galatians were driven into open insurrection by the massacre of their chiefs; and no less than sixteen hundred men had been condemned to death for plots to assassinate the king. The provincials were far more prepared to receive the Romans as deliverers from their liberator, than if Sulla had been able at first to march into Asia. The energy of his legate, L. Licinius Lucullus—who afterwards commanded in the second Mithridatic War—had collected a fleet in the ports of Syria, Cyprus, Pamphylia, and Rhodes; and he had recovered several of the islands on the Carian and Ionian coasts. Meanwhile Flaccus had pursued his march through Thrace to Byzantium, and had crossed the Bosporus to Chalcedon, where he fell a victim to a military insurrection, headed by C. Flavius Fimbria, who, as one of the most violent of the Roman demagogues, and an active agent in the Marian massacres, had acquired popularity with the low class from

which the army was now recruited. Notwithstanding the licence which he allowed the soldiers who had raised him to the command, Fimbria proved his ability for the post by a decisive victory over the younger Mithridates at Rhyndacus, the fruit of which was the fall of Pergamus. The king himself fled to the port of Pitane, to embark for Mytilene. At that very moment Lucullus was off the coast with his fleet, having gained two victories in the waters of the Troad; and he might have captured Mithridates, had not party spirit prevented him from co-operating with Fimbria. Meanwhile his presence ensured a safe passage for the army of Sulla across the Hellespont.

In this state of affairs, Mithridates opened negociations for peace, to which Sulla, having to cope with Fimbria in Asia and with Cinna at Rome, could not refuse to listen. Still he would make no concession unworthy of the dignity of Rome; and the preliminaries, which were settled with Archelaus at Delium during the winter, were rejected by Mithridates, who hoped to obtain better terms from Fimbria. Sulla's march to Asia brought the king to his senses, and his assent to the Roman's terms, which met Sulla at Cypsela on the Hebrus, was ratified in a personal interview at Dardanus, on the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont. The conditions were the same as those offered by Sulla when he landed in Greece—that Mithridates should abandon all his conquests in Asia Minor, give up all prisoners and deserters, surrender his fleet of eighty ships of war, supply pay and provisions for the army, and pay a war-contribution of 3000 talents (about £750,000). The accustomed moderation of the Romans after victory is doubly remarkable in this case by its contrast with the Ephesian massacre; but the state of affairs at Rome forbad Sulla to drive the enemy to despair in a struggle for revenge. The kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia were brought to a conference with the king of Pontus, at which they all promised to live in peace; but even then Mithridates showed his untamed arrogance by refusing to meet Ariobarzanes in person, because he was not of royal blood.

The first Mithridatic War being thus ended, an easy conquest remained for Sulla over Fimbria, who was encamped at Thyatira. His soldiers were as inferior to those of Sulla in discipline and *morale* as in numbers. After the failure of an attempt to procure Sulla's assassination, and after an insolent message that he might depart unmolested, Fimbria found himself on the point of being deserted by his troops. Sulla offered him a vessel to make his escape in; but he preferred death, and fell upon his own sword in

the temple of Æsculapius at Pergamus. Most of the officers, who belonged to the popular party, went over to Mithridates: the main body of the troops joined the army of Sulla. The proconsul entrusted the command in Asia, with two legions, to his legate, L. Licinius Murena: and, after reversing the measures of Mithridates, punishing his chief adherents, rewarding the few Greek states that had remained faithful, and imposing on the rest the enormous contribution of 20,000 talents (nearly five millions sterling), he permitted his army to rest for the winter amidst the luxuries of the Asiatic cities. The public spoil, which was reserved for the triumph, amounted to a million sterling. In the following spring (B.C. 83), Sulla transported his army in 1600 vessels to the Piræus, and, with the zeal for Greek learning which distinguished him through life, he carried off from Athens the library of Apellicon of Teos, who had been the friend of the tyrant Aristion;—a collection rich in the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Embarking again at Patræ in Achaia, he sailed for Brundisium, having, while still in Asia, announced his coming back to Italy in a letter to the Senate, in which he gave a full account of his campaigns, without deigning even to notice his deposition. But he plainly asserted his claim to regulate the affairs of the Republic; and, while he promised to respect the rights of the new citizens, he declared his intention to punish the authors of the recent outrages.

There was deep irony in the very address of Sulla's letter to the Senate, for the government of Rome was as complete a despotism under Cinna, as any of the Greek tyrants had ever set up in their respective cities. So utterly were constitutional forms set at naught, that Cinna repeated the act of appointing himself to the consulship three times in succession.* His speedy overthrow releases us from the necessity of tracing the details of the measures by which many of the schemes of Caius Gracchus and Sulpicius were carried into effect. Italy and the provinces generally adhered to the new government; and the worthless chief whom accident had placed at its head endeavoured to supply his lack of ability by violence. Marius, had he lived, would doubtless have marched after Sulla to wrest from him the command in the East; but Cinna could only add to the insult of his nominal deposition the provocations of the pillage of his property and decrees depriving himself and his chief friends of their honours. After the death of Flaccus in Asia, Cinna chose a congenial colleague in Cn. Papirius Carbo, son of him who was defeated by the Cimbri; and Cinna

* For the years B.C. 86, 85, and 84, which were his 2nd, 3rd, and 4th consulships.

was consul for the fourth time, Carbo for the second, when Sulla's letter from Asia came upon the government at Rome like a declaration of war (B.C. 84).

The Senate, roused from their stupor, and expressing the desires of all moderate men, made advances to Sulla, and ordered Cinna and Carbo to suspend their levies. But the consuls knew too well what Sulla meant when, invited to Rome on the promise of security to his person, he promised in reply to bring security back to Rome. Cinna hastened to the army at Ancona, with the intention of crossing over to meet Sulla in Greece; but the soldiers mutinied at the prospect of a winter voyage across the Adriatic, and Cinna was put to death in the tumult. But, though his personal tyranny was at an end, and though the Senate reasserted its liberty so far as to prevent the self-appointment of any chiefs of the Marian party, and to secure the election of Lucius Scipio, the grandson of Scipio Asiaticus, the popular party retained their ascendancy. Lucius Norbanus was chosen as Scipio's colleague; the proposals of Sulla to the Senate were rejected; and preparations for war were urged with the greatest vigour. The Italians, who put no faith in Sulla's promise to respect their newly acquired rights, came to the support of the government; and they had 200,000 men in the field, when Sulla landed at Brundisium with less than 40,000. But his was one united force of veterans, devotedly attached to the commander who had led them on to victory and spoil, opposed to scattered armies of new levies and doubtful allies. Above all, he was as great a master of policy as the generals opposed to him were ignorant of the first principles of war. The consul Carbo bore testimony to his craft when he declared that "he had to contend in Sulla both with a lion and a fox, but that the fox gave him the greater trouble." Whole bodies of the republican soldiers were bribed to desert, and every effort was made to regain the confidence of the Italians. When the cities of Apulia beheld Sulla marching through their country without inflicting any injury, they hastened to send envoys to meet him, who returned with treaties ratifying their new franchises. The Samnites alone remained determined to enter into no alliance that did not secure them the conquest of Rome, an end which they could only hope from the violence of the Marian party. Avoiding their territory, Sulla crossed the Apennines into Campania, whither the consuls also marched to meet him. Norbanus was already at Capua, and Scipio was advancing to his support, when the legions of Sulla

encamped upon Mount Tifata. The easy defeat of Norbanus * was followed by the defection of Scipio's army, and the former was blockaded in Capua.

During this campaign, Sulla had received the adhesion of some distinguished chiefs of the aristocratic party; but none rendered him such service as the young CNEIUS POMPEIUS, the son of Pompeius Strabo, now in his twenty-third year. Inheriting from his father no fixed allegiance to either of the two great parties, he had taken service in the army of Cinna. But the odium of the course pursued by Strabo fell upon his son, and it was only by the protection of the consul Carbo that he was saved from being ruined by a prosecution to recover the money alleged to have been embezzled by his father at Asculum. This danger decided that first step, which was the type of all his subsequent career. Vacillating alike in principles and policy, Pompey was always ready to attach himself to that party which promised the greatest security for his interests and the highest gratification for his vanity. His principal estates were in Picenum; and thither he hastened, on the news of Sulla's landing, and raised the standard of the Optimates at Auximum (*Osimo*). The Picenian cities, most of which possessed the old franchise, espoused his cause; and his personal courage attracted the young men who had served under his father. Pompey soon found himself at the head of three legions; and, after holding Picenum against two armies, he effected a junction with Sulla, who saluted him as *Imperator*, and distinguished him above all the other young nobles about him by marks of regard which rivetted the attachment of Pompey to his party. Another result of this campaign was the adhesion of several more of the Italian cities, which obtained treaties from Sulla guaranteeing their new citizenship. He wintered in Campania, with every hope of repeating his march to Rome.

The resolve of the party that still ruled at Rome to refuse all compromise was proved by the election of Carbo to his third consulship, and still more by the choice of his colleague. C. Marius the Younger was only twenty-seven years old (some say but twenty), far below the legal age for the consulship, when he was elected to give the sanction of his father's name to his expiring cause. Of his father's qualities, he had only time to prove that he had inherited his personal courage and his remorseless cruelty. The dismissal of Sertorius to raise new levies in Etruria, and thence to

* It was just at the time of this battle that the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill was burnt, in the night of July 6th, B.C. 183.

proceed to his province of Spain, lost the party the aid of its ablest chief, for the sake of silencing his remonstrances against violence. On the motion of Carbo, a vote of outlawry was past against all the Senators in Sulla's camp: "Sulla was silent; he probably thought that they were pronouncing sentence beforehand on themselves." Neither money nor men were wanting. The veterans of Marius rallied round his son, and Italy furnished numerous volunteers. But the main strength of the resistance lay in a coalition between the Marian party and the insurgent Samnites and Lucanians: the smouldering embers of the Social War were rekindled to add fury to the civil conflagration.

Carbo was charged with the war in Upper Italy, while Marius fixed his head-quarters at the fortress of Præneste to guard the road through Latium. Q. Metellus Pius, who, having been one of the first to join Sulla in Apulia, had since been his chief lieutenant, was sent against Carbo, while Sulla himself took the road to Rome. At Sacriportus, between Signia and Præneste, he utterly dispersed the army of Marius, a whole division of which went over during the battle. This victory left Rome defenceless, and Marius, who had escaped into Præneste, sent orders to the prætor L. Brutus Damasippus to evacuate the city, but not till he had avenged its loss by a massacre more atrocious than that by which his father had signalized its conquest. The most distinguished Senators at Rome were slaughtered in the very Senate-house, and their corpses were dragged through the streets and thrown into the Tiber: amongst the rest was the Chief Pontiff, Q. Mucius Scævola. Sulla entered Rome without opposition; and, leaving a force under Q. Ofella to blockade Præneste, he marched against Carbo, who had been meanwhile opposed in Etruria to Pompey and Metellus, while Norbanus maintained a superiority over Lucullus in the valley of the Po. In this last quarter the conflict was ended by the arrival of Metellus; and after protracted resistance in Etruria, and several vigorous but fruitless efforts to relieve Præneste, Carbo secretly fled to Africa, and those of his deserted soldiers who did not disperse were cut to pieces by Pompey.

Meanwhile the insurgent Italians had thrown their whole forces into the scale. The united armies of the Samnites and Lucanians, amounting to 70,000 men, under C. Pontius of Telesia and L. Lamponius, had marched to the relief of Præneste, and Sulla had hastened from Etruria to blockade the defiles by which they must

approach the fortress,* and had maintained his position against all their efforts, till the end of the conflict in Etruria enabled Pompey to advance to his aid. Thereupon the insurgents, who were only a day's march from Rome, resolved to strike a blow at the defenceless city. The movement cut them off from their line of retreat along the Latin Road, and they could hardly have held the capital against the armies under Sulla, Pompey, and Metellus. But their thoughts were bent less on safety than on vengeance; and the old Samnite spirit was uttered in the cry of Pontius, that, to extirpate the wolves that devastated Italy, their den must be destroyed. On the 1st of November, B.C. 82, the terrified citizens saw the Samnite army approach by the Latin Road, and encamp outside of the Colline Gate. A combat with the youths who had been enrolled as volunteers, chiefly from the nobles, proved that the city had no means of defence. But Sulla had not been slow to follow the march of the enemy. His advanced cavalry appeared by the Prænestine Road in the morning, and about noon his main body was drawn up at the temple of Venus of Eryx before the Colline Gate. For some time the battle hung in doubt; and the left wing, where Sulla commanded in person, was forced back as far as the walls. It was not till an hour after sunset that this division, relieved by the success which Crassus had achieved upon the right, could resume the offensive. Even then the conflict raged throughout the night, and was only terminated in the morning by the defection of a body of three thousand men in the ranks of the insurgents. Shut out from retreat, the Samnite army, including the flower of the nation, were cut to pieces; and all the prisoners, to the number of three or four thousand, were massacred in cold blood in the Campus Martius on the third day after the battle. Among the victims was the brave Pontius Telesilla, who deserved a better fate than to be included in the same sentence with the butcher Damasippus. The Social War was at length ended, and the last hopes of Italian independence extinguished by the same blow which gave back Rome to the power of the Optimates. The insensate fury of the Marians had made the cause of their opponents seem that of Rome herself (B.C. 82).

It remained to stamp out the embers both of the Civil and the Social War, and then to revenge the past and take security for the future. The victory of the Colline Gate was announced to the

* The position of Sulla seems to have been upon the cross road which turns off from the Via Latina at *Valmontone* to Palestrina.

defenders of Prænestе by the ghastly spectacle of the heads of Pontius and other generals. Marius and the younger Pontius, having tried in vain to break through the lines of Ofella, died by each other's swords: the surrendered city was given up to pillage, and its chief men were put to death, with the Roman Senators and all the Samnites who were among the prisoners. The citizens of Norba only avoided the like fate by putting one another to death after they had set fire to the town. Neapolis was taken and Capua surrendered, but the Samnites only evacuated Nola in B.C. 80, when the last survivor of the leaders of the Social insurrection met his mournful fate. C. Papius Mutilus, the Italian consul, fled from Nola to seek shelter at his house in Teanum, where, disowned by his wife, he killed himself before his own door. The Samnites were visited with those measures of extermination which they had denounced against Rome, and we can scarcely wonder at Sulla's declaration, that Rome could have no rest so long as Samnium existed. Tuder in Umbria suffered all the horrors of a storm. The impregnable Etruscan city of Volaterræ, where the chief fragments of the Marian army had found refuge, only capitulated after a resistance of three years; when the proprætor Carbo, who had granted the garrison a free departure, was stoned by his own soldiers, who cut the column to pieces as it was quietly marching out of the city (B.C. 79). The provinces speedily submitted, except Sicily, Africa, and Spain, all of which the young Pompey was destined to recover. On his appearance off Sicily, with six legions and a fleet of 120 ships, the island was evacuated by Perperna, and Pompey's only achievement was the capture and execution of the Marian leaders who had taken refuge at Cossyra. The rest were put to death upon the spot, but the late consul Carbo was carried to Lilybæum, that Pompey might have the satisfaction of pronouncing in person the doom of the man who had once saved his life. Thence passing over into Africa, he ended the war in a single day by defeating the Marians under Domitius Ahenobarbus—who were aided by the Numidian usurper Hiarbas—and then storming their camp. The victory over the Numidian gave a pretext for the first triumph ever granted to a general who was not yet a Senator; and Sulla, who had himself assumed the title of Fortunate (*Felix*), greeted his young favourite with the surname of Great (*Magnus*), B.C. 79. Seldom has that much-misapplied epithet been obtained so cheaply. We shall have to speak presently of the much harder work which Sertorius, one of the few truly great men of this age, made for successive generals during

ten years in Spain. With this exception, peace was restored to the provinces by the cessation, at the command of Sulla, of the war which Murena, the governor of Asia, had imprudently renewed with Mithridates, and by the capture of Mytilene, the last stronghold of the Asiatic rebels (B.C. 80).*

If the aristocratic party regarded Sulla as the instrument of effecting a mere restoration of their old privileges, they deceived themselves greatly. His was a far broader and profounder policy. He saw that the government of the old families was overwhelmed in the ruin which had engulphed nearly all the men able enough to administer it, and that the aristocratic constitution must be rebuilt on the new foundation of the civic unity of Italy, by the hand of one supreme both in legislation and in government. Instead of suffering the Senate to resume its authority and to order elections to fill up the places of Marius and Carbo, he waited with his army outside of the city, till the Chief of the Senate, as Interrex, had carried through the popular assembly a vote, approving all the acts performed by Lucius Cornelius Sulla, as consul and proconsul, and investing him with unrestricted judicial, political, and legislative power, for on unlimited period, under the title of "Dictator for the making of laws, and the regulation of the Commonwealth." This office, which differed completely from the old "dictatorship for the salvation of the state," alike in its occasion, its power, and duration, has been regarded as in fact a revival of the monarchy; and its prerogative surpassed even that of the king in the absence of the right of appeal. It was better, said a contemporary, to have kings than bad laws.

The first use which Sulla made of his power over the lives of the citizens was the publication of an act of outlawry against all who had taken any active part in opposition to him from the date of the convention with Scipio before Capua. All such persons might not only be killed with impunity, but a reward of nearly 500*l.* was set upon each of their heads; and all who sheltered them, even to their nearest relatives, were doomed to share their fate. The only objection ventured upon by the Senate was to the indefiniteness of the edict; and for this Sulla devised the remedy which first introduced that terrible word *Proscription.*† Lists of

* Caius Julius Cæsar, then 20 years old, was present at the siege of Mytilene.

† *Proscriptio*, from *proscribere*, to post up a written bill, was the term hitherto used for the advertisements of goods for sale. Its repeated employment in the new Cornelian sense has led to that vague use in which it is confounded with what is just its opposite, an indiscriminate massacre, like that of Marius.

the condemned were posted up at Rome and in the Italian cities; and new names were added from day to day; the first of June in the following year being fixed as the final term for closing the bloody roll. If this method imposed some limit on the reckless slaughter of the Marian massacres, its cold-blooded exactness made it still more horrible. The anxiety with which the lists were scanned day after day by those who expected to see their own names, or the names of fathers, brothers, and friends,—the terrible certainty of doom when the name appeared there, with the uncertainty whence and how the blow might fall,—the sense of being at the mercy of private enemies, or hunters after the spoils of the slain,—combined a thousand deaths in the fear of one. "It was altogether a fearful visitation. There was no longer any process or any pardon: mute terror lay like a weight of lead on the land, and free speech was silenced in the market-place alike of the capital and of the country-town. The oligarchical reign of terror bore indeed a different stamp from that of the revolution. While Marius had glutted his personal vengeance in the blood of his enemies, Sulla seemed to account terrorism in the abstract, if we may so speak, as a thing necessary to the introduction of the new despotism, and to prosecute and make others prosecute the work of massacre almost with indifference. But the reign of terror presented an appearance only the more horrible, when it proceeded from the conservative side and was in some measure devoid of passion. The commonwealth seemed all the more irretrievably lost, when the frenzy and the crime on both sides were equally balanced."* The total number said to have been included in the proscription lists is 4700, of whom nearly 40 were senators and 1600 equites.† This large proportion of the equestrian order marks the revenge taken for the sufferings they had inflicted on the Optimates as Judices, and perhaps, in some measure, the activity of informers on the hunt for spoil. Bands of Celts were constantly employed in executing the sentences in the capital, and the soldiers of Sulla traversed Italy to hunt down the proscribed. Volunteers were tempted by the reward, and still more by the opportunities for private vengeance; and it is needless to say how great a latitude this class would practise in the choice of victims. Instances were not wanting of men who were murdered first and proscribed afterwards; and Sulla was obliged to wink at many an

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. iii., pp. 354-5.

† Among the victims of the Marian massacres there were 50 senators and 1000 equites.

outrage perpetrated by his friends.* Not only they and his freedmen, but his wife Metella, made immense gains by the forced sales of the confiscated estates, the total proceeds of which reached about three millions sterling. In the use of that free speech, which was still enjoyed in the courts of law, an advocate asked whether the nobility had waged civil war solely for the purpose of enriching their freedmen and slaves.

While these scenes of horror were enacted throughout Italy, Sulla celebrated his magnificent triumph over Mithridates, at the beginning of the new year. After the ceremony, he made a speech to the people, recounting all his achievements and successes abroad and at home, which he ascribed to the special favour of the gods. He was saluted by his chosen surname of *Felix*,† and among many other marks of what—if the name of King had been suffered in the republic—would have been called regal honours, the Senate set up his gilt equestrian statue in front of the Rostra, with the inscription:—"CORNELIO SULLÆ IMPERATORI FELICI." Thus the despotism, at which Tiberius Gracchus had been accused of aiming, and towards which Caius was advancing almost unconsciously when he fell, was at length introduced by the aristocracy themselves. But though introduced, it was not yet established; for the very man, who had claimed it as the means of reorganizing the state, refused to hold it after that work was done. Meanwhile he applied himself to the task with that extraordinary self-reliance which is conspicuous at every step of his career. In framing a new oligarchical constitution, he utterly disregarded those watchwords of the oligarchical faction which were at variance with his own convictions. With true statesmanship, he adopted the act which had conferred the Roman franchise on the Italian citizens, excluding none but freedmen; and by this concession to justice, he deprived the revolutionary party of their chief reliance. But the principle thus admitted added severity to the punishment of those communities which had taken part against him in the civil war. They were deprived of their territory, in some cases partially, in others wholly; and the citizens to whom these confiscated lands had belonged lost at the same the municipal and Roman franchise, and were reduced to the lowest level of Latin rights. The forfeited lands were assigned to colonies of the sol-

* The conduct of Oppianicus at Larinum, as described in Cicero's speech for Cluentius, is doubtless an example of what was done in other towns.

† This word had properly a religious sense, not merely *happy*, but *blessed*. In the same spirit, Sulla's son was surnamed *Faustus*, that is, the favoured.

diers who had served under Sulla, who were thus rewarded for their past services, and became, for their master and his party, what the old Roman colonies had been for the Republic, "bulwarks of dominion" (*propugnacula imperii*) throughout Italy. It is, however, a mere act of justice to Sulla's policy to state that, as early as his consulship (B.C. 88), he had proposed a system of colonization with a view to the very objects contemplated by Tiberius Gracchus. The number of allotments thus distributed amounted to 120,000, chiefly in Etruria, but some also in Latium and Campania: Prænestе in the former country, and Pompeii in the latter, were among the Sullan colonies. While a standing army—the dangers of which were as yet unforeseen—was thus provided for the government throughout Italy, a sort of body-guard was created for them at Rome out of the slaves of the proscribed. Ten thousand of these, in the vigour of life, were selected for manumission,* and enrolled as a force always ready to act against the city rabble. Such a force dispensed with the necessity of bribing that rabble with indulgences; and the largesses of corn instituted by Caius Gracchus were abolished.

The measures of Caius for elevating the equestrian order into a position of antagonism to the Senate shared the same fate. The office of *Judices* was restored to the Senators, and the *Equites* were deprived of their separate seats at the public festivals. The law by which C. Gracchus had handed over the province of Asia to the extortions of the capitalists was repealed, and fixed taxes were substituted for the system of farming the revenue. In short the Senate was restored by Sulla not only to its ancient power, but to its ancient state of dignity, as the only privileged order in the Commonwealth. The fearful gaps which the Civil War had made in its numbers were filled up by 300 new members, elected by the tribes from those of the equestrian census; and the mode of admission was placed on a new footing. The censorial revision of the roll of the Senate was tacitly abolished, and all who obtained the office of quæstor became *ipso facto* members of the body. As the number of the quæstors was at the same time raised to twenty, the Senate must have been permanently much enlarged; and as those officers were elected by the Comitia of the Tribes, the Senate itself came to be based upon popular election; and it thus formed—as Mommsen observes—"as close an approach to a representative government as was compatible with the nature of the oligarchy and the notions of antiquity generally." No change was made in

* According to the regular custom, they were named *Cornelii* after their patron.

the popular elections to the several magistracies, nor in their functions.* The number of prætors was increased to eight; and the laws assigning the ages at which the several offices might be held, and preventing re-election to the same office within ten years, were re-enacted as a safeguard against the recent attempts to convert the constitutional magistracies into an actual despotism in defiance of the Senate.

While thus resting the government on the basis of popular election, Sulla made it more exclusively aristocratic than before, by depriving the people of those privileges which had grown up in the course of time. In this inevitable tendency of the constitution-maker, to substitute an artificial symmetry for those less regular actions and reactions which time has adjusted to their own balance, we may trace one cause of the brief duration of Sulla's scheme of government. The Comitia Centuriata were left in possession of the nominal power of legislation, but it could only be exercised upon the initiative of a decree of the Senate, which thus gained the fruit of all the prestige attaching to the venerable assembly that claimed to represent the original citizens. But the real assembly of the people, the Comitia Tributa, was stripped of that legislative power which had for so many years controlled the Senate, and at the same time the guardians of popular liberty were rendered powerless, by the act which deprived the Tribunes of the right to propose a Rogation or to lay an impeachment before the assembly. The power of intercession was nominally left, but its abuse was punishable by fine; and thus the one feature which was essential to its free exercise—its irresponsibility—was destroyed. To connect the Tribunes as much as possible with the government, only Senators could be chosen; while, on the other hand, the better class were deterred from aspiring to the office by its being made an absolute disqualification for the higher magistracies. Some check seems also to have been imposed on the right of the Tribunes to call public meetings (*contiones*) of the people. That religious supremacy, which the nobles cherished as an engine of political power, was restored to them by the repeal of the Domitian Law. The colleges of Pontiffs and Augurs, each increased to the number of fifteen, were no longer filled up by popular election, but by the choice of their own members.

The *Judicial Reforms* of Sulla, though made, like the rest, in the

* There was, however, a more definite arrangement of the functions of the consuls and prætors, proconsuls and proprætors, the details of which, in part only conjectural, are discussed by Mommsen, vol. iii., pp. 364—370.

interest of the aristocracy, were intrinsically a great improvement on the existing administration of justice. Sulla gave Rome the first criminal code she had possessed; for in this section the Twelve Tables were very imperfect. He greatly extended the system of permanent jury-courts, under the presidence of a prætor (*Quæstiones Perpetuæ*) each court having allotted to it the trial of a particular class of offences. Six prætors were available for the business of these courts, the civil jurisdiction being left, as before, to the two ancient prætors of the City and of Foreigners. Sulla first established clearly the distinction of the trial of civil cases by a single judge, and of criminal cases by a large body of jurymen. The principle of the old constitution, that death or imprisonment could only be inflicted by the sentence of the people, was left intact; and all cases of treason were transferred from the popular assembly to the courts of the Judices. Hence it followed that such offences could no longer be capitally punished; and that the weapon of impeachment was wrested from the hands of the popular leaders. From this fact, together with the jurisdiction of these courts in bribery, corruption, and the malversation of governors in the provinces, and the selection of the juries from the Senate, it is manifest how vast an increase of power was gained by the nobility at the expense both of the people and of the equestrian order. It seems that the first clear distinction between the internal municipal administration of Rome and her sovereign government belongs to the time of Sulla. Finally, he was the author of some sumptuary and other social laws, which require no particular description.

The Cornelian Laws * — for this is the title by which the whole body of Sulla's legislation is described—formed altogether a constitution adapted—if anything could do it—to save the Roman aristocracy. With none of that stamp of genius which marks the productions of a Gracchus or a Cæsar, they had the merit of reviving the institutions of former days, adapted to the spirit of the present, and in many points to the claims of justice. But two things were necessary for the permanence of the fabric:—that the popular party should acquiesce in the loss of that power which the Optimates had been able for the moment to wrest from them; and that the nobles should prove themselves worthy of the ascendancy they had regained. The speedy failure of the latter condition hastened the inevitable reversal of the former, and

* These *Corneliæ Leges* were properly so called; for they were all carried by Sulla, as a matter of form, through the Comitia of the Centuries.

the selfishness of the nobles undid all that Sulla had done for them.

Meanwhile the author of the work retired into private life as soon as it was done. There is no reason to suppose that Sulla ever contemplated a permanent despotism. Even during his dictatorship he permitted the due observance of constitutional forms. The consular elections were regularly held; and it was only in one of the three years (B.C. 80) that Sulla united one of the consulships with his dictatorship. His voluntary resignation of his power was in perfect keeping with the character of the man. He was as unlike a Washington as a Cæsar or a Cromwell. Equally unwilling to hold his power as a possession he had won for himself, or as a trust for his country which he dared not or knew not how to let go, he assuredly retired from it in no spirit of patriotic self-sacrifice. With his personal safety secured by the bands of Cornelian freedmen and military colonists, who would have started up in the capital and over all Italy at the lifting of his finger,—and with his return to power kept open by the same means, should the necessity arise,—he felt at liberty to gratify his easy and elegant self-indulgence. In the same temper in which he had passed from the sensual dissipation of his earlier years to the stirring scenes of the African war, and then retired again to the enjoyments of the capital, till events bore him on through the career of the Social, the Eastern, and the Civil Wars to the supreme power, he threw off that power, which he had always felt a burthen, with the simple object of enjoying the rest and refreshment of his Cumæan villa. We must not suppose that the hours which he spent in hunting and fishing, in the enjoyment of Greek letters and the composition of his memoirs, were much disturbed by remorse for the blood he had shed, or by anxiety for the fate of his country, or even of his party. His nature was neither cruel nor earnest. The evil he had inflicted and the work he had done he would doubtless regard alike as necessities of the past, which need not disturb his self-satisfied complacency.

How soon his repose might have been broken by the cry of revolution, there was no time to decide, for he lived little more than a year after his retirement. Worn out by his habitual sensuality, he died by the bursting of a blood-vessel in the sixtieth year of his age, B.C. 78. The Senate, which he had so lately created anew, resolved to honour him with a public funeral; and the opposition of the democratic consul Lepidus was overborne by an assemblage of the Cornelian veterans, under Pompey, Ca-

tulus, and Lucullus, which added to the grandeur of the ceremony. It was an immemorial custom of the Cornelian house that its deceased members should be buried; but Sulla had shown foresight enough of coming events to provide against the chance of his remains suffering the indignity which he had himself inflicted on those of Marius. A grand procession of the Senate, the Equites, the magistrates, the priests, and the vestal virgins, with the troops of his veterans, bore the body of Sulla to the lofty funeral pyre in the Campus Martius. There his ashes were deposited beside the tombs of the kings, and the Roman women mourned for him a whole year. A splendid monument was erected over his remains, bearing an inscription composed by himself, and breathing the self-satisfaction of his nature. Instead of the long record of his military and civil achievements in Africa and Asia, Greece and Italy, it declared that no friend ever did him a kindness, and no enemy a wrong, without receiving full requital. The man who could sum up his own character in such an epitaph renounced the place among the world's heroes which history would assuredly never have awarded him. Wanting even the savage greatness of Marius, he was content to be the favourite of Fortune; and his death marked the term of those favours which were commemorated by his surname of Felix.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE AGE OF POMPEY, CÆSAR, AND CICERO—FROM THE DEATH OF SULLA TO THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE. B.C. 78 TO B.C. 60.

"With equal rays immortal Tully shone,
The Roman Rostra decked the Consul's throne:
Gathering his flowing robe, he seemed to stand
In act to speak, and graceful stretched his hand.
Behind, Rome's Genius waits with civic crowns,
And the great Father of his Country owns."—POPE.

INSTABILITY OF THE SULLAN RESTORATION—THE OPPOSITION PARTY—ITS WANT OF LEADERS—REVOLUTIONARY ATTEMPT OF THE CONSUL LEPIDUS—HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH—QUINTUS SERTORIUS HOLDS OUT IN SPAIN—METELLUS PIUS OPPOSED TO HIM—POMPEY ASSOCIATED WITH METELLUS—HIS DEFEATS—DECLINE OF THE INFLUENCE OF SERTORIUS—HIS MURDER BY PERPERNA—DEFEAT AND EXECUTION OF PERPERNA—OUTBREAK OF SPARTACUS AND THE GLADIATORS—THEY OVERRUN ITALY—CRASSUS DEFEATS AND KILLS SPARTACUS—POMPEY CLAIMS A SHARE IN THE VICTORY—CONSULSHIP OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS—REVERSAL OF SULLA'S ACTS—RESTORATION OF THE TRIBUNESHIP AND REFORM OF THE JURY LISTS—RISE OF CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR—HIS RESISTANCE TO SULLA—HE SERVES IN ASIA—PROSECUTION OF DOLABELLA—CÆSAR AGAIN LEAVES ROME—ADVENTURE WITH THE PIRATES—HE STUDIES RHETORIC AT RHODES—SUPPORTS POMPEY—RESTORES THE IMAGES OF MARIUS—RISE OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO—HIS FAMILY AND EDUCATION—HIS ONE CAMPAIGN—SPEECHES FOR QUINTIUS AND ROSCIUS—HE WITHDRAWS TO ATHENS—HIS FRIENDSHIP WITH ATTICUS—HE STUDIES IN ASIA AND AT RHODES—RETURNS TO ROME AND DEVOTES HIMSELF TO PLEADING CAUSES—HIS QUÆSTORSHIP IN SICILY—PROSECUTION OF VERRES—RIVALRY WITH HORTENSIUS AND TRIUMPH OF CICERO—DEDICATION OF THE CAPITOL—THE EQUESTRIAN ORDER—THE WAR WITH THE PIRATES—COMMAND CONFERRED ON POMPEY BY THE GABINIAN LAW—HIS BRILLIANT SUCCESS—SECOND MITHRIDATIC WAR AND RESTORATION OF PEACE—VAST PREPARATIONS OF MITHRIDATES—THE DEATH OF NICOMEDES III. BRINGS ON THE THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR—MITHRIDATES DEFEATS COTTA AND BESIEGES CYZICUS—LUCULLUS RAISES THE SIEGE, AND DEFEATS MITHRIDATES IN PONTUS—MITHRIDATES FLIES TO ARMENIA—HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY—THE KINGDOM OF TIGRANES—LUCULLUS SETTLES THE AFFAIRS OF ASIA—HE DEFEATS TIGRANES, TAKES TIGRANOCERTA, AND BESIEGES NISIBIS—IRRUPTION OF MITHRIDATES INTO PONTUS—ROMAN DISASTERS—MUTINY IN THE ARMY OF LUCULLUS—GLABRIO SENT TO SUPERSEDE HIM—POMPEY MADE GENERALISSIMO IN THE EAST—CICERO PRÆTOR—HIS SPEECH FOR THE MANILIAN LAW—RETIREMENT OF LUCULLUS—POMPEY ADVANCES INTO PONTUS—FLIGHT OF MITHRIDATES TO BOSPORUS—POMPEY IN ARMENIA—SUBMISSION OF TIGRANES—POMPEY IN THE CAUCASIAN LANDS—HE MARCHES INTO SYRIA—DEATH OF MITHRIDATES—REVIEW OF SYRIAN HISTORY—SYRIA MADE A ROMAN PROVINCE—THE KINGDOMS OF COMMAGENE AND EDESSA—DAMASCUS AND ARABIA—PHŒNICIA AND CŒLE-SYRIA—PALESTINE—REVIEW OF JEWISH HISTORY—RELIGIOUS AND MORAL STATE OF THE RESTORED PEOPLE—HOSTILITY OF THE SAMARITANS—THEIR ORIGIN—SCHISMATIC TEMPLE ON MOUNT GERIZIM—HATRED OF THE JEWS AND SAMARITANS—BLOODSHED IN THE JEWISH TEMPLE—JADDUA AND ALEXANDER THE GREAT—JUDÆA UNDER THE PTOLEMIES—SIMON THE JUST AND ELEAZAR—THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION—ONIAS II. AND JOSEPH THE SON OF TOBIAS—PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR AT JERUSALEM—HYRCANUS THE SON OF JOSEPH—PALESTINE UNDER ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT—STORY OF HELIODORUS—REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES—HELLENISM IN JUDÆA—JASON AND MENELAUS—MURDER OF ONIAS III.—SACK OF JERUSALEM BY ANTIOCHUS—MASSACRE BY APOLLONIUS—GREAT PERSECUTION UNDER ATHENÆUS—MARTYRDOM OF ELEAZAR—REVOLT OF MATTATHIAS—JUDAS MACCABÆUS—HIS VICTORIES, DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE, TREATY WITH ROME, AND DEATH—JONATHAN APPHUS SECURES PEACE—HIS MURDER BY TRYPHON—PROSPEROUS

GOVERNMENT OF SIMON THASSI—HIS MURDER—JOHN HYRCANUS I.—INDEPENDENCE AND EXTENSION OF JUDÆA—DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE ON GERIZIM AND OF SAMARIA—QUARREL WITH THE PHARISEES—REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS I.—ALEXANDER JANNÆUS—WAR WITH PTOLEMY LATHYRUS—REBELLION OF THE PHARISEES—THEIR ASCENDANCY UNDER ALEXANDRA—ARISTOBULUS II. AND HYRCANUS II.—RISE OF ANTIPATER—CIVIL WAR—INTERFERENCE OF THE ROMANS—POMPEY TAKES JERUSALEM AND PROFANES THE TEMPLE—ITS SUBSEQUENT PLUNDER BY CRASSUS—HYRCANUS II. AND ANTIPATER—ESCAPE AND REBELLIONS OF ARISTOBULUS AND HIS SONS—DEATHS OF ARISTOBULUS AMD ALEXANDER—CÆSAR RESTORES HYRCANUS, WITH ANTIPATER AS PROCURATOR—RISE OF HEROD—MURDER OF ANTIPATER—HYRCANUS IN THE HANDS OF HEROD—THE PARTHIANS RESTORE ANTIGONUS—HEROD AT ROME—RETURNS AS KING OF JUDÆA—CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM—END OF THE ASMONÆAN DYNASTY—ACCESSION OF HEROD THE GREAT—DEATHS OF ANTIGONUS, ARISTOBULUS, AND HYRCANUS—EVENTS AT ROME DURING POMPEY'S ABSENCE—CONSULSHIP OF CICERO AND CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE—POMPEY RETURNS TO ROME—HIS POLITICAL ATTITUDE AND HIS TRIUMPH—STATE OF PARTIES—TRIAL OF CLODIUS—OPPOSITION OF THE SENATE TO POMPEY—CÆSAR IN SPAIN—HIS RETURN TO ROME—THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE.

THE victory of Sulla had restored the government of the nobles; and the lists of consuls for several years show the position which the great families had recovered in the state. But his attempt to relay the secure foundations of a dominant oligarchy proved an utter failure, nor had his conquests abroad secured permanent repose. Within the ten years succeeding his legislation (B.C. 80—70) the Republic was involved in dangerous wars by sea and land, with Sertorius in Spain, with Mithridates in the East, and with the gladiators in the heart of Italy. Sulla's own most favoured friend returned victorious from the West only to restore to the democracy its most cherished privilege. Sent by the favour of the popular party to reap new laurels in the East, he came back to close another decennial period by a coalition with Crassus and Cæsar for the sacrifice of the aristocracy to their own personal ambition (B.C. 60). A third such period saw him once more at the head of the aristocratic party, plunging the state into civil war in the vain endeavour to ward off the final blow by which despotism was to be established (B.C. 50). These successive stages in the career of Pompey mark the three last steps in the downfall of the Republic. The catastrophe, prepared for many years by the selfish policy of the nobles and the want of remedial powers in the constitution, was finally arranged by the vacillating and unprincipled course of Pompey, though the last stroke was given by the sword of Cæsar. Sulla had in fact left the defence of his work to successors, such as Pompey and Crassus, who had never heartily belonged to the aristocratic party, in the face of an opposition composed indeed of many different elements—the jurists, who resented his violation of the ancient laws — the moderate aristocracy, who adopted the views of Drusus—the Transpadane Gauls, who had received only a maimed citizenship—the offended capitalists—the vengeful rela-

tives of the proscribed—the large class of men who had been ruined by the civil wars—all resting upon the basis of the great popular party, which only waited an opportunity to recover its lost share in the government, and especially the tribunitial power. But this opposition wanted leaders. Rome was not deficient in rising men of genius, whom ambition might prompt to take part in a new movement; but for the moment there were none distinguished enough to take the lead. Cicero had just returned from his two years' course of study at Athens to devote himself to the forensic labours by which alone he could hope to rise to the honours of the state; and Cæsar, in whom the prescient eye of Sulla had seen many another Marius, was too young to be more than the hope of the revolutionary party.

The actual leadership fell into the hands of M. Æmilius Lepidus, a man neither of character nor ability, who had deserted from the Optimates to the popular party to escape prosecution on the charge of misgovernment in Sicily. The plunder of that province, and the support of Pompey,* enabled Lepidus to secure his election as consul for B.C. 78, and we have seen the failure of his attempt to deprive Sulla of funeral honours. Even before the dictator's death, Lepidus had talked of repealing his acts. The murmurs of the populace in the Forum encouraged the attempt: some of the chiefs of the old Marian party, such as Perperna and the younger Cinna, appeared again at Rome; and a conspiracy was organized in Etruria, where the Sullan confiscation had been most severe. The most distinguished leaders of the high aristocratic party were Quintus Lutatius Catulus, son of the Catulus who had shared the victory of Marius at Vercellæ and fallen a chief victim to his revenge,—Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius, who had gone into Spain as proconsul against Sertorius,—and the two brothers, Lucius and Marcus Lucullus, who had served with distinction under Sulla, the one in Asia, and the other in Italy. Catulus, who now held the consulship with Lepidus, was an honest Roman of the old school, but endowed neither with civil nor military talent. He would have met his colleague's movement with open force; but the Senate chose to temporize. Having made a concession to the demand for a distribution of corn, enough to encourage without satisfying the people, they sent *both* consuls into Etruria to levy soldiers for their

* This indication of Pompey's readiness to play a part independent of the aristocracy is said to have called forth from Sulla in his retirement the warning :—"Young man, it is time for you not to slumber; for you have strengthened your rival against yourself."

protection; and their knowledge that Lepidus would only abuse the confidence which they affected to repose in him was betrayed by the silly precaution of making the consuls swear not to turn their arms against each other. Lepidus interpreted the oath as only binding for his year of office; and, upon its expiration, he forwarded from the head of his army demands worthy of a Marius, and marched upon Rome. While Pompey, who obeyed the call of the Senate to take up arms against his friend, overpowered and killed Marcus Brutus, the legate of Lepidus, at Mutina, Catulus defeated Lepidus himself at the Mulvian Bridge, close to the walls of Rome. Unable to hold his ground in Etruria, Lepidus withdrew to Sardinia, where he soon after died; and the remains of his army, with a well-filled military chest, were carried over by Perperna to Liguria, and thence to the aid of Sertorius in Spain (B.C. 77).

That peninsula had now been for three years, and was destined to be for five years more, the scene of a resistance, which not only left the victory of Sulla incomplete, but threatened to revive the great enterprise of the house of Barca. If Rome was to bow to a Sullan despot, the Marian refugees seemed likely to set up in Spain a Latin kingdom. QUINTUS SERTORIUS derived his obscure birth from the Sabine village of Nursia, and was distinguished for all the hardy virtues of the old Sabine stock. He began his military career under Marius in Gaul (B.C. 102), and ventured as a spy into the camp of the Teutones. His service as a military tribune under Didius in the Celtiberian War (B.C. 97) gave him a knowledge of the country and natives of Spain; and the loss of an eye added an accident to the points of resemblance between Sertorius and Hannibal. He was quæstor in B.C. 91. We have seen how, in the civil war, he was distinguished from the other Marian leaders as much by his moderation as by his military talent. He was prætor in B.C. 83, the year in which Sulla returned to Italy; and, before the decisive combat at the Colline Gate, he had departed for his province of Spain. The destined theatre of his exploits seemed at first to deny him even a refuge. The commander whom he left to guard the passes of the Pyrenees was killed by one of his own officers; and the lieutenants of Sulla took possession of the two provinces without resistance (B.C. 82). Embarking at New Carthage, Sertorius crossed over to Mauretania, and there he gained a victory over one of Sulla's generals. When the Marian cause was lost in Africa, he conceived the project of organizing a resistance in Spain by means of the native population. Invited by the Lusi-

tanians to become their leader against the Romans, Sertorius commenced that marvellous career of ascendancy over the natives, which has made him one of the heroes of history and a favourite of romance (B.C. 80). All have heard of the hold which he gained over the superstition of the Iberians by the aid of the milk-white fawn that was always at his side, as if she were his familiar spirit.

The powerful army supplied by the Spanish tribes was officered by the Marian refugees, whose number and dignity made the camp of Sertorius appear like a rival to the capital. At a later period, he nominated a Senate of 300 Romans, and founded a school at Osca (*Huesca*) for the education of the children of the chief Spanish families,—a security at once for their fidelity, as well as for their civilization. It is needless to follow the complicated details of the campaigns in which Sertorius baffled the Roman armies for eight years, chiefly by that guerilla warfare in which the Spaniards have always excelled. In B.C. 79, Q. Metellus Pius, who had been consul with Sulla the year before, was sent as proconsul into Spain; but he failed to bring Sertorius to a decisive engagement. The arrival of Perperna with fifty-three cohorts raised the insurgent general to the acmé of his power; and the Senate were reluctantly compelled to yield to the desire, which Pompey expressed at the head of his victorious army, to have an equal share in the command of Metellus, with the title of proconsul (B.C. 77). Crossing the Alps in the summer, Pompey spent some time in opening the new pass over *Mont Genèvre*, and in subduing some of the Gallic tribes; and it was late in the autumn before he passed the Pyrenees. He wintered in the corner of Catalonia, which was the only part of the nearer province held by the Romans, except the maritime towns commanded by their fleets; while Metellus maintained himself in the neighbourhood of Seville. To prevent the junction of the Roman armies, Sertorius watched the Upper Ebro, while Perperna was stationed on the lower course of the river. Pompey opened the campaign of B.C. 76 by throwing himself upon the latter, and not only forced the passage of the river, but took the important city of Valentia (*Valencia*). Sertorius himself soon arrived, and laid siege to Lauro, a town south of Valencia, which had declared for the Romans. A contest of generalship ensued, in which Pompey was completely outmanœuvred, and the fall of Lauro, followed by the removal of its inhabitants to Lusitania, put a stop to further defection. Pompey's check was the more mortifying from its contrast with the success of Metellus, who defeated Hirtuleius, the best general of Sertorius, near Italica,

and in the next campaign utterly overthrew and killed the same commander, who had occupied Segovia to oppose the march of Metellus to join Pompey. The latter, eager to retrieve his honour before the arrival of Metellus, hazarded a battle on the Sucro, which had nearly closed his career. His right wing, where he was opposed in person to Sertorius, was defeated, and he himself was severely wounded; but on the left, Afranius,—who afterwards fought in Spain against Cæsar—penetrated to the enemy's camp, and was plundering it when Sertorius came up and rallied his defeated wing. The renewal of the battle on the next day might have sealed Pompey's fate, but for the opportune arrival of Metellus, who overthrew Perperna and took his camp (B.C. 75). Even after this union of the two armies, the energy and resources of Sertorius prolonged the conflict for three years, and Pompey had no opportunity for boasting either over his antagonist or his colleague. The new supplies of men and money that he kept demanding seemed thrown into a bottomless gulf, while Rome needed all her resources for the new war with Mithridates; and there were those who fancied that that union of the West and East, which Hannibal and Antiochus had failed to accomplish, was about to crush Rome in its embrace. But time was also working against Sertorius. The Spaniards began to weary of the war; and their disgust was increased by the insolence of the Roman officers. Sertorius, like Hannibal, knew the hopelessness of the final issue; but all his overtures of reconciliation were rejected. Dissension broke out among his officers, and plots were made for his assassination. At length Perperna, who had always submitted unwillingly to his command, and who hoped to succeed to his power, headed a conspiracy of his chief officers, by whom Sertorius was killed amidst the festivities of a banquet at Osca (*Huesca*). Thus perished, by the hands of a band of worthless emigrants, whom it was his fate to lead against his country, a man worthy to rank with the ancient heroes of the Republic, a man whose wisdom, probity, and courage, thrown into the scale of parties at Rome, might perhaps have saved her from the aristocracy and Pompey, without delivering her as a victim to Cæsar (B.C. 72).

Perperna soon found that he had cut down the only protection for his own worthless life. The soldiers submitted to him from the necessity of their position in presence of the enemy, but they were as reluctant to obey as he was incompetent to command. The first collision with Pompey dispersed them to the winds, and Perperna himself was among the prisoners. His attempt to save

his life by giving up the papers of Sertorius, with all their compromising revelations, proved as impolitic as it was despicable. Pompey had probably stronger reasons than a generosity which was foreign to his nature for committing the papers to the flames, while he handed over Perperna and the other captive officers to the executioner. The absence of Metellus in another part of Spain gave him one of those opportunities, which marked his whole career, for entwining the laurels of another in his own triumphal wreath; and fortune reserved for him a similar favour on his return to Italy.

While the Sertorian War was prolonged in Spain, and while a fresh conflagration had broken out in the East, Italy herself had been suffering the penalty of one of her social crimes. The brutal shows of gladiators, which the Romans first borrowed from Etruria, had grown to such a height with indulgence and with the unlimited supply of prisoners taken in war, that whole bands of these wretched captives were bought up by speculators, and trained for the arena in what were called the "schools of gladiators." In one of these schools near Capua there was a certain Spartacus, whose former pursuit as a captain of Thracian banditti prompted him to the enterprize of leading an insurrection. He escaped with about seventy of his comrades to the crater of Vesuvius, for the volcanic fires of the mountain had not yet broken out within human knowledge (B.C. 73).* The slaves whose wretched state had been aggravated tenfold by the Social and Civil Wars, flocked in from every quarter, and Spartacus was soon at the head of an army of 100,000 men, whom he proved himself not destitute of the ability to command. Italy was ravaged from the Alps to the Straits of Messina. The armies and best generals of Rome were absent in Spain and Asia, and both the consuls of B.C. 72 were defeated. In the next year the conduct of the war was committed to the prætor, M. Crassus, who had proved his ability under Sulla, and who, as an immense proprietor of slaves and of forfeited estates, had a deep interest in putting down the rebellion. Taking the field with a new levy of six legions, he restored discipline in the demoralized consular armies by decimating the soldiers. By occupying the roads and passes, he drove back the insurgents to the extremity of the Bruttian peninsula, and shut them up in Rhegium by strong lines of circumvallation. After failing in an attempt to cross the strait

* The first recorded eruption of Vesuvius is that of A.D. 63, which inflicted a damage that gave some faint warning of the catastrophe of Herculaneum and Pompeii in A.D. 79.

and raise a new servile war in Sicily, Spartacus broke through the lines. Crassus overtook him in Lucania, and gained a bloody battle, in which Spartacus was killed. Most of his followers were cut to pieces, and 6000 prisoners were impaled by Crassus along both sides of the road from Capua to Rome. One body of 5000 escaped into Cisalpine Gaul, where they were met by Pompey on his return from Spain, and cut to pieces to a man. On the strength of this encounter, Pompey declared that Crassus had indeed checked the insurrection, but he had extirpated it by the roots. Crassus, however, perceived that he had more to gain by a coalition than by a collision with the popular hero; and Rome soon beheld the strange spectacle of the two lieutenants of Sulla, at the head of their victorious armies, bidding for the Consulship—for which neither was legally eligible*—at the price of a democratic reaction. Pompey promised to restore the tribunitian power; and the Senate dared make no opposition. Their election was the death-blow to the constitution established by Sulla only ten years before, and the prelude to the triumvirate of ten years later. On the last day of the year (Dec. 29th, B.C. 71) Pompey entered the city in triumph for the second time; the success of Crassus over slaves entitling him only to an ovation. His wealth, however, enabled him to display a magnificence peculiarly his own: he spread a banquet for the Roman citizens on ten thousand tables, and distributed corn enough to keep all their families for three months.

Pompey now assumed the new part of leader of the popular faction, and broke with the Senate and the Sullan party. He carried his promised law restoring the privileges of the Tribunate, which Sulla had abolished, and supported the law of the prætor, L. Aurelius Cotta, for again depriving the Senate of their judicial power. The new lists of *Judices* were selected jointly from the three orders of *Senators*, *Equites*, and *Tribuni Ærarii*, the last being the wealthiest class of citizens below the equestrian rank,† an arrangement under which bribery seems to have been practised more shamelessly than ever. In these acts Pompey had the earnest support of CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, who had now reached

* Pompey was only thirty-five years old, and had not even served the quæstorship: Crassus was prætor, between which office and the consulship an interval of two full years was required by law.

† How little this qualification was practically kept up, may be inferred from Cicero's description of the jury in the case of Clodius (B.C. 61), whose acquittal he attributes to the poverty and baseness of the judices: "Never was there a viler assemblage seen in a common gaming-house; Senators with spots on their robes, Knights stripped of theirs, Tribunes called *ærarii*, but none of them *ærati*" (monied).

the age of thirty, and, though he had held none of the magistracies, was already a power in Rome. His birth in the sixth consulship of Marius (B.C. 100) gave an omen of his destiny, which he was not slow to accept, when his father's death left him, at the age of sixteen, the master of his own actions, but of no large fortune. This was in the very year of Cinna's death; notwithstanding which event, Cæsar gave a new proof of adhesion to the party by marrying Cinna's daughter, Cornelia, in the following year. Sulla showed his usual power of estimating character in the desire to bring over Cæsar to his side; but when he required him to divorce his wife—a concession which Pompey had made without scruple—he found that he had counted too much on the pliancy of youth, and he at once marked him as dangerous. Cæsar was proscribed, and only escaped death by hiding in the Sabine hills, till his powerful friends obtained his pardon from the dictator. But when they pleaded his youth, Sulla warned them "that the boy would one day be the ruin of the aristocracy, for there were many Mariuses in him." Cæsar soon after withdrew to Asia, and performed his first military service at the siege of Mitylene, where he gained a civic crown (B.C. 80). Upon the death of Sulla, he returned to Rome (B.C. 78), where he displayed those powers of speech which were only second to his powers of action—as well as his readiness to assail the friends of Sulla—in the prosecution of Cn. Dolabella on a charge of extortion in his province of Macedonia (B.C. 77). His success stimulated his ambition for forensic honours; and it seemed for a time doubtful whether he or Cicero would carry off the palm of eloquence. Just as Cicero, who had commenced his career as a pleader four years earlier, returned from spending two years in studying philosophy and rhetoric in the schools of Athens, Asia Minor, and Rhodes,* Cæsar departed for the latter place, to take lessons under the same teacher, Molo Apollonius. But fortune seemed at once to claim him as a man of action. His ship was captured by the pirates, who, as we shall presently see, had almost undisputed mastery of the Mediterranean and Ægæan. His ransom was fixed at the enormous sum of 50 talents (about 12,000*l.*), which he obtained from the maritime cities of Asia. While he was their prisoner, he often made threats of vengeance, as it seemed to them, in sport; threats which would seem doubly ludicrous from that puny frame which Shakspere makes Cassius deride. But Cæsar soon proved

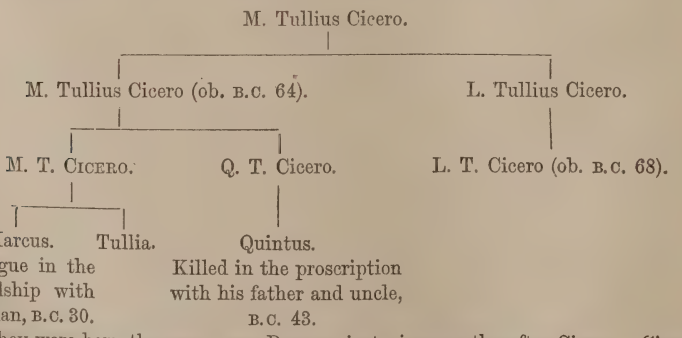
* A more convenient opportunity will soon present itself for reviewing the first thirty years of Cicero's life.

that he was terribly in earnest. Having manned a small squadron at Miletus, he assailed the pirates in their haunts, carried them prisoners to Pergamus, and crucified them. Cæsar now resumed his purpose of studying at Rhodes (B.C. 75); but the outbreak of the Third Mithridatic War called him again to his more congenial element. The influence with the Asiatic cities, which we have already seen him using, enabled him to raise troops on his own account, with which he defended the Carian peninsula against the general of Mithridates (B.C. 74). On his return to Rome, he devoted all his energies and more than all his fortune to securing the favour of the people; and his geniality and affable converse with all ranks won more hearts than his magnificent largesses and entertainments. The support he gave to the measures of Pompey's consulship proved that he had chosen his part between the people and the nobles; but an opportunity soon occurred for a more decisive demonstration. His aunt Julia and his wife Cornelia both died in the year of Cæsar's quæstorship (B.C. 68). He seized the occasion of their funerals to pronounce the panegyric of Marius, the husband of the one, and of Cinna, the father of the other; and, among the images of the Julian house in his aunt's funeral procession, those of Marius too were shown. Three years later, Cæsar availed himself of his office of curule ædile to restore the statues of Marius in the public places of the city (B.C. 65). The people, who had by this time forgotten the darker shades in the character of Marius, exulted at honours to his memory which promised the more successful renewal of his work.

The consulship of Pompey and Crassus was a marked epoch likewise in the career of CICERO. His family was one of old standing in the small town of Arpinum, in Latium, formerly belonging to the Volscians, and afterwards to the Samnites, and now a Roman municipium, having received the full franchise in B.C. 188. It was a branch of the Tullian Gens, which, though boasting a name derived from Tullus Hostilius, was as yet of no distinction. There had been, indeed, a patrician *Gens Tullia*, one of the noble Alban houses who were transported to Rome by Tullus Hostilius; but they became extinct at an early period of the Republic. The first of the plebeian branch who attained to any eminence was a contemporary of Cicero, M. Tullius Decula, who was consul by the permission of Sulla, in B.C. 81. None of Cicero's ancestors had held any of the honours of the state; and he was in after life proud of being a *novus homo*. His grandfather, Marcus Tullius Cicero, had two sons, Marcus and Lucius. The latter was

a friend of the great orator, M. Antonius, and left a son of the same name, whose death, in B.C. 68, is recorded with affectionate regret by his cousin in the very first sentence of his first letter.* Marcus Cicero, the elder brother of Lucius, had two sons, Marcus, the orator, philosopher, and consul, and Quintus, who only wanted a more evenly balanced character to have rivalled his brother's fame. MARCUS was born on the 3rd of January, B.C. 106, at his father's villa, on a little island formed by the river Fibrenus (*Fibreno*). Quintus was four years younger. Both brothers soon displayed such natural parts, that their father removed to Rome to secure for them the best education, and lived to enjoy the fruits of his care to the year before the consulship of Marcus (B.C. 64). Their chief literary instructor was the poet Archias of Rhodes, for whom Cicero afterwards pronounced that oration which contains a noble defence of liberal studies. Destined to the forensic profession, from the time he assumed the manly gown, Marcus Cicero became a hearer of the greatest master of jurisprudence, the augur Mucius Scævola (B.C. 91). He served his first campaign, as we have seen, under Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in the Social War (B.C. 89); when he no doubt laid the foundation of his intimate relations with his coequal in age,† the younger Pompey. The strife of the civil war was not permitted to interrupt the studies of his life,

* *Ad Atticum*, I. 5: for this letter, though numbered fifth, is really the first in chronological order. The following is the *stemma* of Cicero's family :—


M. Tullius Cicero.
M. Tullius Cicero (ob. B.C. 64).
L. Tullius Cicero.
M. T. CICERO.
Q. T. Cicero.
L. T. Cicero (ob. B.C. 68).
Marcus.
Colleague in the Consulship with Octavian, B.C. 30.
Tullia.
Quintus.
Killed in the proscription with his father and uncle, B.C. 43.

† They were born the same year, Pompey just nine months after Cicero. Cicero's only other taste of war was in later life (B.C. 51-50) as governor of Cilicia, an office which exposed him to dangers from the Parthians, to which his letters show him to have been keenly sensitive. Instead of having to cope with them, however, he gained some successes against the robber-tribes of the Taurus, on the strength of which his troops saluted him as *Imperator*. If this was a military jest, Cicero did not fail to improve upon it by writing to Cæsar, then just returning from Gaul to conquer Rome: —"M. T. Cicero, *Imperator*, C. Julio Cæsari, Imperatori S.D.;" which may be freely rendered, "F.M. Marcus Tullius Cicero greets F.M. Caius Julius Cæsar."

which took a wider range than the technicalities of law. He learnt the principles of all the three great schools of Greek philosophy from their most distinguished leaders then at Rome, Phædrus the Epicurean, Diodotus the Stoic, and Philo the chief of the New Academy; and although, in the works in which he afterwards reflected the spirit of Greek philosophy in a Roman form, he shows the influence of all these modes of thought, he gave his allegiance to the spiritualistic teaching handed down from Plato. The presence at Rome of Molo the Rhodian enabled Cicero to take lessons from the most famous rhetorician of the age.

At the age of twenty-six (B.C. 81) Cicero began his forensic career by his speech for Publius Quintius, which was followed in the next year by his successful defence of Sextus Roscius of Ameria against an infamous charge of parricide preferred by Sulla's favourite freedman, Chrysogonus, who was himself the contriver of the murder (B.C. 80). Both speeches are extant. That for Roscius in particular bears evidence of the orator's genius, and not the least so in those passages which he himself afterwards censured for their youthful extravagance. The impression it made upon Sulla no doubt influenced Cicero's determination to withdraw for a time from Rome, in order to strengthen his naturally weak constitution; for at Rome,—where the orator had to address large bodies of Judices and the assemblies of the people in the open air,—where the counsel must be ready from sunrise to meet the clients who flocked to his house,—physical power was a greater element of forensic success than even at our own bar, where it often decides an advocate's career. He spent six months at Athens studying philosophy under Antiochus of Ascalon, and rhetoric under the Syrian Demetrius (B.C. 79). The influence of his visit to the University of the World may be traced in almost every page of his writings; and not the least important of its results was his new intimacy with the former companion of his youthful studies, the Roman knight Titus Pomponius, who had withdrawn from the civil discords of the capital, to devote himself at Athens, and at his estate in Epirus, to those literary pursuits in which his unrivalled proficiency gained for him the surname of ATTICUS. To that intimacy we owe those wonderful records of Cicero's inmost feelings, as well as of the events passing around him, which form the greater half of his unrivalled letters.*

* Afterwards, when Atticus was adopted by his mother's brother, Q. Cæcilius, a Roman knight and usurer, who left him 10,000,000 sesterces, his full and proper name became Q. Cæcilius Pomponianus Atticus; but the simple name of *Atticus* is

From Athens Cicero repaired to Asia Minor, to hear the rhetoricians who adorned all the chief Greek cities; and he finished his tour at Rhodes, where he again received the lessons of Molo. He returned to Rome in his thirtieth year, with his health restored, and his powers trained to the highest excellence that instruction could confer; and he devoted himself wholly to the labour which he knew could alone give perfection (B.C. 77). It was the year in which Lepidus had failed in his attempt to rekindle the last spark of the Civil War; and while factious impeachments and cases of disputed rights gave ample occupation to the courts, the path of political ambition lay fully open. The resolution of Cicero to undertake the causes of the defenceless, and never but in extreme cases to appear as an accuser, was as popular as it was generous; and the result was seen in his election to the quæstorship for the first year in which he could hold the office, though he had none of the influence of the great families (B.C. 75). The integrity of his financial administration in Sicily, and his urbanity to the provincials, laid the foundation of that great forensic success which he achieved in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus (B.C. 70). Soon after his departure, the unhappy province had fallen into the hands of a governor whose conduct summed up all the worst vices of the worst part of the Roman administration. CAIUS VERRES, a deserter from the Marian to the Sullan party, after giving proof both of his rapacity and faithlessness by sharing Dolabella's plunder of Cilicia and then appearing as evidence against him, had been Prætor Urbanus in B.C. 74, and proprætor in Sicily the three following years. There is no reason to believe that Cicero has exaggerated his avarice, his cruelty, and his wanton outrages upon all decency; of which it would be hopeless to convey an adequate impression without reciting the statements of the orator. Whatever he coveted of the moveable wealth of cities and rich persons,—gold, silver, and gems,—vases, pictures, and statues,—nay, even the offerings dedicated in the temples,—could only be refused with the certainty of being exacted by means of insulting cruelties and illegal vengeance. Other governors had connived at the exactions of the capitalists; but the capricious regulations of Verres annulled both public laws and private contracts at the

fixed by Cicero's correspondence. The improvement of his enormous wealth divided his attention with Greek learning: and the employment of his slaves in copying manuscripts made him the great publisher of his day. Unlike Cicero, he was an Epicurean; and it was in the spirit of that philosophy that he died of voluntary starvation, when he found himself stricken with an incurable disease (B.C. 32).

cost alike of the payers and farmers of the taxes, while the industrious classes were ruined by enormous export duties. His accuser declared that, in three years, Verres had desolated the island more than both the Servile Wars; more even than the long contests between Greece, Carthage, and Rome; and he himself boasted that, should he be compelled to disgorge two-thirds of his plunder, enough would be left even for his rapacious desires. As soon as he left the island, the provincials resolved to put this question to the proof, and they placed their cause in the hands of Cicero. He found himself pitted against Quintus Hortensius, the master of the forum, who was sure of being the consul for the following year.* Hortensius used every means of postponing the trial till he could bring the weight of the consulship to aid the defence: and he was supported by all the influence of the aristocracy. Bribes and menaces having failed, a device was adopted which requires notice for the curious light it throws on the Roman system of jurisprudence. A sham prosecutor was set up in the person of Q. Cæcilius Niger, who had been quæstor to Verres, and had therefore, it was alleged, the best knowledge of the case. A sort of preliminary trial, called *Divinatio*, was required, to decide whether Cæcilius or Cicero should be the accuser, and the question was decided in favour of Cicero, who delivered on this occasion the first of his celebrated orations in the case.† The next hope of delay was in the collection of the evidence upon the spot; and for this purpose Cicero was allowed 110 days. He instantly set out for Sicily, and, with the aid of his cousin Lucius, traversed the island in less than two months, and returned with a crowd of witnesses to Rome. It was now July; and the middle of August had been fixed by Pompey for games, which would occupy a fortnight. Other festive

* This great orator was eight years older than Cicero, having been born in B.C. 114. He had commenced his forensic career at the age of nineteen, and soon rose to that unquestioned command of the courts of justice, which Cicero wrested from him by his success in the case of Verres.

† The following is a list of the orations composed by Cicero against Verres, as arranged by himself:—I. *Preliminary*:—(1) *Divinatio in Q. Cæcilium;* (2) *Proœmium* or *Actio Prima*—a statement of the whole case: II. *Actio Secunda*—the separate development of the charges, as founded on the depositions, including:—(3) *De Prætura Urbanâ*—the official career of Verres to B.C. 73; (4) *De Jurisdictione Siciliensi*, his judicial conduct in Sicily; (5) *Oratoria Frumentaria*—his oppression of the producers; (6) *De Signis*—his extortions, chiefly of works of art; (7) *De Suppliciis*—the cruel and illegal punishments he inflicted on the provincials, and even on Roman citizens. The case came to an end after the first two orations were delivered; but it is characteristic of Cicero's pursuit of his art, that he afterwards wrote out the remaining speeches from the materials furnished by the depositions.

solemnities would soon follow, and the short intervals might be occupied by the speeches of Hortensius, or wasted in adjournments. Thus the case would have been postponed till the new year, when, besides the influence of Hortensius as consul, the upright prætor Glabrio would be replaced by the partisan Metellus with a jury of his selection. But Cicero defeated this new plot by his prudent self-sacrifice, as the former by his activity. Contenting himself with a brief outline of the whole case, he at once called his witnesses, whose evidence Hortensius had no means of rebutting. Their testimony was overwhelming; and before the end of the nine days which it occupied, Verres anticipated his certain condemnation by voluntary exile. He carried with him enough of his plunder to bring down retribution from a rapacity equal to his own, and perished in the proscription of Mark Antony (B.C. 43). The case at once raised Cicero to the summit of his profession; and his orations will bear comparison with the united power of the managers of the prosecution of Warren Hastings, the only parallel in history to the case of Verres. To the other events of this memorable year may be added the birth of Virgil, at Andes, near Mantua.*

In the following year Cicero served the office of Curule Ædile, and the Capitol, rebuilt after the fire of B.C. 83, was dedicated by Quintus Catulus (B.C. 69).† The next year witnessed the commencement of Cæsar's official career, as quæstor (B.C. 68); and in the year after, a new attempt was made to restore the dignity of the Equites by the law of Otho, giving them special seats at the public games (B.C. 67). We find Cicero afterwards labouring to soothe the popular discontent created by this concession, and establishing for a time the custom of including the equestrian order with the Senate and people in the well known formula which named the Roman state.‡ Yet, with all his attachment to his own order, and his zeal to promote its concord with the Senate, he confesses, in his familiar letters to Atticus, that he was ashamed of the rapacity and roguery of his clients, and that their shameless bribery on the trial of Clodius proved them unfit for any accession of dignity (B.C. 61). This, however, was after Cicero had joined the party of the Optimates. At present, he was zealously

* His full name, properly spelt, was PUBLIUS VERGILIUS MARO.

† The first Capitol had been dedicated by M. Horatius, in the third year of the Republic, B.C. 507.

‡ The formula, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, was for a short time enlarged to *S.P.Q.R. et Equester Ordo.*

co-operating in the popular measures of Pompey, for whose aggrandizement a new occasion soon arose.

We have more than once had occasion to refer to the piracy which had for many years infested the Mediterranean. The navy which Rome had created during her struggle with Carthage had been suffered to decay when her maritime rival was destroyed; and no attempt was made to maintain even the necessary maritime police. The measures taken against the pirates in Cilicia * had been but a spasmodic effort; and during the Social, Mithridatic, and Civil Wars, the corsairs had become almost absolute masters of the Mediterranean. Even the Italian coast was not safe from their incursions, and it is recorded that a magistrate was seized on the Appian Road and carried off to sea with his whole band of lictors. One effort was indeed made against them by the proconsul P. Servilius Vatia, who organized the province of Cilicia, and gained the surname of Isauricus by his successes against the robber tribe of the Isaurians in the Taurus (B.C. 74); but within eight years the transport of corn was so seriously interrupted as to threaten Rome with a famine. The aid of the popular hero was again invoked; and the tribune A. Gabinius brought in a rogation for the appointment of a man of consular rank as absolute commander in the Mediterranean for three years, with a fleet of 200 ships, a military chest of 6000 talents, and as many soldiers as he might require (B.C. 67). The very omission of Pompey's name in the bill proved that no other was deemed worthy of the trust. The jealousy long felt by the Senate burst out into fury. Catulus and Hortensius used all their eloquence against the bill; and the consul, Calpurnius Piso, assailed the popular leader with the old charge of affecting regal power, in the significant threat: "If you emulate Romulus, you will not escape the end of Romulus." The law, however, passed; and its first effect was seen on the same day by a fall in the price of corn. Pompey more than fulfilled the popular expectation. Posting squadrons of his ships at different points on the coast to hunt the pirates out of their chief haunts, he scoured the sea with the main body of his fleet, till in forty days he had cleared the western half of the Mediterranean. Then, having made fresh preparations for the more difficult part of his task, he sailed again from Brundisium, driving the pirates before him to their strongholds on the Cilician coast. Here he destroyed their united fleet in a great naval battle; and, pursuing them into their creeks and forts, he took no less than 20,000

* See p. 78.

prisoners, many of whom became peaceable settlers in the cities they had depopulated, and especially in Soli, which received the new name of Pompeiopolis. The second half of the campaign occupied forty-nine days; and Cicero sums up the whole war in the following words: "Pompey made his preparations for the war at the end of winter, began it at the commencement of spring, and finished it in the middle of the summer." Pompey was still engaged in regulating the affairs of Cilicia and Pamphylia, when he received the welcome news of his appointment to succeed Lucullus in the command against Mithridates (B.C. 66).

The peace which Sulla had made with Mithridates in B.C. 84 was well understood by both parties to be but a truce in a contest which must be fought out to the last; but Mithridates needed a breathing-space, and the Romans had occupation enough at home. In the following year, as we have seen, the eagerness of Murena for a triumph, and the advice of Archelaus, the discarded minister of Mithridates, brought on the brief conflict called the Second Mithridatic War (B.C. 83). On the pretext that Mithridates was tardy in evacuating Cappadocia, Murena crossed the Halys, and ravaged the fertile plain of Western Pontus. Mithridates at first contented himself with an appeal to Rome; but when Murena renewed the attack in the following year, the king met him with his whole force, routed him in a battle on the banks of the Halys, and chased him into Phrygia. He had recovered Cappadocia, when Gabinius arrived with a peremptory rebuke from Sulla to Murena, and Mithridates again gave up Cappadocia, and renewed the peace (B.C. 82). But the king had received a lesson which was not to be disregarded; and he applied all his energies to prepare for the final conflict. Aided by the refugees who had fled to his court after the death of Fimbria, he introduced the Roman arms and discipline among his Asiatic levies, and sent an embassy to make an alliance with Sertorius. It was not, however, till B.C. 74 that the conflict broke out. In the beginning of that year Nicomedes III. died, bequeathing to the Republic his kingdom of Bithynia, which was forthwith declared a Roman Province. Upon this Mithridates set up a pretender, whom he declared to be the legitimate son of the late king, and prepared to support him with his whole force, which now amounted to 120,000 of his Romanized infantry, 16,000 cavalry, and 100 scythed chariots, besides a fleet which commanded the Euxine. Meanwhile both the consuls, L. Licinius Lucullus and M. Aurelius Cotta, arrived in Asia, but with forces quite inadequate to protect Bithynia. Cotta, who risked an en-

gagement under the walls of Chalcedon, was defeated both by sea and land, and the victorious fleet and army of Mithridates proceeded to invest Cyzicus. This splendid colony of the Milesians, the celebrity of which dated from legendary times, lay close to the shore of Mysia, on the south side of an island anciently called Arctonnesus (*Bears' Isle*); and in the time of Alexander it was connected with the mainland by a mole, the two sides of which formed its harbours.* Thus placed in the vestibule of the Euxine,† and commanding the vast traffic of the Greeks with the shores of that sea, it attained to the greatest wealth. It shook off the yoke of Persia in the later years of Artaxerxes Mnemon (about B.C. 365), and preserved its independence as the ally of the kings of Pergamus. Its government was renowned for equity and wisdom, and its gold coins were celebrated for their purity, a sure sign, in those times, of a sound commercial system. While nearly all the rest of Hellas bowed before the conqueror, the magnificent buildings of this queen of the Propontis faced in proud security the shores on which the powers of the East and West contended for final dominion. When the danger came near, she did not hesitate to act as the bulwark of civilization, and her resistance checked the first rush of the barbarian sultan. While Mithridates was detained before Cyzicus, Lucullus advanced from Phrygia to the support of his imprudent colleague. This great man,—for such he really was, though his military fame was undeservedly eclipsed by Pompey, and his name has come down to us invested with the odium of pre-eminence in that extravagance in which the Roman nobles placed their highest pride—brought to his long contest with Mithridates the lessons he had learnt in the school of Sulla. Avoiding a direct collision with the vast force of Mithridates, he took up a position to cut off his supplies by land, while the winter storms performed the like office at sea. Pressed by famine, the king's only hope was in carrying the city by storm: but the Cyzicenes repelled all his efforts with a resolution which the Romans rewarded with the rank of a free city. Early in B.C. 73, Mithridates was compelled to raise the siege, with his army demoralized by want. His retreat was harassed by Lucullus, who inflicted on him severe defeats at the passages of the Æsepus and Granicus; and by the time the king reached Pontus, the force which he had been so long in creating was utterly annihilated. In this one campaign, Lucullus had relieved

* This mole has in course of time grown into a broad isthmus.

† The Propontis (or fore-Pontus), now the Sea of Marmora.

the province and the protected states from all danger of conquest, and converted a war for the defence of Asia Minor into one for new eastern conquests. The defeat of a fresh army raised by immense exertions in the heart of Pontus, while the Roman fleet commanded the coast, drove Mithridates to take refuge with his son-in-law, Tigranes, the King of Armenia (B.C. 72—1).

Except a casual notice in the narrative of the First Mithridatic War, this interesting country has scarcely claimed our attention since the time when its heights, emerging from the Flood, gave a resting-place to the ark, and the primitive families of mankind descended from the table-land which contains the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Cyrus and Araxes.* Its people, who were undoubtedly a most ancient branch of the Caucasian race, spoke a language distinguished by marked peculiarities, but on the whole resembling the Aryan dialects. Their religion seems to have been a sort of mean between the pure elemental worship of the Medes and Persians (whom they resembled in their customs), and the personified Sabæism of the early Babylonians, which is seen especially in the worship of the Armenian goddess Anaïtis, whose connection both with the Chaldæan Beltis or Mylitta and with the Punic Tanath † seems the more probable from the commerce which the Armenians are known to have carried on with Babylon and Phœnicia. Xenophon describes the Armenians as a people of primitive simplicity; but, from causes difficult to trace, their character had degenerated, in the time of the Empire, into meanness and chicanery. A regal government of patriarchal origin appears to have been early established, and the Armenians represent their native kings as maintaining their independence against the successive empires of Western Asia. The mythical traditions of Semiramis, and the monuments of the Assyrian kings, tell of conquests over the Armenians, which were probably but predatory incursions, and their independence is said to have been restored by the great Median revolt. Armenia was nominally included in the Medo-Persian Empire; but the relation was doubtless that of alliance or mercenary service rather than subjection. Armenian troops served in the army of Xerxes, and again under Darius Codomannus, when their king was killed, and the people submitted to Alexander (B.C. 328). The mastery again obtained over them by the Seleucids ended with the defeat of Antiochus the

* The Upper Euphrates divided Armenia Proper, or the Greater Armenia, from Armenia Minor, which was often considered a part of Cappadocia.

† See Vol. II., p. 384.

Great by the Romans, when two of that monarch's generals, Zariadras and Artaxias, founded the two kingdoms of Lesser and Greater Armenia, on the western and eastern sides of the Euphrates. The latter king is said to have had the advice of Hannibal in building his capital of Artaxata, the ruins of which are still seen near *Nakshivan*, on a peninsula formed by the Araxes. He was taken prisoner by Antiochus Epiphanes (about B.C. 165); but Syria was too weak to recover the country, and the Armenian kingdom reached its acmé of power under TIGRANES, the Tiger-king (B.C. 96—56), who extended his rule over the mountains of Gordyene (*Kurdistan*) and the Median province of Atropatene. In rivalry of the Parthian monarchy, he called himself King of kings, and justified the title by his constant retinue of vassal princes.* His new capital of Tigranocerta (the *Fortress of Tigranes*),† built on a height by the river Nicephorius, in the valley between Mt. Masius and Mt. Niphates, was peopled by Hellenic captives whom he carried off in his great invasion of Cappadocia, to the number—it was said—of 300,000. After Sulla had left Asia, Tigranes was invited by the Syrians, who, after suffering the last evils of anarchy from the dissensions of the royal family, had lost their king Antiochus XII. in battle against the Arabians; and he held the throne of the Seleucids from B.C. 83 till his overthrow by the Romans in B.C. 69.

With all his boasted and real power, Tigranes was not disposed to precipitate a contest with Rome. He could not deny a refuge to his father-in-law, but he declined to receive him at his court; nor was Lucullus eager to push matters to extremity. He sent, indeed, a formal demand for the surrender of Mithridates, while he busied himself, as the war was ended for the time, with settling the distracted affairs of Asia. The unhappy province was not only exhausted by the war, but groaning under the old curse of the tax-gatherers and contractors; and the sternness with which Lucullus repressed their exactions brought upon him the enmity of the whole equestrian order at the very time when Pompey was earning their favour at Rome (B.C. 70). Meanwhile his envoy, Appius Claudius, had discharged his mission with such arrogance as to drive Tigranes into the arms of Mithridates. After a delay of nearly two years, the Armenian declared war against the Romans; but he scorned

* His medals exhibit him with noble features of the Caucasian type, crowned with the upright tiara.

† The name, which seems to contain the same root as Carthage and Cirta, is preserved in the modern appellation of the ruins, *Sert*.

to learn from his father-in-law's experience. When Lucullus advanced into Armenia, Tigranes gave him battle beneath the walls of Tigranocerta, and the utter rout of the "king of kings" was followed by the loss of his capital. The Greeks who had been forcibly settled in the city returned home full of the praises of Lucullus; while Tigranes, struck with the fulfilment of his kinsman's warning, resolved to leave the future conduct of the war to Mithridates. Meanwhile Lucullus crossed the Taurus, and pressed forward into the heart of Armenia, where he gained a victory over Mithridates and Tigranes near Artaxata (B.C. 68). But seven years of constant warfare in a rugged country had begun to tell upon the temper of the troops, who shared moreover in the democratic spirit that prevailed at Rome. Lucullus tried to humour them by turning aside into the rich country of Mesopotamia, where he invested Nisibis. But a winter siege did not improve the temper of the soldiery, while its leisure and tedium gave opportunities to the fomentors of disaffection, amongst whom Publius Clodius began his turbulent career. The news of Pompey's ascendancy at Rome and of his appointment to the command against the pirates inflamed the desire to have him for a leader, and Lucullus was accused of having personal motives for protracting the war. At length his enemies were able to reproach him with a military disaster. While he was detained before Nisibis, Mithridates had made a bold stroke for the recovery of Pontus; the people, disgusted with the extortioners who had already overrun the country, rose at his call; Fabius, the lieutenant of Lucullus, was defeated and shut up in Cabira; and a still severer rout befel Triarius, who lost his camp and seven thousand men (B.C. 68-7). At this news, Lucullus broke up the siege of Nisibis, and hastened back to Pontus. Mithridates retreated into Lesser Armenia, to await the arrival of Tigranes. Meanwhile the mutiny in the army of Lucullus reached its height, and the two kings overran Pontus and Cappadocia with perfect ease. When ten commissioners arrived from Rome to constitute the province of Pontus, they found it again in the enemy's possession; and the reputation of Lucullus was lost together with his conquests.

The popular party at Rome had no difficulty in procuring the proconsul's recal and the transfer of his command to the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio. But this was only a step towards the real object; and Glabrio acted like a man who knew that his authority was only temporary. Without even attempting to assume the command, he contented himself with issuing proclamations

absolving the soldiers from their duty to Lucullus, who was compelled to remain inactive in Bithynia. After all his eight years' toil, he saw Mithridates restored to the throne of Pontus and Cappadocia. Such was the humiliation to which he was reduced by the close of the year B.C. 67, at the very time when Pompey had completed his enterprize against the pirates; and the transference of the command to the popular favourite became a political necessity. One of the first acts of the Tribune C. Manilius was to move a rogation, giving Pompey the government of the province of Asia, with proconsular authority over all the country as far as Armenia, and the sole command of the fleets and armies of the Republic in the East. The opposition of the Senate, led by Hortensius and Catulus, was overborne by the united force of all the popular leaders. Cicero was now prætor. In consequence of the repeated postponements of the Comitia, through the contest about the Gabinian law in the preceding year, he had been thrice returned at the head of the poll; and he had gained great popular applause by his first official act—the severity with which he conducted the trial of C. Licinius Macer, an orator and historian, who committed suicide to escape condemnation for extortion. The motives which urged Cicero to take the popular side, which he so soon deserted, may be better considered in reviewing his whole character. He brought his eloquence to the support of Pompey; and it is perhaps the fault of his subject that the much bepraised speech for the Manilian Law* is a fulsome panegyric, quite unworthy of the mature power which its author, now in his forty-first year, displayed in his masterly pleading in the repulsive case of Cluentius (B.C. 66).

Pompey was still in Cilicia when he received the news of his appointment. He crossed the Taurus and took the command of the army of Lucullus, who returned to Rome to await his triumph, which factious opposition delayed till B.C. 63; and then, prudently resisting all the solicitations of the aristocratic party to set himself up as the political rival of Pompey, Lucullus retired to devote the riches he had amassed in Asia to that boundless luxury which has made his name proverbial, mingled with that splendid patronage of letters, and study of the academic philosophy, which gained him a prominent place in the "Academics" of Cicero. It is needless to repeat the gossip of the ancient writers about those

* The Oration *pro Lege Manilia* is more properly described, in the best editions of Cicero, as *de Imperio Gnæi Pompei*, a title which describes its spirit as well as its subject.

gigantic works, in the construction of his villas, pleasure-grounds, and fish-preserves, which caused Pompey to call him "the Roman Xerxes," or about the sums he used to lavish on his banquets, the style of which was denoted by the name of the hall in which they were given; but it must be confessed that he attained a certain Oriental grandeur in ordering his most splendid entertainment by the formula, "Lucullus sups with Lucullus." Niebuhr says of Lucullus:—"He has acquired an unfortunate importance, as having more than any one else familiarized his countrymen with Oriental luxuries. He was a distinguished general, and must have had other estimable qualities besides, as Cicero esteemed him highly; but his exorbitant riches cannot have been acquired in an honest way."

The undoubted truth, that Lucullus had done the more difficult work of breaking the power of Mithridates, and that the king's restoration was but a temporary improvement of the opportunity given him by the Romans,—does not detract from the great merits which Pompey displayed in the campaigns of the four ensuing years. They formed the truly glorious period of his life, because he was for once in a position suited to his character. His selfish but not self-reliant nature needed the stimulus of success and freedom from perplexing difficulties. Cheered on by the applause of the Roman world, and excited by the prospect of achieving the final conquest of the East, he had military ability equal to the task of carrying the Roman eagles to the Caucasian lands, the Euphrates, and the Syrian Desert. Of further conquests he was wise enough not to dream at present; and no step was more conducive to his success than the treaty with the Parthian king, by which he compelled Tigranes to look to his own safety on his further frontier. His recent maritime experience was used with equal skill to cut off the communications of Mithridates by sea; and, when these preparations were complete, he assailed the king in the heart of his dominions. The overtures of Mithridates were met by the demand of unconditional submission; and, with his forces reduced to 30,000 foot and 2000 horse, he retreated slowly, avoiding an engagement till he was overtaken by Pompey in a narrow pass in Lesser Armenia, where most of his army was cut to pieces. Escaping with only a few horsemen to Synorium, the indomitable old man collected a fresh force, in order to fall back upon Armenia. Tigranes, however, whose son had rebelled, encouraged as he believed by Mithridates, forbad his entering the country, and he betook himself to his last refuge on the Cimmerian Bosporus, after spending

months in fighting his way through Colchis and the Caucasian tribes (B.C. 65). Pompey meanwhile turned his whole attention to Armenia, where he was joined by the rebel prince; and Tigranes threw himself upon the conqueror's mercy. He was admitted to the alliance of Rome at the cost of the surrender of all his dominions except Armenia Proper; and the young prince, who was imprudent enough to vent his disappointment in threats, was placed in chains to represent the "king of kings" in the general's triumph. Tigranes, disembarrassed of a dangerous rival, as well as restored to his throne, showed his gratitude by a large donation to the Roman troops beyond the 6000 talents exacted by Pompey; and the Republic secured a vassal, who might be relied upon in the future contest with Parthia. Departing therefore from Armenia to the pursuit of Mithridates, Pompey took up his winter quarters on the banks of the Cyrus (*Kour*), the boundary between Armenia and the Caucasian regions (B.C. 66).

In the following spring, Pompey plunged into the mountains of Iberia and Albania, fighting his way against the wild tribes at every step. Though his soldiers boasted that they had seen the Caucasus, long considered the impassable boundary of the known world, the furthest limit actually reached was the river Phasis (*Faz*), whence Pompey turned back to Pontus, which he spent the winter in organizing as a Roman province (B.C. 65). As his movements from this point will lead us into a long digression on the affairs of other countries, and carry us far from the scene of the Mithridatic War, we may now follow the king's fortunes to their end. From his secure retreat in the Crimea, he attempted to negociate with Pompey, while he collected all the forces at his command. Finding that the Roman would listen to no offers, unless Mithridates made his submission in person, the king planned an attack on Rome more daring than that of Hannibal himself. He was to march round the Euxine and up the valley of the Danube, gathering under his standard the Sarmatians, the Getæ, and the other barbarian tribes, at whose head he would pass the Alps and overrun Italy. But his fate was already sealed by the disaffection of his followers. His son Pharnaces put himself at the head of the rebellion, and was proclaimed king at Panticapæum. As his only escape from imprisonment or death, or the still worse fate of being delivered up to the Romans, he chose suicide. But he had so long inured himself to poison, that it had no effect upon him; and he was obliged to call in the sword of one of his Gallic mercenaries. He died in B.C. 63, after a reign

of fifty-seven years, though still but in his sixty-ninth year. Pompey received the news of his death in Palestine. On his return from Syria, the body of Mithridates was sent to him at Amisus; and he gave the king a royal burial in the sepulchre of his fathers at Sinope. In the settlement of the affairs of Asia, which Pompey made in Pontus during the following winter, Pharnaces was confirmed in the kingdom of Bosporus. The civil war tempted him to strike a blow for his hereditary crown, and he had conquered Colchis and the Lesser Armenia, when Cæsar marched against him in person, and gained at Zela, in Pontus, the decisive victory which he announced in the despatch—"VENI: VIDI: VICI" (B.C. 47). Pharnaces was killed in the following year by his general Asander, whom Augustus confirmed in the kingdom of Bosporus.

Meanwhile Pompey, knowing that Mithridates was in no condition to resume the offensive, turned his attention to the regulation of Syria, which had been ceded by Tigranes, though after the defeat of that king by Lucullus (B.C. 69) the throne had been recovered by Antiochus XIII., the last of the Seleucidæ. The annals of that house, since the defeat of Antiochus the Great by the Romans, have little interest, except in their connection with Jewish history, which we reserve for separate consideration. Antiochus IV., surnamed by himself Epiphanes (the Illustrious), and by his subjects Epimanes (the Madman),* had some claim to the former title by his energetic efforts to retrieve his father's losses. We have seen how he recovered Armenia; and the success with which he carried on hostilities against Egypt, till he was stopped by the peremptory mandate of Rome, has already been related.† He was well trained in Hellenic culture; and his career, like that of Nero, is a striking proof of how little a taste for art can avail to check the savage excesses of an arbitrary will. It was after his repulse from Egypt, and perhaps provoked by that rebuff to show that his will should at all events be supreme throughout his newly acquired dominions, that he commenced those efforts to force the Jews to worship the Greek gods, which caused the revolt of the Maccabees and the independence of Judæa. We shall presently see how the ill success of his furious persecution drove him to frenzy, and how, after repeating the attempt, in which his father had lost his life, to plunder the rich temple of Elymaïs in Chaldæa, he died in a state of raving madness (B.C. 164). In the century that elapsed between his death and the extinction of the kingdom, fifteen kings reigned in Syria; but it is needless to pursue the details of

* He reigned B.C. 175-164. † Vol. p. 511.

family discords and murders, wars with Egypt and the Parthians, and the rise and fall of usurpers, which mark their revolting annals, till the people were compelled to look for protection to Tigranes. The last of the successors of Seleucus, Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus, who now held a doubtful sovereignty over the narrowest bounds of Syria, was quietly dethroned by Scaurus, the legate of Pompey, in B.C. 65, and the country was reduced to a Roman province. The eastern plain of Cilicia, which had always belonged to Syria, was added to the province which already included the western division. The north-eastern province of COMMAGENE, between the Taurus and Euphrates, which had become independent during the weakness of the Seleucids, was left in possession of its king Antiochus I., who had taken part with Pompey, and might be useful as an advanced guard against Parthia. It was made a Roman province in the same year in which Augustus died (A.D. 14); but Caligula, who was fond of setting up petty princes in the East, restored it to Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, who aided the Romans both against the Parthians and the Jews, till he was deposed by Titus, on a suspicion of intriguing with Parthia, and Commagene was made a Roman province (A.D. 72). Another petty kingdom, which had become independent of Syria as early as B.C. 137, was that of EDESSA (or Callirhoë), the capital of Osroëne, the highland region in the north-west of Mesopotamia, between Mt. Masius and the river Chaboras (*Khabour*) on the east and the great bend of the Euphrates below Samosata on the west. This country, which is usually identified with the Padan-Aram of the Patriarchs,* appears again in the traditions of the early Church as the principality of Abgarus (a name common to its rulers), who is said to have sent a letter to Jesus Christ in Judæa, of which Eusebius professes to give a copy, translated from the original Syriac. Seated amidst its mountains on the confines of the Roman and Parthian empires, the kingdom preserved its independence till it was overrun by the emperor Caracalla, who was murdered at Edessa (A.D. 216). The other principalities which had formerly belonged to Syria—of which Damascus deserves especial mention—submitted to the Romans, who were now divided from the Parthians only by the Euphrates. There was still, however, another state, which now

* The site of Edessa was at the modern village of *Orfah*, on the Scirtus or Bardesanes, an upper branch of the Belichus (*Belik*), from which it obtained its Greek name of *Antiochia Callirhoë* (Antioch of the Fair Streams). The prevalent opinion, till recently, identified it with "Ur of the Chaldees" (see Vol. I., p. 90), and nearly all biblical geographers still place Haran at Charrhæ (*Harran*), lower down on the river.

for the first time acquires historical importance, in these regions. The Arabs of Arabia Petræa, under a race of chieftains who bore the common name of Aretas (*Hareth*), held power along the western margin of the great Syrian Desert, as well as over the region of Mt. Seir, from which they had driven out the Edomites towards the west. Hence the Idumæa of this age is the region immediately south of Judæa towards the wilderness of Paran. The Nabathæan Arabs, fixing their capital at Petra, obtained great wealth and importance from the caravan traffic of which that city was the centre. The part which they had begun to play in the affairs of Judæa will claim our attention presently.

After spending the winter at Antioch, in settling the affairs of these kingdoms, Pompey pursued his march southwards in the following spring, and annexed Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria to the new Syrian province. In Palestine, however, he encountered a desperate resistance, arising out of that civil war between the degenerate Asmonæan princes, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the origin of which it is now time to trace down from the point at which we had our last glimpse of the history of the Jews.

It belongs to the special province of sacred history to record the annals of the series of High Priests, who ruled over Judæa* from the restoration of the captives by Cyrus to the time of Alexander. During this period of their history, the Jews maintained greater religious purity than at any time since the reign of David. The lesson of the Captivity had not been lost, and they never again sank into idolatry. But even this high standard of religious steadfastness had some tendency to foster the spiritual pride and national selfishness which undermined the first principles of morality. In the very age of the restoration, the warnings of Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah needed to be followed up by the stern reforms of Nehemiah, in order to check the grasping avarice which trifled with the divine law and ground down the poor; and the last prophet of the Old Testament denounces a state of society, in which the first sanctities of nature were violated, and predicts

* This name, though first introduced by the Romans, may be properly used to describe the country occupied by the Israelites who returned from the Captivity, since they were for the most part the relics of the old kingdom of Judah. Still it is important to avoid the common error of supposing that they belonged, with only insignificant exceptions, to the tribe of Judah. Much of the fanciful search after the "lost ten tribes" has been stimulated by oversight of the simple fact, that Cyrus included in his invitation to return to Palestine all the worshippers of Jehovah throughout his whole empire. There are positive proofs that the edict was obeyed by many victims of the earlier captivities; but they had not preserved their family registers and other distinctive marks of nationality, like the captives of Judah at Babylon.

a reformation of which the special work should be "to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and of the children to the fathers, lest God should smite the land with a curse." This prophecy bridges over the gap, which most readers find so unintelligible, between the Old and New Testament History. The cry of John in the wilderness, calling to repentance a priest-ridden people, who were as demoralized as they boasted to be devout, is but the echo of the warning voice raised by Malachi when the first promise of the days of Ezra and Zerubbabel began to fade away: the fruitless trees, at the root of which the axe was laid, were the same that had already then begun to wither. This one great truth, which was alone needed to introduce the Gospel History—a history intelligible only in its light—is filled up in its details by the records of Josephus and other writers.*

From the age of Cyrus to that of Alexander, a splendid worship and a system of active religious teaching covered the gradual decline of morals; while the generally tolerant government of Persia secured the blessings of peace, amidst which the Jews enriched themselves by a share in the commerce of Phœnicia on the one side, and the trade of the caravans on the other. The chief interruption of their tranquillity was from the hostility of the Samaritans, who occupied the central portion of the Holy Land, including the sacred sites of Shechem, Gerizim, and Ebal. This district was that to which the kingdom of Israël had been restricted in its last days; and when Samaria was destroyed, and the remnant of the people carried captive by Shalmaneser (B.C. 721), the land was for a time left desolate.† The new heathen settlers, who were brought from Babylon and the neighbouring cities by Esar-haddon, the son of Sennacherib (about B.C. 678), were plagued by the wild beasts that had multiplied in the deserted country. Attributing their sufferings to the local deity on whom they had intruded, they at length petitioned Esar-haddon for some one to teach them "the manner of the god of the land." The king sent them a priest of the tribe of Levi, who fixed his residence at Bethel, and the settlers learnt to worship Jehovah without ceasing to serve their own gods. Mingled with these heathen settlers there were of course Israelites who had found a lurking-place in

* For the two centuries from Cyrus to Alexander (B.C. 536—332) our information is very scanty. About half of this period is covered by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (B.C. 536—420); and the remainder, from the end of Nehemiah's second administration to Alexander's visit to Jerusalem (B.C. 420—332), is passed over by Josephus with a very brief notice.

† See Vol. I., p. 178.

the land, or who came from Judah and the northern tribes to the new seat of worship after the destruction of Jerusalem; and from such mingled elements there grew up a semi-idolatrous people, who claimed to represent the ancient Israelites.

Meanwhile the captive Jews at Babylon had preserved their faith in new purity under the teaching of Ezekiel and Daniel, amidst the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar and the lions of Darius. Returning to Jerusalem full of pious horror at idolatry, they at once rejected the claims of the Samaritans to a share in the rebuilding of the temple. The revengeful efforts of the Samaritans to impede the work, and its completion through the influence of Nehemiah with Artaxerxes Longimanus, are familiar to every reader of the Old Testament history, which ends with the triumphant restoration of the temple and city. In alluding to these incidents, which it is not necessary here to recount in detail, we must not forget the strange but characteristic episode of the Book of Esther, which lifts the veil from the inner life and intrigues of the court of Xerxes, and shows how the care of Jehovah for his people overruled the artful plot laid for their extermination to the establishment of their power against their enemies, not only in Judæa, but in every province of the Persian Empire. The date of these events is doubtless to be fixed in the middle part of the reign of Xerxes, when he had returned to solace himself for his defeat in Greece amidst the luxurious enjoyment of his palace. There is no clear evidence to identify Esther with Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, whose horrible cruelty is recorded by Herodotus.*

In the whole of this history we have glimpses of the incipient corruption of the Jews by Samaria and the other heathen nations around them, especially by means of alliances and intermarriages. As early as the first reformation effected by Ezra (B.C. 457), we find the people putting away their strange wives; but about thirty years later, when Nehemiah paid his second visit to Jerusalem, he found that the high-priest Eliashib had made an alliance with

* The identification of the *Ahasuerus* of Esther with Xerxes is now thoroughly established. The former name (properly *Achashverosh*) is the etymological equivalent of the Median and Persian names *Cyaxares*, *Xerxes*, and (with the prefix *Arta*, *noble*) *Artaxerxes*. The following list exhibits the Medo-Persian kings mentioned in Scripture, with their probable identifications:—(1.) Ahasuerus (Cyaxares), Dan. ix. 1: (2.) Darius the Mede (Astyages), Dan. v. 31, ix. 1: (3.) Cyrus (Cyrus the Great): (4.) Ahasuerus (Cambyses), Ezra iv. 6: (5.) Artaxerxes (Pseudo-Smerdis), Ezra iv. 7: (6.) Darius (Darius Hystaspis), Ezra iv. 6: (7.) Ahasuerus (Xerxes), Esther: (8.) Artaxerxes (Artaxerxes Longimanus), Ezra vii., Nehemiah.

Tobiah the Ammonite, and had given him the use of a chamber in the temple, and that his grandson had married the daughter of Sanballat "the Horonite," that is, a Moabite of Horonaim. This Sanballat, who appears to have been governor of Samaria under Artaxerxes, had united with Tobiah and with Geshem the Arabian in the most vehement opposition to Nehemiah. The Book of Nehemiah breaks off with the account of his reform of these abuses and his expulsion of the offending priest; but Josephus, who says not a word about Sanballat in relating the history of Nehemiah, tells a similar story of the marriage of Manasseh, brother of the high-priest Jaddua (the fourth in descent from Eliashib) to the daughter of a Sanballat, whom he makes governor of Samaria under "Darius the last king," that is, Darius Codomannus. Being required to give up his wife, on pain of expulsion from his office, Manasseh openly set up a Samaritan faction at Jerusalem, and Sanballat used his influence with Darius to obtain permission for the erection of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim. Meanwhile Alexander appeared in Palestine; and Sanballat, who joined him with 7000 men, persuaded him of the policy of dividing the strength of the Jewish nation by the erection of a separate worship in Samaria: so the temple was built on Mount Gerizim, and Manasseh was made the first high-priest. Such, stripped of some very suspicious embellishments, is the story of Josephus, a writer notoriously inaccurate as to chronology. Its points of coincidence with the narrative in Nehemiah suggest the simple explanation, that he has substituted the name of "the last Darius" for that of Darius Nothus (B.C. 424—405). But, though the question of chronology must be left with this conjecture, the fact is well known, of the existence of the temple on Mount Gerizim, with its schismatical worship, and the rejection of all the Jewish Scriptures, except the First Book of Moses. That temple was the standing sign of the religious hatred of Samaritans and Jews, till its destruction by John Hyrcanus (about B.C. 127); and even after it was laid in ruins, the profligate Samaritan woman could utter to the wayfaring Jew the taunt:—"*Our fathers* worshipped in this mountain; and *ye* say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship."* The scattered Hebrews of northern Palestine, though intermixed with so large a proportion of the heathen as to give their country the appellation of "Galilee of the Gentiles," retained

* John iv. 20. The words doubtless contain an allusion to that most ancient worship of Abraham, Jacob, and the Israelites after the Exodus, at Shechem and its hills, in which the Samaritans sought a justification of their schism.

their religious fealty to the temple at Jerusalem, and the Samaritans remained an isolated community, not only abstaining from commerce with the Jews, and refusing Jewish travellers the commonest hospitality, but even waylaying and maltreating them, so that they were accustomed to take the longer route on the east of Jordan, in passing between Galilee and Judæa.* Among the wanton insults, for which special opportunities were sought, we are told that the Samaritans imitated by false beacons the watch-fires by which the Jews transmitted to their brethren on the Euphrates the rising of the paschal moon; and on one occasion some Samaritans made their way into the Temple, and scattered dead men's bones upon the pavement. But the Jewish priests themselves, even during this period of comparative religious purity, profaned the sacred courts with their bloody feuds. Jonathan or Johanan (John), the grandson of Eliashib, was the last but one of the high-priests named in the Old Testament.† While one of his brothers allied himself, as we have seen, with Sanballat, another, Joshua, aimed at the high-priesthood through his favour with the Persian satrap Bagoas. Joshua was slain by the hand of Jonathan in the temple; and the satrap imposed a tax on every lamb offered in sacrifice, as a satisfaction for the murder. Jaddua, the son of Jonathan, was the high-priest who is said to have gone out to meet Alexander, when the conqueror approached Jerusalem to punish its fidelity to Darius (B.C. 332).‡ All that we know for certain is that the Jews obtained liberty of worship and other privileges in return for their submission to Alexander, who removed many of them to people his new city of Alexandria. The security of Jerusalem was increased by the punishment inflicted on the city of Samaria, which had rebelled and murdered the Macedonian governor Andromachus. Alexander expelled the inhabitants, and planted a Macedonian colony in their room—another heathen element in the motley population of Samaria.

As the result of the wars of the Diadochi, Palestine fell, with Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, to the lot of Ptolemy, who took Jerusalem by assaulting it on the Sabbath, and it belonged to Egypt for just a century (B.C. 300—198). The country enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity under the mild government of

* Hence, when we are told that Jesus "*must needs* go through Samaria," we may infer something more than a geographical necessity.

† The name of his son Jaddua (Nehem. xii. 11, 22), who, according to Josephus, was high-priest in the reign of Darius Codomannus, is an indication of the time when the Old Testament canon was closed. The few later names in 1 Chron. iii. 22—24 are of doubtful authenticity.

‡ See Vol. II. p. 61.

the first three Ptolemies (B.C. 300—222). The greatest of the high-priests during this period was Simon the Just, whose eulogy is written by the pen of Jesus the son of Sirach.* His brother and successor, Eleazar, is said to have aided Ptolemy II. Philadelphus in the great work of a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.† Onias II., the son of Simon the Just, succeeding his uncle in B.C. 240, endangered the good understanding with Egypt by withholding the customary tribute. His nephew Joseph, the son of Tobias, undertook the task of appeasing the anger of Ptolemy Euergetes. The conversation of some Phœnician merchants, with whom he travelled to Alexandria, suggested to him the scheme of outbidding their tender for farming the revenues of Palestine, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia. He offered double the sum proposed by them, and, when asked for his securities, he named the king and queen. His boldness was successful, and for twenty-two years he virtually held the civil government, side by side with the religious authority of the high-priest.

The peace so long enjoyed by the Jews was broken by the rivalries of Syria and Egypt. Cœle-Syria and Palestine had formed, under the Persian government, part of the satrapy west of the Euphrates, and in the first partition of Alexander's empire they had been attached to Syria, and were only rent from it by the superior power of Ptolemy the son of Lagus. To recover them was a chief object of the youthful ambition of Antiochus the Great, whose defeat at Raphia, near Gaza (B.C. 217), and subsequent victory at the sources of the Jordan (B.C. 198), have already been related.‡ These wars had a disastrous effect on the relations of the Jews to both powers. When Ptolemy IV. Philopator entered Jerusalem in triumph after the battle of Raphia, he made sumptuous offerings to the temple, and persisted, against the remonstrances of Onias, in attempting to enter the Most Holy Place. A wild shriek filled the city, and the king, seized with a supernatural terror, fell prostrate on the earth. He avenged his humiliation by a persecution of the Alexandrian Jews, which severed the long friendship between the people and the kings of Egypt. The victory of Antiochus at Panium was welcomed as a deliverance, and he granted an annual allowance for the sacrifices, and forbad strangers to enter the temple. His restoration of the disputed provinces, as the dowry of his daughter Cleopatra, left their

* Ecclesiasticus 1.

† Respecting the composition of the *Septuagint*, or Version of the LXX., the reader is referred to the special works on biblical science. .

‡ See Vol. II., p. 491.

administration still in his own hands as the guardian of his youthful son-in-law, Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, and when the Romans stripped him of his dominions beyond the Taurus, they seem to have acquiesced in his possession of Cœle-Syria and Palestine (B.C. 190).

One necessary consequence of the rivalries of the two great powers was the rise of two parties in Judæa, one leaning for support on Egypt, the other on Syria. The tolerant policy of the Ptolemies towards the religion of all their subjects was responded to by the habitual fidelity of the hierarchy of Jerusalem; while the increasing party who were tempted by Hellenic usages looked naturally towards Syria. The inevitable contest was brought to a head by feuds which broke out in the family of that Joseph of whom we lately spoke. Hyrcanus, the youngest of his eight sons, having contrived by a stratagem to seize his father's immense treasures, used them to purchase the favour of Ptolemy Philopator. On his return to Judæa, he had to encounter the displeasure of his father and the open enmity of his brothers, two of whom were slain in an encounter with him. Hyrcanus fled to the district beyond the Jordan, in which he was collector of the revenue. Another contest soon arose, on the death of Joseph, for the division of his wealth. The high-priest, Onias III., took part with the elder brothers, and Hyrcanus again fled to a magnificent fortified palace which he built near Heshbon, where he led the life of an independent prince, at perpetual war with the neighbouring Arabs. Thus he maintained his power for seven years, till the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, when, through fear of the king's vengeance—as it would seem—he put himself to death (B.C. 175).

The machinations of the same family had meanwhile brought new troubles upon Jerusalem. A certain Simon, treasurer of the temple, who is conjectured to have been one of the elder sons of Joseph, became involved in a dispute with Onias, apparently about the treasure which Hyrcanus had deposited in the temple. Unable to effect his object, he carried to Apollonius, the governor of Cœle-Syria under Seleucus IV.,* such an account of the riches of the temple, that Heliodorus, the royal treasurer, was sent to seize them for the king. The author of the Second Book of Maccabees is alone in relating the celebrated miracle, which he complains was even at the time imputed by Simon to the artifice of the high-priest—how a horseman clothed in golden armour

* Seleucus IV. Philopator, the elder son of Antiochus the Great, reigned from B.C. 117 to B.C. 175.

trampled Heliodorus down, while his two attendants—youths of great strength and beauty, in splendid raiment—scourged the intruder till he was carried senseless out of the temple court, and was only restored at the prayers of the high-priest.* The attempt was followed by bloody conflicts between the rival factions; and Onias found it needful to go to Antioch to answer the charges of Simon and Apollonius. He was still there when Seleucus was succeeded by his brother Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (B.C. 175).

This prince had passed his youth at Rome, whither he had been sent as a hostage for the observance of his father's treaty with the Republic. There he had learnt to add contempt for his Oriental subjects to a nature infected with the worst vices of Eastern Hellenism. His character is ably sketched by Dr. Milman:—"Antiochus united the quick and versatile character of a Greek with the splendid voluptuousness of an Asiatic. He was one of the celebrated drunkards of antiquity. At one time he debased the royal dignity by mingling with the revels of his meanest subjects, scouring the streets in his riotous frolics, or visiting the lowest places of public entertainments and the common baths; or, like Peter of Russia, conversing with the artisans in their shops on various trades. With still less regard to the dignity of his own character, he was fond of mimicking in public the forms of election to the Roman magistracies; he would put on a white robe, and canvass the passengers in the streets for their votes. Then, supposing himself to have been elected ædile or tribune, he would cause his curule chair to be set in the market-place, and administer justice—a poor revenge against a people before whose power he trembled. On the other hand, the pleasures of Antiochus were those of Sardanapalus; and his munificence, more particularly towards the religious ceremonies and edifices, both of his own dominions and of Greece, was on a scale of truly Oriental grandeur: for among the discrepancies of this singular character must be reckoned a great degree of bigotry and religious intolerance. The admirers of the mild genius of the Grecian religion, and those who suppose religious persecution unknown in the world to the era of Christianity, would

* 2 Macc. iii. iv. "This Simon now, of whom we spoke before, having been a bewrayer of the money and of his country, slandered Onias, as if he had terrified Heliodorus, and been the worker of these evils." Few readers of the Books of the Maccabees can fail to notice the great inferiority of the Second to the First in simplicity and verisimilitude.

do well to consider the wanton and barbarous attempt of Antiochus to exterminate the religion of the Jews and substitute that of the Greeks. Yet the savage and tyrannical violence of Antiochus was in fact, and surely we may say providentially, the safeguard of the Jewish nation from the greatest danger to which it had ever been exposed,—the slow and secret encroachment of Grecian manners, Grecian arts, Grecian vices, and Grecian idolatry. It roused the dormant energy of the whole people, and united again, in indissoluble bonds, the generous desire of national independence with zealous attachment to the national religion. It again identified the true patriot with the devout worshipper." *

How deeply this Hellenism had infected the Jewish people was soon proved by the tools whom Antiochus found ready even to anticipate his designs. The chief of these was Joshua, who, by offering Antiochus the enormous tribute of 360 talents, obtained the high-priesthood in place of his brother Onias, while the latter was kept in honourable captivity at Antioch (B.C. 175). The change of his own name to the Greek form Jason was a sign of the Hellenizing innovations which he carried out with all the zeal of an apostate; and he found not a few prepared to prefer the freedom of Greek manners to the "narrow Judaism" of their forefathers. While the temple services fell into disuse, a gymnasium was opened for the youths, who, in practising the Grecian exercises naked, were only ashamed of the mark of their descent from Abraham, which some of them even obliterated. Antiochus was received with acclamations when he visited Jerusalem.

All this, however, did not save Jason from being supplanted by a competitor, who outbid him both in bribing and flattering the king, and whose uncompromising Hellenism was proved, not by a slight change of name, but by adopting that of Menelaus in place of Onias.† Having been sent to Antioch to pay the tribute, he returned invested with the high-priesthood, and came to Jerusalem "having the fury of a cruel tyrant, and the rage of a wild beast."‡ Jason fled to the Ammonites (B.C. 172). But Menelaus found himself unable to make good his promises, and was summoned again to Antioch. Not to go there empty-handed, he sold some of the vessels of the temple to Tyrian merchants. The aged Onias denounced the sacrilege, but Menelaus bribed the

* Dean Milman: *History of the Jews*, vol. i., pp. 457-458.

† This Onias is made by Josephus the brother of the high-priest Onias and of Jason; but, according to the Second Book of Maccabees, he was the brother of Simon, and the son of Joseph, the son of Tobias.

‡ 2 Macc. iv. 23—26.

judges, and the high-priest of Jehovah had to take sanctuary in the heathen grove of Daphne. Thence he was enticed, and put to death by a creature of Menelaus, named Andronicus, who suffered the penalty of his crime from the king's pity for the fate of the blameless Onias. Meanwhile the sacrileges of Lysimachus, the deputy of Menelaus at Jerusalem, had provoked an insurrection, in which he was overpowered and killed. Encouraged by this success, a deputation proceeded to Tyre, where Antiochus held his court on his march against Egypt, to accuse Menelaus; but gold prevailed, and the accusers were themselves put to death (B.C. 170).

We have already seen with what success Antiochus prosecuted his designs against Egypt, while the Romans, who had assumed the protectorate of the young king, Ptolemy VI. Philometor, were occupied in the war with Perseus. While he was engaged in the second of his four campaigns (B.C. 170), a false rumour of his death reached Jerusalem. Jason, the deposed high-priest of the Hellenizing party, attacked Jerusalem, drove Menelaus into the fortress of Acra, and began to play the tyrant in the city. But, as soon as he heard that the king was returning to avenge the insult, he made his escape to the Ammonites, and thence fled to Sparta, where "he perished in a strange land."* Menelaus, seeing the opportunity of crushing his foes, inflamed the fury of Antiochus by representing the disturbance as a revolt of the Jewish nation. Jerusalem was taken by storm, amidst the slaughter of 40,000 of its inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, and as many more were sold into slavery. Menelaus led Antiochus into the temple; where, not content with carrying off the golden candlestick, the altar of incense, the table of shew-bread, with all the sacred vessels, and treasures to the amount of 1800 talents, he sacrificed a swine upon the altar of burnt-offering, sprinkled broth made from its flesh over every part of the sanctuary, and polluted the Holy of Holies with filth. The temple on Mount Gerizim seems to have been profaned in like manner, and the king returned to Antioch, leaving Greek governors in Samaria and Jerusalem; Menelaus, who retained the priesthood, being reduced to the humble function of instigating their tyranny. This is the last we hear of him, except an incidental notice by Josephus of his execution under Antiochus V. Eupator (B.C. 163).

The outrages perpetrated for the next two years are eclipsed by

* 2 Macc. v. 5—10. The fancy of a kindred between the Jews and Spartans is also referred to in the account of the embassy of Judas Maccabæus to Sparta (1 Macc. xii. 7).

the frightful persecution which followed the repulse of Antiochus from Egypt by the Roman embassy under Popillius Lænas (B.C. 168).* The rage of disappointed ambition was doubtless inflamed by the fear that Rome would encourage the Jews to return to their old alliance with Egypt. Antiochus resolved to extirpate the Hebrew nation, or at least to reduce the survivors to the state of Hellenistic heathens. Apollonius, who was entrusted with the execution of the scheme, availed himself of that respect for religious observances, which had distinguished the Jews ever since their return from Jerusalem, and of which the first Ptolemy had taken advantage to seize the city.† Dissembling the hostile purpose of his mission, Apollonius waited for the Sabbath, and then let loose his 22,000 soldiers on the defenceless city. The men were put to the sword; the women and children reserved for slavery; the houses pillaged and burnt; the fortifications dismantled; and a lofty tower was erected on Mount Zion to command the courts of the temple and the ruins of the city. The sound of prayer and praise ceased to be heard in the one, and the stragglers who ventured to return to the other were cut down without mercy by the garrison, which ravaged all the surrounding country. Having thus laid Jerusalem again in ruins, Antiochus aimed his final blow at the religion of which it was the seat. An edict was issued for uniformity of worship throughout all the king's dominions, and its execution in Palestine was entrusted to an old man named Athenæus, who united to a profound knowledge of Greek rites that horrid love of cruelty for its own sake which marks the spirit of an inquisitor. The combination of age, bigotry, and self-conceit seems to have the power of so drying up the sources of emotion, as to leave no sense of enjoyment save the unnatural luxury of gloating over pain.

The ready submission of the Samaritans proved the truth of the saying, "Ye know not what ye worship;" and their temple on Mt. Gerizim became the sanctuary of Jove the god of strangers (Zeus Xenius). Proceeding to Jerusalem, Athenæus dedicated the temple to the Olympian Jove, whose statue was set up by the altar of burnt-offering, which was polluted with sacrifices of swine. The orgies of Baal and the obscene revelries of Dionysus desecrated its courts. The people were compelled to eat swine's flesh —the favourite test of conformity—to sacrifice to the Greek gods,

* See Vol. II., p. 511.

† Necessity afterwards led the Maccabees to decide that acts of self-defence were lawful on the Sabbath.

and to profane the Sabbath. Every rite of Jehovah's worship was forbidden under pain of death. Two women, who had dared to circumcise their babes, were hung with the children round their necks; and Philip, the governor of Jerusalem, anticipated the atrocities of modern times by burning a whole company who had concealed themselves in a cave to keep the Sabbath. It may suffice to refer to the narrative in the Second Book of Maccabees for the details of that infernal ingenuity, with which the records of later persecutions have made us but too familiar. "Some were tortured,* not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection: and others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings." No record of steadfast endurance surpasses that which tells how the seven brethren endured unutterable torments, from the eldest down to the tender boy, encouraged by their mother, who then shared their fate; nor do even the dying words of a Ridley or a Latimer breathe in greater purity the *faith* which has ever animated the "cloud of martyrs," than those of the aged Eleazar. When the very officers charged with his execution besought him to provide some meat and eat it as if it were swine's flesh, he replied,—"It becometh not our age in any wise to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Eleazar, being fourscore years old and ten, were now gone to a strange religion, and so through mine hypocrisy and desire to live a little time, should be deceived by me, and I get a stain to my old age, and make it abominable. For though for the present time I should be delivered from the punishment of men, yet I should not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead." So he fulfilled his resolve "to leave a notable example to such as be young, to die willingly and courageously for the honourable and holy laws."

The same spirit which animated these martyrs soon showed itself in the form of active patriotism, and secured the liberation of Judæa, after a struggle which historians would have united to celebrate as the noblest in the annals of the world, had it been waged in a less sacred land or for a less holy cause. MATTATHIAS, a priest of the course of Joarib (the first of David's twenty-four courses), had fled from the persecution at Jerusalem to his native city of Modin, on the hills overlooking the Philistian plain and the sea. With his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan—all destined to fall in their country's cause—he was

* The Apostle uses the exact word, ἐτυμπανίσθησαν, which expresses one kind of torture, by severe beating, described in the *Maccabees*. Heb. xi. 35, 36.

mourning over the desecration of the sanctuary, when the royal officer Apelles came to Modin, to enforce the king's decree. The splendid offers with which he tried to win over Mattathias, as the chief man of the city, were indignantly rejected; and when the first conformist approached the heathen altar, Mattathias struck him dead, slew Apelles himself, and pulled down the altar. Then, having proclaimed throughout the city that all who were zealous for the law should follow him, he fled to the mountains, with his sons and kinsmen. This nucleus of insurrection soon attracted a great number, including the whole of the strict sect called the Assidæans.* Issuing from the fastnesses where they could for the most part defy the Syrian troops, they entered the villages and towns, overthrew the heathen altars and punished the worshippers; rescued copies of the law, enforced circumcision, and restored the synagogues. The aged Mattathias soon succumbed to the hardships of such a warfare, and, after a dying exhortation to his sons, he was buried in his fathers' sepulchre at Modin (B.C. 167).

Mattathias seems himself to have left the command to his third son, JUDAS, whose celebrated surname of MACCABÆUS had probably the same significance as that of the champion of Christendom, Charles Martel (the *Hammer*).† The eulogy of this Alfred and Tell of the later Jewish commonwealth has been too often celebrated in prose and verse and music to need repetition; and our space permits only a brief allusion to his deeds. The great victory which he won over the Syrians, in the same passes of Bethhoron in which Joshua had slaughtered the Canaanites, roused the fury of Antiochus. Gathering all the forces of his empire, the king marched with one body into Persia, to collect the money

* This name, in Hebrew *Chasidim* (*pious* or *holy*) was first adopted by the adherents of the law, in opposition to the "impious," that is, the Hellenizing party. Afterwards it was assumed by those who added to the Mosaic law the traditions of the Rabbis, in contradistinction to the *Zadikim* (*righteous*), who were content with the law itself. From these two parties respectively sprang the later sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

† Several other derivations have been given, such as the anagram from the concluding words of Exodus xv. 11 :—"Mi Camo Ka Baalim Jehovah"—"Who is like unto thee among the gods? O Jehovah." The surname of Judas became the epithet of the whole family, the MACCABEES. Their other name of ASMONÆANS was derived from their ancestor Chasmon, the great-grandfather of Mattathias. It has become th practise of historians to use the name of *Maccabees* for the original family, down to the death of John Hyrcanus, the grandson of Mattathias (B.C. 106), and that of *Asmonæans* for the princes who descended from Hyrcanus. Though the distinction is arbitrary, it marks, as we shall see, an essential difference in the character of the men and the constitution of the state.

which he sorely needed; while he placed Lysias in command of the rest, as governor west of the Euphrates, with orders to exterminate the Jews. Judas was now in the hills north of Jerusalem, the governor of which city, Philip, became importunate for aid; and an army of 40,000 foot and 7,000 horse marched to his relief. The first body of 20,000 men, under Nicanor and Gorgias, advanced to Emmaus, while Judas prepared to meet them by prayer and fasting at the ancient sanctuary of Mizpeh. There, like Gideon, he made proclamation for all who were fearful, as well as all who had married wives, built houses, or planted vineyards, to leave the camp; and his little army of 6,000 men was reduced to 3,000, who "had neither armour nor swords to their minds." The news of a night march of Gorgias, with a chosen body, in order to surprise him at Mizpeh, suggested to Judas the bold stroke of falling on the Syrian camp. He reached it at daybreak, defeated Nicanor, who was pursued to Ashdod with the loss of 3,000 men; and then rallied his force to meet Gorgias on his return. But that leader's troops, wearied with their fruitless night march through the mountains, fled at the sight of the smoking camp. Not till then did Judas suffer his men to gather the rich plunder: a number of slave-dealers, who had followed the Syrian army to make merchandise of the Jewish prisoners, were themselves sold for slaves: and the Sabbath which followed the day of the battle was kept with sacred joy. A second victory beyond Jordan, in which 20,000 Syrians fell, regained the fortresses of Gilead, with a large supply of arms. In the next year, Judas won a decisive battle against an army of 60,000 foot and 5,000 horse, commanded by Lysias in person, at Bethsura, north of Hebron; and now at length he led his army to Jerusalem in a triumph which was turned to sadness at the sight of the ruined city and the desolate sanctuary.

Lysias retreated to Antioch, leaving an interval of repose, which Judas employed in measures for the security of the country, and in the restoration of the temple service. While a part of his forces was occupied in watching the garrison which still held Mount Zion, the temple was dedicated anew on the 25th of Chisleu, exactly four years after its profanation by Antiochus, and a festival was held for eight days with rejoicings like those of the Feast of Tabernacles (Dec. B.C. 166).* Judas then turned his arms against the

* The event was commemorated by a perpetual annual festival, the "Feast of the Dedication," which is mentioned by St. John as in the winter, and which is still observed by the Jews.

surrounding nations, who had begun to show their ancient and jealous enmity by massacres of the Jews who dwelt among them. The Ammonites and Idumeans were chastised, and the fortress of Bethsura strengthened against the latter. Meanwhile a Syrian army devastated Gilead, and the garrisons of Tyre and Ptolemais ravaged Galilee, slaughtering the Jews. Judas and Jonathan marched into Gilead, while their brother Simon traversed Galilee, and the Jews of both regions were transplanted to Judæa for security. A third division, which had been left to protect Jerusalem, incurred a defeat by attacking Gorgias contrary to the express orders of Judas, who retrieved the disaster, and finished the campaign by taking Hebron and overrunning Philistia and Samaria (B.C. 165).

Antiochus Epiphanes received the news of these successes just at the time of his repulse in the attempt to plunder the rich temple of Elymaïs. Hastening back full of rage and mortification, he was seized with raving madness and loathsome disease, and died at a small town in the mountains between Media and Persia (B.C. 164). Both Greeks and Jews saw in his horrible end the punishment of his sacrilege against their temples; but the account in the Second Book of Maccabees, of his remorse for his cruelties towards the Jews, and his vows to benefit and honour them,—nay, to become a Jew himself, if he recovered,—are justly suspected from their contrast with the simpler narrative of the First Book. There were two claimants to the Syrian crown. Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, had been left by his father under the guardianship of Lysias; while the late king's nephew Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV., was still detained at Rome. The former, raised to the throne by the title of Antiochus V. Eupator, marched with Lysias to the relief of the garrison of Zion. The royal army numbered from 80,000 to 100,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 32 elephants. The terror caused by these beasts found an antidote in the heroism of ELEAZAR, surnamed Avaran, the fourth son of Mattathias, who crept under an elephant, pierced its belly with his sword, and was crushed beneath its huge bulk. He was the first of the Maccabæan brothers who fell in the cause to which the lives of all were devoted. This incident occurred in a battle fought for the relief of Bethsura, which was, however, surrendered on honourable terms through the pressure of famine, Judas having been forced to retreat upon Jerusalem. The capital itself was hard pressed, the occurrence of the Sabbatic year having caused a

scarcity of corn; * when news arrived from Antioch, that Philip, the general who had led back the army from Persia, claimed to govern in the name of the young king. Peace was at once made with the Jews; but the agreement under which Lysias and his master were admitted into Jerusalem was shamelessly violated by the destruction of the wall built by Judas to protect the temple from the garrison of Zion. Before his departure, Antiochus appointed Alcimus, or Jacimus, a hellenizing Jew to the high-priesthood, in place of Menelaus, who had accompanied Lysias into Judæa, and had been put to death, as already mentioned.†

Antiochus and Lysias had scarcely returned to Antioch when they were overpowered and put to death by Demetrius, who had escaped from Rome, and now obtained the Syrian crown as Demetrius I. Soter. Alcimus hastened to pay his court to the new sovereign, who sent Bacchides with an army to put down his opponents. His promises and the authority of his office led the Assidæans, against the remonstrances of Judas, to receive him at Jerusalem, where he forthwith put sixty of them to death in one day. He soon found it needful to resort once more for aid to Antioch, and the army sent to reinstate him was defeated by Judas, and its general Nicanor was slain, in the battle of Adasa, near Beth-horon, which has been called the Marathon of the Maccabæan struggle (Feb. B.C. 161), soon to be followed by its Thermopylæ. Judas now resolved to seek the aid of Rome for securing the independence which seemed already won. Amidst the fame of victories in Spain and Gaul, Macedonia and Asia, the Jews had heard that a city governed by two generals, whom it changed every year, was able to impose its will upon all the kings of the world. The policy of Rome, to use every means of weakening the monarchies of Syria and Egypt, led the Senate to embrace the proffered alliance; and the ambassadors of Judas were returning with the articles of the treaty, engraved on a brazen tablet,‡ when

* This statement seems to imply, not only that the restored Jews kept the Sabbatic year, the neglect of which was one of their forefathers' chief sins; but that they did so without the aid of a miracle to make good the deficiency of corn. The important questions involved in this view belong to the theologian; but the simple fact is a strong proof of the religious steadfastness of the people.

† This appointment excluded Onias, the son of that Onias who had been murdered at Antioch. Onias fled to Egypt, and obtained from Ptolemy Philometor the grant of a tract of land at Leontopolis, with a ruined temple, which he converted into a temple of Jehovah, and became its high-priest. His descendants, who were the legitimate line, in preference to all who ruled at Jerusalem, continued to minister in this temple down to the reign of Vespasian.

‡ The substance of this very interesting document is given in 1 Macc. viii. 17—32.

a blow fell upon the leader and the people, in which an ancient Jew could not but have seen the punishment of "trusting in an arm of flesh." That such was the view taken of the treaty with Rome by the Assidæans appears evident from their desertion of Judas, when Bacchides and Alcimus returned with a new army. The heroic Maccabee seemed to know that his course was run, and though left with only 800 chosen warriors, he refused to fly. "If our time be come," said he, "let us die manfully for our brethren, and let us not stain our honour." At the battle of Eleasa—a place apparently on the western slope of the hills of Judah, above Ashdod—the little band of Judas broke the right of the Syrians, where Bacchides fought in person with his best troops, but the rest of the army surrounded and overwhelmed them, and Judas himself was slain. The historian who pays due regard to the sacredness of the cause for which the Maccabee yielded up his life need not disparage the self-sacrifice which held Leonidas at his post in obedience to his country's laws, while he claims for the Hebrew warrior honours at least equal to those which have been lavished on the Spartan. Or perhaps we should rather be content that the one should have had his reward in the honours which men receive from each other, and that the other should be left to the honour which comes from God alone.

The ruthless cruelty with which Alcimus and Bacchides abused their victory reunited the patriots under the guidance of the Maccabees. JONATHAN, surnamed Apphus (the *wary*), the youngest son of Mattathias, began to gather a new force in the wilderness of Tekoah, aided by the wisdom of his brother Simon. These two alone remained of the five brothers, after John, the eldest, was treacherously slain by an Arab tribe. Their position was in a morass on the bank of the Jordan, where Bacchides assailed them on a Sabbath. After an unexpected resistance, in which they slew a thousand of the Syrians, they escaped by swimming the river. The death of Alcimus, who was seized with a mortal disease while he was in the act of pulling down the walls of the temple, removed one motive for the war, and a long course of desultory hostilities was at length concluded by a peace, and Bacchides kept his promise never again to molest the Jews (B.C. 158).

The land had now rest for six years under the able government of Jonathan, who went on zealously in the work of reformation. In B.C. 153, the people, who fifteen years before had been doomed by Antiochus Epiphanes to destruction, found themselves in the

proud position of arbiters between his pretended son Alexander Balas and the reigning king Demetrius. The first effects of their rivalry were the freedom of the Jewish hostages in the tower of Zion and the appointment of Jonathan in the place of Alcimus, as the first high-priest of the Asmonæan line. Both kings added the most profuse offers; but the Jews espoused the side which was favoured by Rome and which was soon crowned with victory in the defeat and death of Demetrius Soter (B.C. 150). At the marriage of Alexander with Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, Jonathan was a distinguished guest. With equal courage and political wisdom, he guided the commonwealth through the dynastic war which broke out in B.C. 147, and gained the favour of the victor, Demetrius II. Nicator, whose life was saved by a Jewish body-guard in the first rebellion of Tryphon. But when Demetrius failed to keep his promises, he found that the withdrawal of Jonathan's support turned the scale, and Tryphon was able to set the son of Alexander Balas on the throne by the title of Antiochus VI. Theos (B.C. 144). The new king invested Jonathan and his brother Simon with full power over Palestine, which they were rapidly consolidating,* when Tryphon —who wished to remove so formidable an obstacle as Jonathan's fidelity out of the way of his meditated usurpation—invited him to Ptolemais, seized his person, and after repeating fresh acts of treachery in his negociations with Simon, put him to death. Tryphon now marched to Antioch to complete his usurpation; and Simon removed the remains of Jonathan from Bascara in Gilead, the scene of his murder, to the sepulchre at Modin, where the other brethren rested with their fathers. Anticipating his own reunion with them, Simon built a stately sepulchre, surrounded by seven pillars, for Mattathias, his wife, and their five sons, which served as a landmark to all vessels passing along the coast (B.C. 143).

On the murder of Antiochus Theos by Tryphon (B.C. 142), Demetrius Nicator again sought the favour of Simon in aid of his own restoration. The independence of Judæa was now at length formally acknowledged, and the first year of SIMON THASSI, the last survivor of the Maccabæan brothers, was adopted by the Jews as an era from which documents were dated (B.C. 143). The deliverance was soon completed by the reduction through famine of

* Besides the renewal of the league with Rome, mention is made of an alliance with the Spartans, whose letters are quoted as acknowledging kindred with the Jews! (See 1 Macc. xii. 1—23).

the Syrian garrison on Mt. Zion. The fortress which had so long dominated over Jerusalem was entered in May B.C. 142; and not only was the tower demolished, but the hill on which it stood was levelled, so as no longer to command the temple. While Syria suffered under the usurpation of Tryphon, the captivity of Demetrius Nicator among the Parthians (B.C.138), and the war between the usurper and Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who overthrew and killed Tryphon in B.C. 137,—Simon was left to pursue the course of good government which the Maccabæan historian describes in glowing language:—"Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat in all the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. . . . He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy." The statement that "his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world" is confirmed by the treaties which he renewed with Rome and Lacedæmon: and the long list of nations in Europe and Asia, to which the Roman Senate sent letters, requiring them to protect the Jews residing among them, bears a most interesting testimony to the wide diffusion of the race.* The maritime trade, which had been carried on under Solomon through the port of Joppa, was again revived. Finally, when Antiochus Sidetes, jealous of the power of Simon, refused his proffered aid against Tryphon, and demanded the surrender of Gazara and Joppa, the vast army sent under Cendebeus to operate in the maritime plain was totally defeated by Judas and John, the sons of Simon; and Azotus (Ashdod) was the prize of their victory. But at this height of prosperity Simon fell a victim to the treachery of his own son-in-law, Ptolemy the son of Abubus, secretly instigated by Antiochus with the hope of becoming king of Judæa. The murder was committed at a banquet given at Jericho. Judas and Mattathias, the eldest and third sons of Simon, shared their father's fate. Assassins were sent to murder John Hyrcanus at Gazara; but a timely warning preserved him to become the founder of the new line of Asmonæan princes (B.C. 135).

John Hyrcanus had already proved, as commander of his father's army, his capacity for the work of finally achieving the independence of Judæa. Having secured Jerusalem, he marched

* The list is well worth comparing with that in Acts ii. 9—11. It contains the names of Sparta, Sicyon, Delos, Gortyna in Crete, Samos, Cos, Rhodes, Myndus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, the cities in Lycia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Phœnicia, and Cyrene: and the kingdoms of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Syria, and even Parthia.

to attack Ptolemy in his castle near Jericho. Ptolemy brought out the mother and the surviving brothers of John upon the walls, scourged them before his face, and threatened to cast them down from the ramparts. Notwithstanding the heroic woman's exhortations, John was deterred from pressing the siege; and Ptolemy, having put his captives to death, fled to Philadelphia. Antiochus Sidetes was still bent on the reconquest of Judæa, and his forces proved too strong for Hyrcanus. Jerusalem was obliged to capitulate through famine, after a siege during which Antiochus earned the surname of Eusebes (the *Pious*) by his present of victims for sacrifice at the Feast of Tabernacles. He was content with the acknowledgment of his sovereignty, and with a tribute for Joppa and the other disputed towns. The fortifications of Jerusalem were dismantled; but the rebuilding of the tower on Zion was evaded by the payment of 500 talents (B.C. 133.) An opportunity soon arrived for once more, and finally, shaking off the yoke. In B.C. 128, Antiochus Sidetes made an expedition against Parthia for the deliverance of his brother, Demetrius Nicator, who had now been a prisoner for nearly ten years. Hyrcanus attended as the vassal of the Syrian king; but he left the army before the defeat in which Antiochus lost his life; and he seized the opportunity to restore Judæa to the independence which she only again yielded up to Rome. Demetrius, who escaped from Parthia and remounted his throne, found full occupation at home during the brief remnant of his reign (B.C. 128-125); and Syria was thenceforth plunged into the anarchy of perpetual dynastic conflicts. Thus the cause, for which each of the Maccabæan brothers had laid down his life in turn, was finally won by the grandson of Mattathias, exactly forty years after the revolt at Modin (B.C. 128).

Meanwhile John Hyrcanus subdued the ancient enemies of Judæa on every side. He recovered the trans-Jordanic region, and became master of the sea-coast as far as Phœnicia. Above all, he subdued those hateful and hated enemies of the Jews, the Idumæans and Samaritans. By compelling the former people to embrace Judaism, he at length gave the full accomplishment to Isaac's prophecy concerning his sons; but that very act prepared the fulfilment of the promise to Esau:—"When thou shalt have the dominion, thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck."* The close connection of the conquered province with Judæa led to the imposition of the yoke of the Idumæan dynasty of Herod.

* Gen. xxvii. 40.

Still more grateful to the religious pride of the Jews was the destruction of the schismatic temple on Mount Gerizim (B.C. 127), which was followed some years later by the reduction of Samaria by Aristobulus and Antigonus, the sons of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 109). The city of Omri was razed to the ground, and the springs which had watered it soon converted the site into a swamp.* Galilee, which had up to this time been peopled by a few Jews scattered amidst the heathen, became under the protection of John and his successors the thoroughly Jewish province that we find it in the time of Christ. Jerusalem was strengthened and beautified with fortifications and edifices, among which was the tower of *Baris*, at the north-west corner of the temple, better known as the *Antonia* of Herod.

Thus was Palestine restored, under its new dynasty of priest-princes, if not to the wide dominions of David and Solomon, at least to limits which embraced the re-united kingdoms of their successors. But the closing years of Hyrcanus were darkened with omens of the rapid declension which began immediately after his death. It may be assumed that every reader has a sufficient knowledge of the great Jewish sects of the PHARISEES and SADDUCEES, to justify us in leaving the obscurity of their origin and the minutiæ of their doctrines to the special province of Scripture History. The austere spirit and uncompromising zeal of the Assidæans—the parents of the Pharisaic sect—had been a great source of strength, if sometimes also of embarrassment, to the Maccabæan cause; and, as the parties became developed, John Hyrcanus naturally adhered to that of the Pharisees. But it would seem that the long enjoyment of power and prosperity had begun to make him impatient of his stern monitors. We may fairly assume some such motive for the appeal which he made to their leaders, assembled at a banquet, whether his long reign had not been governed by that righteousness which was the great principle of the sect. The frank challenge of the princely host disarmed opposition; and the reply was a shout of approval. But one man, Eleazar, dared to tell Hyrcanus that he lacked one sacrifice to perfect righteousness:—"If you are a just man, abandon the high-priesthood, for which you are disqualified by the illegitimacy of your birth." The insult, which Josephus declares to have been unfounded, was deeply resented by Hyrcanus. The Sad-

* The site remained in the possession of Jewish settlers till Pompey gave it back to the Samaritans. The city was restored by Herod, who named it *Sebaste* (the Greek for *Augusta*) in honour of Augustus.

ducees persuaded him that it was the sign of a conspiracy; and his breach with the Pharisees bore bloody fruits under his successors.

John Hyrcanus died in B.C. 106; and the last remnant of the Maccabæan spirit of self-sacrifice died with him. The transition to the Asmonæan Kings marks the commencement of a period of dynastic conflicts and savage cruelty only eclipsed in oriental history by the monster who succeeded them.* ARISTOBULUS I., who added the royal diadem to the high-priest's mitre, began his reign by imprisoning his mother and starving her to death, and ended it in an agony of remorse, at hearing that the blood which he had vomited had been mingled on the pavement of his palace with that of his favourite brother Antigonus, who had been slain by his command upon a false charge (B.C. 105). He added to the monarchy the district of Ituræa, afterwards called Auranitis (the *Hauran*) at the foot of Antilibanus. ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, the third son of John Hyrcanus, secured the succession by putting his next brother to death, and proceeded to reduce the fortified cities which had not yet submitted. The chief of these, Ptolemaïs (*St. Jean d'Acre*), applied for aid to Ptolemy Lathyrus, the exiled king of Egypt, who had set up a new throne in Cyprus. For the kingdom of the Ptolemies was now rent by internal dissensions, like that of the Seleucidæ,† and Ptolemy Lathyrus had been expelled by his mother Cleopatra. Eagerly seizing the opening towards his restoration, Ptolemy landed with a force so large, that the citizens feared to open their gates to such a friend. Thereupon he attacked the Tower of Straton and Gaza, and engaged in a war with Alexander Jannæus, who was only saved from destruction by the aid of Cleopatra. It is an interesting proof of the important position of the Alexandrian Jews, that two of them commanded the Egyptian army, and it was by their advice that Cleopatra refrained from seizing the person of Alexander and making Palestine her own, when he came to congratulate her on the surrender of Ptolemaïs. Alexander had to console himself for the loss of that place by the capture of Gadara and Gaza, after obstinate campaigns. The latter city was destroyed, and its inhabitants massacred.

* The dynasty lasted just seventy years, to the death of Aristobulus, the great-grandson of Alexander Jannæus, third son of John Hyrcanus, in B.C. 35; but during the last thirty years of this period the interference of Rome made their power little more than nominal.

† There were two claimants to the Syrian crown ruling at this time,—Antiochus Grypus at Antioch, and Antiochus Cyzicenus at Damascus.

Meanwhile the discontent of the Pharisees gained ground among the whole mass of the people. A demonstration made against Alexander by pelting him with citrons, when he was officiating as high-priest at the Feast of Tabernacles, was revenged by the slaughter of 6000 of the populace. His utter defeat in Gaulonitis by the Arabian king Orodes gave the signal for a general rebellion which lasted for six years. His Pisidian and Cilician mercenaries were cut to pieces by the army of Demetrius Eucærus, one of the kings of Syria, and he himself fled. But the renewed fear of Syrian ascendancy appears to have created a division among the rebels. Demetrius retired to Damascus: Alexander was recalled; and, after a decisive victory over his enemies, he ended the war by taking the fortress of Bethsura. The prisoners were led in triumph to Jerusalem, and 800 of them were crucified in the court of the palace, their wives and children being put to death before their eyes, while Alexander watched their dying agonies as he feasted with his wives and concubines. No less than 8000 of the disaffected fled the country; and Alexander was left undisturbed, during the last three years of his reign, to complete the subjugation of the maritime cities, Idumæa, and the country east of Jordan. On his death bed, he left the kingdom to his wife ALEXANDRA, advising her to follow the counsel of the Pharisees, as the only mode of securing internal peace. As a pledge of good faith, he directed his body to be placed at the disposal of the Pharisees: and they responded to the appeal by giving him a magnificent funeral (B.C. 78). His elder son Hyrcanus II. succeeded to the high-priesthood without opposition, and identified himself with the party of the Pharisees. They used their recovered power for vengeance on their enemies, and especially on those who had taken part in the crucifixion of the 800; but they found a formidable opponent in Aristobulus, the brother of Hyrcanus; and Alexandra, though politic enough to follow her husband's dying advice, is said to have secretly favoured her younger son. She at once checked the Pharisaic reaction, and prepared a more decided opposition in the future, by sending many of the accused persons to garrison the frontier fortresses, while she gave Aristobulus the opportunity of gaining the affection of the army by his success in an expedition against Damascus.

The skill and authority of Alexandra preserved the balance of parties during her nine years' reign; but her death was the signal for a conflict (B.C. 69). Before she expired, Aristobulus secretly left Jerusalem, and summoned the frontier garrisons to join him.

The majority of the army which Hyrcanus and the Pharisees led against him declared in his favour; and he marched upon Jerusalem, and shut up his brother in the tower of Baris. Hyrcanus, whose quiet disposition approached to imbecility, consented to retire into private life, surrendering both crown and priesthood to his brother, who reigned as ARISTOBULUS II. (B.C. 69).

But now a new character appeared upon the scene, to exert an influence which at last destroyed the Asmonæan family. This was an Idumæan noble, named ANTIPATER, the son of Antipas who had been governor of Idumæa under Alexander Jannæus, at whose court Antipater had been brought up. He had nominally embraced Judaism, but, like his son Herod, ambition was his only real god. He saw in the weak Hyrcanus a tool suited to his purpose, and easily persuaded him of what was probably true, that his life was in danger from his brother. Hyrcanus fled to Aretas, the King of Arabia Petræa, who led an army of 50,000 men into Judæa, and shut up Aristobulus in Jerusalem. During the siege, the season of the Passover came round, and the Jews within the city bargained with the besiegers for the supply of paschal lambs at an enormous price. Baskets were let down over the wall to receive the lambs, and containing their price; the money was taken, and the baskets were left to be drawn up empty, or, as some related, with swine placed in them instead of lambs! Another incident of this siege had a sterner and even a prophetic character. The Jews in the camp of Hyrcanus, their superstition surviving the decay of religion, hoped to gain an entrance into Jerusalem by the intercession of an aged man named Onias, whose prayers were said to have obtained rain during a great drought. When brought out in sight of the camp and city, the old man prayed in these words:—"O God, the king of the Universe, since on one side are thy people, on the other thy priests, I beseech thee hear not the prayers of either to the detriment of the other." The infuriated followers of Hyrcanus stoned the old man to death; but his prayer seemed to be answered in the approach of the stern arbiter between the contending factions; and such scenes as those which have been related will best illustrate the need for the part which Divine Providence had assigned to Rome.

While Pompey was plunging into the Caucasian lands in pursuit of Mithridates, his lieutenant Scaurus was sent forward to prepare for his advance into Syria (B.C. 65). Having taken Damascus, he received the envoys of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Both offered bribes, and Scaurus, who was celebrated for more

than Roman rapacity, decided in favour of him who had, in the temple treasures, the means of making good his promises. Aretas obeyed the command to break up the siege of Jerusalem, and suffered a severe defeat from Aristobulus as he retired (B.C. 64). In the same autumn, Pompey himself, having reduced Syria to a Roman province, held his court at Damascus, to receive the homage of the neighbouring kings, whose rich presents seem to glitter on the page of Josephus. Aristobulus sent a golden vine worth 500 talents, and was treated with the courtesy which it was politic to shew to the possessor of Jerusalem, while Pompey's real leaning was to the competitor whose weakness gave the speedier prospect of final subjugation. In the following spring (B.C. 63), both parties were heard before the tribunal of Pompey at Damascus, where Aristobulus came surrounded by a troop of gay and insolent young men, while the influence and bribery of Antipater led a thousand of the most venerable Jews to appear in the train of Hyrcanus. Pompey postponed his decision while he marched into Arabia Petræa; but his leaning was so plain, that Aristobulus employed the interval in preparing a show of resistance which might secure better terms. But the imperious Roman compelled him to come forth from his stronghold of Alexandrion to a conference, at which Aristobulus was forced to sign an order for the evacuation of his fortresses. Even then he tried the last resource of flying to Jerusalem and holding out behind its walls. But the people were divided; and, on the advance of Pompey, Aristobulus once more met him to place the city at his disposal. Meanwhile, however, the fanaticism of despair, which the Jews so often showed when hope was gone, broke out within the walls, and the gates were shut against the legate Gabinius. Pompey threw Aristobulus into chains, and advanced to Jerusalem, where the party of Hyrcanus received him into the city. But the adherents of Aristobulus retreated into the Temple, and destroyed the bridges and causeways, which joined its precipitous sides to the city. On the north, the only side not thus insulated, the slope towards the lower ground was strongly fortified; but Pompey was enabled to advance his engines on the Sabbath, when the Jews would not move except to repel a direct attack. After a resistance of three months, the battering-rams threw down one of the loftiest towers, and the Romans entered by the breach, led by Faustus the son of Sulla. It was the hour of the daily sacrifice, a time still hallowed to us by many sacred associations; and, while the obstinate defenders were massacred, or threw themselves headlong over the rocky

steeps, the priests calmly continued the service, and many of them were cut down at the altar. With mingled curiosity and awe Pompey entered the temple, penetrating even to the Holy of Holies, which was polluted by the presence of the idolatrous images on the Roman ensigns—"the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet."* The Roman, who expected to see in the sacred chamber some mysterious image of Jehovah, was astonished to find it empty; for the ark, which had been the glory of the first temple, was wanting in the second. Scarcely less was his astonishment at the enormous treasures which had been collected from the piety of the Jews scattered through every quarter of the known world, the amount of which has been computed at two millions sterling.† All this wealth Pompey left untouched, and ordered the temple to be purified. Hyrcanus was restored to the high-priesthood, but without the royal title; his jurisdiction was confined to Judæa Proper, and the walls of Jerusalem were demolished (B.C. 63). The politic moderation of Pompey was above the reach of his sordid fellow triumvir Crassus, who visited Jerusalem on his way to Parthia, and carried off all the treasures of the temple, even to the sacred vessels (B.C. 54). The Jews, while viewing his speedy overthrow, which forms one of the most striking catastrophes of history, as a clear judgment, were even less incensed at his sacrilege, than at Pompey's profanation of the Holy Place. They marked his entry into the temple as the turning-point in his career of prosperity, and contributed what they could to his subsequent reverses by warmly espousing the cause of Cæsar.

Meanwhile Pompey carried off Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters, to grace his triumph; but, before we follow his return to Rome, we may cast a glance forward to the end of the Asmonæan dynasty. Judæa seems to have been at once annexed by Pompey to the province of Syria, though under a separate administration, both in regard to

* Dan. ix. 27, xii. 11, comp. Matt. xxiv. 15, which refers to the final accomplishment of the prophecy under Titus.

† The extent of these offerings is attested by Cicero, who praises the conduct of his client Flaccus in forbidding the export of such contributions from the province of Asia. "This very remarkable passage," says Dr. Milman, "shows, curiously enough, the Jews as already exporters of gold, though but religious offerings, yet affecting the markets of the world; their great numbers, and clamour in the public assemblies in the cities of Asia Minor; the astonishment that Pompey had the moderation, for which Cicero is perplexed to account, not to plunder the temple, and was unwilling to expose himself to the reproaches of a people so likely to be heard as the Jews."

its own judicial affairs and the collection of the taxes imposed by Rome. Its allegiance was supposed to be secured by the devotion of Antipater, who administered, in the interest of Rome, the power nominally left to Hyrcanus. But the extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune which marked the restless career of Aristobulus and his family at once disturbed the arrangement. Alexander, having made his escape on the way to Rome, appeared at the head of an army of 10,000 foot and 1500 horse, the old soldiers of his father, and overran Judæa. Gabinius, arriving in Syria as proconsul (B.C. 57), sent against him an irresistible force under his legate, the celebrated Mark Antony, and shut him up in the fortress of Alexandrion; but the intercession of Alexander's mother procured his pardon. Gabinius now placed the government of Judæa on a new footing. Confirming Hyrcanus in the religious functions of the high-priesthood, he committed the administration of justice to five local Sanhedrims (councils of Seventy Elders) modelled on the "Great Sanhedrim" of Jerusalem. The Jews, who had long clamoured for deliverance from the temporal power of their priest-princes, gained their wish at the cost of being left without any central government. Their last hopes of independence were again revived by Aristobulus, who escaped from Rome with his younger son Antigonus and again occupied the fortress of Alexandrion; but the insurrection was speedily put down by Gabinius, who sent Aristobulus and Antigonus back to Rome in chains. The latter was, however, again released on his mother's intercession with the Senate. But this restless family seemed like the hydra's heads—*uno avulso non deficit alter:*—on the departure of Gabinius for Egypt, Alexander again took the field, and shut up the small remaining Roman force in their fortified camp on Mount Gerizim. But his rashness in meeting Gabinius, on his return with an army of 80,000 men, near Mount Tabor, sent him forth again a defeated fugitive (B.C. 56).

The next year, Gabinius, superseded by Crassus, returned to Rome, to add by his condemnation for extorting money from Ptolemy—though he was defended by Cicero—another example of the speedy fate which the Jews traced as overtaking their enemies, a fate of which Crassus himself soon furnished so signal an example (B.C. 53). His fall left Judæa free from new Roman interference till the outbreak of the Civil War, when Aristobulus was once more set free by Cæsar, to use his influence for him in Judæa; but he was waylaid and murdered by the Pompeians: Alexander, who had taken up arms in expectation of his father's

arrival, was seized by Metellus Scipio, the senatorian governor of Syria, and beheaded at Antioch after the form of a trial (B.C. 49).

Of this branch, Antigonus alone remained; and his claims to Cæsar's favour were soon eclipsed by the zealous aid which Antipater furnished in the Egyptian campaign (B.C. 48). His puppet, Hyrcanus, was restored to the full authority of which he had been deprived by Gabinius, with the title of Ethnarch, and Antipater was made a Roman citizen and Procurator of Judæa.* His eldest son Phasaël was made commander in Jerusalem, and Herod, his second son, now only fifteen years old, had the opportunity of displaying, in the government of Galilee, the energy and imperiousness which before long won for him the crown. But meanwhile the fortunes of the family were overshadowed by the assassination of Cæsar (B.C. 44); and in place of his wise toleration, the Jews soon groaned under the rapacity of Cassius. The measures taken to raise the 700 talents which he assessed upon Judæa led to fresh internal dissensions, in the course of which Antipater was treacherously poisoned by Malichus, the head of the old Jewish party, and a favourite courtier of Hyrcanus. By patient subtlety Herod got Malichus into his power, and slew him before the face of Hyrcanus, who was forced to approve the deed as done by the order of Cassius. The new efforts made by the party of Antigonus were crushed by the energy of Herod and Phasaël; and the feeble attempt of Hyrcanus to recover his independence after the battle of Philippi (B.C. 42) was abandoned when Herod proposed to marry his granddaughter Mariamne.† This princess, as the daughter of Alexandra, the only child of Hyrcanus, and of Alexander, the elder son of Aristobulus, was the representative of both the surviving branches of the Asmonæan family, a character which Herod himself assumed upon the consummation of the marriage in B.C. 37. He made out, however, a better title to power by becoming the flatterer and boon companion of Mark Antony, who had obtained in the second triumvirate the government of the East, and who made Herod and Phasaël tetrarchs of Judæa, and showed favour to Hyrcanus (B.C. 41). But, while

* The office of *procurator* was chiefly financial. Under the Empire, the Procurators were entrusted in Cæsar's provinces, with the functions discharged by the Quæstor in those of the Senate. Where a country was annexed to another province, as Judæa was to Syria, the general functions of government fell under the Procurator. Such was the office now held by Antipater, and afterwards by Pontius Pilate.

† This name is only a fuller form of the Hebrew *Miriam* or *Mariam*, which has passed through the Latin *Maria* into our own sweet *Mary*.

Antony was in Egypt, bartering his hopes of empire for the fatal seductions of Cleopatra, Syria revolted, and a Parthian army, under Pacorus, the king's son, overran the disordered province. Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, induced Pacorus, by presents of money and women, to restore him to the throne. With the support of a Parthian force, Antigonus made his way into Jerusalem. Still Herod's energy maintained what was called the cause of Hyrcanus, and Jerusalem was again filled with blood by the hostile factions, especially when they were assembled at the Feast of Pentecost. But his brother Phasaël and Hyrcanus consented, against his advice, to submit their dispute to the arbitration of the Parthian general, Barzaphernes. They were received with every mark of distinction, as the object was to get possession of Herod's person; but the wily prince placed his mother, his sister, and his bride Mariamne, in the fortress of Massada on the Dead Sea, under his brother Joseph's care, and then fled to Rome. The Parthian now threw Phasaël and Hyrcanus into chains. The former committed suicide; and the latter was incapacitated for the high-priesthood by the mutilation of his ears (B.C. 40).

The three years during which ANTIGONUS nominally ruled over Judæa (B.C. 40-37) were incessantly troubled by the ravages of the Parthians, and by the civil war renewed by Herod. Professing to the last the policy of ruling in the name of the Asmonæans, he declared his intention of asking the throne for his brother-in-law Aristobulus, who was the son of Alexander and Alexandra, and the grandson both of Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II. But Antony prevailed on his fellow triumvirs to confer the kingdom upon Herod, who also ingratiated himself with Octavian, though he spent but a week at Rome; and he landed again at Ptolemaïs only three months after his departure. The Parthians had meanwhile retired from Judæa on the advance of Ventidius, the legate of Antony; and Antigonus was engaged in besieging Massada, the relief of which fortress was Herod's first exploit. His further operations in Judæa being frustrated by the double dealing of the Roman general Silo, he took up a fortified position in Samaria, whence he made a successful campaign against the robbers who infested Galilee. The expulsion of the Parthians from Syria enabled Antony to send an adequate force to the aid of Herod; but intrigue and accident prolonged the war for two years more; and it was only in the spring of B.C. 37 that Herod and the Romans laid siege to Jerusalem. After an obstinate resistance of six months, the city was taken and delivered up by the Roman

general Sosius to ravages which only ceased upon Herod's indignant remonstrance against being left king not of a noble city, but of a desert.* He had the address to prevent the desecration of the temple. Antony, to whom Antigonus was sent in chains, condemned him to death; and the Romanized Jewish historian is not ashamed to regard the fate of the first sovereign prince who suffered under the stroke of the Roman lictor as the just reward of the unmanly tears which gained from the derision of his conqueror the nickname of Antigoné. Such was the end of the Asmonæan dynasty, exactly 130 years after the first victories of Judas Maccabæus, and in the seventieth year from the assumption of the diadem by Aristobulus I. (B.C. 37). There remained but two members of the fallen family, besides Mariamne, whose marriage at Samaria in the preceding winter enabled Herod to ascend his throne in the character of their heir. Aristobulus, the last descendant of Mattathias, obtained the high priesthood through the interest of his mother Alexandra. But his noble character, and the true Maccabæan cast of his handsome countenance, provoked a fate which was sealed by the popular applause that greeted him at the Feast of Tabernacles. While bathing with a party of Herod's courtiers, he was drowned under the appearance of immersion in sport, precisely a century after the accession of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 35). He was survived five years by his aged grandfather Hyrcanus, who, incapacitated as we have seen for the priesthood, fell a victim to Herod's suspicious cruelty in the same year in which Octavian gained at Actium the mastery of the world (B.C. 30). How Herod's unbounded deference to the emperor secured his power over the land which he made half heathen, and which he stained with the most abominable cruelties, will be soon seen when we reach that one central event of the History of the World, which alone justifies the association with his name of the epithet—"Herod the Great." From this digression we have to look back to those momentous events at Rome, which had produced such a state of parties, that, at the close of the year B.C. 63, it seemed not unlikely that the conqueror of the East might throw his sword into the scale.

The same year that witnessed the subjugation of Western Asia beheld Rome on the verge of a terrible catastrophe. The con-

* The passage in which Dio Cassius tells us that Jerusalem was taken on the Sabbath furnishes an interesting testimony to the use of the names of the days of the week. It was, he says, "on the day which was even then called Saturn's-day;" ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τοτὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὠνομασμένῃ.—xlviii. 22.

spiracy of Catiline deserves all the attention it has excited for the revelation that it furnishes of the utter corruption of a large part of Roman society, and of the sudden and secret dangers that may at any moment bring destruction upon a state thus corrupted. The part played by Cicero in its suppression, while investing the conspiracy with its chief historical celebrity, had the most important influence, not only upon the orator's whole future life, but upon the turn which the crisis gave to the different political parties. The departure of Pompey, to conduct the wars, first with the pirates, and afterwards with Mithridates, left the field clear at Rome to Cicero and Cæsar. The latter was still young for taking a commanding place in the government; nor had he yet filled any of the public offices. He had warmly supported the popular measures, of which the responsibility rested upon Pompey; he used all his energies to carry the Gabinian and Manilian Laws; and he had shown himself to the people as the heir of the principles of Marius. Before he assumed a more decided part, he had to test the temper both of the Senate and the democratic party. We have incidentally alluded to the bold experiment which he made during his ædileship, by restoring the statues of Marius with all his titles of honour, and adding to the statue in the Capitol a figure of Minerva in the act of crowning the conqueror of the Cimbri; and the proposal of Catulus to impeach Cæsar for this act fell to the ground (B.C. 65). In the same office he indulged the generous profusion of his nature, and won popularity at the same time, by the splendid games and spectacles which far more than exhausted his private fortune. As Niebuhr observes:—"He was unconcerned about money matters, reckoning upon great things that were to come; and whoever lent him money had in Cæsar's heart a security that he would be repaid tenfold, if Cæsar should come into power." Meanwhile, his unbounded affability, his liveliness and cordiality, and his unaffected kindness to his friends, made him as popular with the high as with the low. "He was cordial, but not—like Cicero—tender: he also differed from him in his natural desire to have many friends. Great qualities and talents were alone sufficient to attract him, and this circumstance led him to form friendships with persons whose characters were diametrically opposite to his, and who injured his reputation. He was perfectly free from the jealousy and envy of Pompey, but he could not tolerate an assumed superiority that was not based on real merit." (Niebuhr.)

The ardour of Cæsar's political principles and of his personal

ambition was alike unknown to the gentler temperament of Cicero. In his youth he had written verses in praise of Marius: but, in honouring his fellow townsman, he by no means embraced his politics, if indeed Marius could be said to have had any political principles at all. His apology for the unconstitutional reward which he gave his followers on the field of battle—*inter arma silent leges*—breathes a spirit the direct opposite of Cicero's boast over the achievements of his consulship—*cedant arma togæ*. Nor was there less difference in the ambition which aspired

"Th' applause of listening Senates to command,"

and to be the most influential citizen in a constitutional state, from that which, starting with the motto—*aut Cæsar aut nullus*—worked it out to the issue, that Caius Julius should be *Cæsar* and every other Roman *nullus*. With such objects of ambition, Cicero's conversion to the aristocratical party was by no means unnatural; and before we censure him for political apostasy, it is worth considering whether, in the corrupt state of the Republic, either party could claim the allegiance of consistent principle. The unique fidelity of Cato was rendered to the abstract principles which his imagination embodied in the cause of his party. Cicero was at heart neither an aristocrat nor a democrat, but a moderate constitutionalist. His youthful enthusiasm for liberty, and his position as a "new man," had led him to take part in the popular reaction against Sulla's tyranny, and his support of Pompey seems, from his Manilian speech, to have sprung in a great measure from genuine admiration. When he reached the summit of his ambition in the consulship, he yielded to the influence of his position as the head of the "order;" and the proud consciousness that he had saved the state was intensified by the wounds that Pompey chose to inflict upon a vanity from which his own differed solely by wanting all Cicero's warmth of heart. It was in the sensitiveness of his nature to the influence of those whom he esteemed that Cicero's chief weakness lay. Niebuhr—who, above all others, writes with true sympathy for "the greatest man of his kind"—has called attention to the advice which the Delphic oracle is reported to have given to Cicero about his course of life—to live for himself, and not to take the opinions of others as his guide. "If this is an invention, it was certainly made by one who saw very deeply, and perceived the real cause of all Cicero's sufferings."

The admiration won by Cicero's forensic eminence, and the political course which was crowned by his earnest support of the Manilian Law, marked him out as a popular candidate for the

consulship, for which he began his canvass in the following year, declining to take a province as proprætor (B.C. 65).* This year was marked by the first abortive conspiracy of LUCIUS SERGIUS CATILINA, a profligate patrician, to whom the words of Lord Say and Sele concerning Strafford might be applied without exaggeration—that "his prodigious crimes were enhanced by his great talents, whereof God had given him the use and the devil the application." His character was a natural product of the utterly disorganized state into which Rome had fallen. "There never was a country," says Niebuhr, "in such a state of complete anarchy: the condition of Athens during its anarchy, of which people talk so much, bears no comparison with that of Rome. The Republic was a mere name, and the laws had lost their power." And the example of Rome may guard us against the modern fallacy of supposing that such a state of things, and the bloody plots and terrorism which spring out of it, are the birth only of democratic principles. It was the younger nobles, and chiefly those of the aristocratic party, who, drawn on by the luxury which conquest and wealth had introduced at Rome, had squandered their substance in profligate pleasures, and then, disappointed in their canvass for the magistracies which would have restored their fortunes by provincial plunder, sought the ruin of the state as a malignant satisfaction for their own, and a means of vengeance on the enemies their crimes had made.† It was the veterans of Sulla who, distributed over the surface of Italy as colonists without acquiring the industry of cultivators, had soon squandered their ill-gotten booty, and waited for the signal of civil war to replenish it. Nor were those who had been ruined by the civil wars unwilling to seek redress in new scenes of confusion and rapine. Such materials needed only the torch which personal motives drove Catiline recklessly to apply. "According to the accounts both of Sallust and of Cicero, Catiline was certainly an extraordinary man, endowed with all the qualities which are necessary to constitute a great man in such times: he had an incomparable and indescribable courage and boldness, and a gigantic

* When a Roman was anxious to obtain the consulship at the earliest legal period (*suo anno*), it was not unusual to spend the first of the two years that must follow the prætorship in a kind of informal canvass called *prensatio* (i.e. *taking by the hand*) or solicitation of individual citizens. In the second year, the candidates openly declared themselves by assuming the whitened robe (*toga candida*).

† The names of Catiline's chief associates will presently give us an illustration of the truth of these statements.

strength of both mind and body; but he was so completely diabolical, that I know of no one in history that can be compared with him; and you may rely upon it that the colours in which his character is described are not too dark, though we may reject the story of his slaughtering a child at the time when he administered the oath to his associates, and making them drink the blood mixed with wine."* He had served with distinction under Sulla, and proved his unscrupulous ferocity in the proscription by killing his brother-in-law Cæcilius with his own hand, and torturing to death Marius Gratidianus of Arpinum, the kinsman of Cicero. His profligacy was equal to his cruelty. His intrigue with a vestal virgin was not indeed proved; but no one doubted that he had poisoned his wife in order to gratify his passion for Aurelia Orestilla, and that he removed her reluctance to become the stepmother of a grown-up youth by the murder of his son. The notoriety of his crimes did not prevent his election as prætor for B.C. 68, and he obtained the province of Africa in the following year. Returning in B.C. 66, to sue for the consulship, Catiline was accused of extortion in his province by a man whose character was about as respectable as his own, the notorious Public Clodius. Cicero makes a jocose allusion, in a letter of the following year,† to his being engaged to defend Catiline, "with a jury to our mind," but the accuser seems to have been bribed to drop the prosecution. The charge had, however, meanwhile disqualified Catiline as a candidate; and the two consuls-elect for B.C. 65, P. Cornelius

* Niebuhr, *Lectures on the History of Rome*, vol. iii., p. 13, Schmitz's translation. While adopting Niebuhr's powerful description as substantially true, we are hardly disposed to accept his high estimate of the historian's character:—"Sallust has a great love of truth, is just towards every one, and does perfect justice to Cicero, without heeding the vulgar talk of other people. At the time of Catiline's conspiracy, he was a young man, and perfectly able to make correct observations of what was going on. Very soon after these events, he became personally acquainted with Cæsar, Crassus, and other leading men: when Crassus died, Sallust was not yet thirty years old. It is always of importance for the historian of such events as this conspiracy to become acquainted with the leading men who acted a part in them; and not to write about them till some time after, when prejudices and delusions cease to exercise their influence." Such sources of information no doubt preserved Sallust from gross blunders, like those which have been pointed out in his Jugurthine War; but they did not cure his rhetorical vice of writing mainly for effect. Who does not perceive such a likeness between his characters of Jugurtha and Catiline, as to raise the suspicion that he drew them as an imaginative parallel? And, when we couple what we know of the historian's own character with his avowal that his *Catilina* was written chiefly to expose the vices of the nobles as a class, we may well doubt whether his spirit is justly described in the closing words of Niebuhr's criticism.

† Ad Att. i., 2.

Sulla and P. Autronius Pætus, were convicted of bribery and set aside. Stung by these disappointments, Catiline and Autronius formed a conspiracy with Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a young noble of kindred spirit, to murder the new consuls on their first day of office; and the plot only failed through Catiline's giving the signal too soon (Jan. 1, B.C. 65).

Freed from the prosecution of Clodius, Catiline again came forward for the consulship; but he had to encounter another judicial danger, from the energy with which Cæsar pursued his attacks upon the Sullan party. L. Julius Cæsar, one of the consuls of B.C. 64, presided with C. Cæsar himself over an inquisition into murders committed during the proscription, and condemned Catiline's uncle, but acquitted Catiline himself. Meanwhile, the support which Catiline obtained from the profligate nobles and the dissolute veterans of the Sullan party became truly formidable through his coalition with Caius Antonius, nicknamed Hybrida, a plebeian noble, younger son of the celebrated orator who was put to death by Marius, and uncle of the triumvir. There were three other competitors; but the contest lay between Cicero, Catiline, and Antonius. To avoid the triumph of the coalition, the Senatorial party was obliged to overcome its jealousy of the "new man" and friend of Pompey. Cicero was returned at the head of the poll, and Antonius came in second, but by a narrow majority over Catiline. The latter now cast away all hesitation, and proceeded with his plot. Already while the election was in suspense, in June B.C. 64, he had held a meeting of the conspirators at his house. Among them were two Cornelii—P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, who had been consul in B.C. 71, but had since been expelled from the Senate by the Censors, and was now a candidate for the prætorship; and C. Cornelius Cethegus, whose coarse ferocity was the more conspicuous from his keeping up the custom of his ancient patrician family, of going about with the arms bare.* Besides these, Sallust names P. Autronius Pætus, the late-rejected consul, and eight other nobles, four equestrians, and many from the colonies and municipia, who were nobles in their own cities. In the speech which Sallust has composed for Catiline, there is a curious admixture of the complaints against the rapacity of the nobles and their exclusive enjoyment of office and its substantial fruits,—which might have been natural in the mouth of a demagogue,—with the avowal of the real grievance of ill success in obtaining a share of

* Horace alludes to the old fashion in the phrase, *cinctuti Cethegi* (*Ars Poët.* 50), and Lucan mentions the conspirator in the words *exsertique manus vesana Cethegi.*

the plunder. The one bond of union is plainly avowed—"to have the same wishes and dislikes," * and the proimses held out are, the cancelling of debts, the proscription of the wealthy, the civil and priestly offices as a source of plunder, with all the other gains of civil war measured only by the lust of the victors. The possession of the provinces of Spain and Mauretania by two of the conspirators strengthened the hopes founded on the coalition of Catiline with Antony, whose despicable character and needy circumstances would make him a tool in his colleague's hands. But even thus early the plot was betrayed by one of the conspirators. Quintus Curius, a young noble as vain as he was depraved, had an amour with Fulvia, a woman of noble birth. Too poor to satisfy her constant demands, he began to mingle boastful promises of "seas and mountains" with threats of violence to her life. Fulvia soon learned enough of the cause of this wild talk to spread among her acquaintances a rumour of the plot, without the mention of any names; and the uneasiness thus created contributed to Cicero's election. Deprived by that event both of the consulship and of the hope of Antony's support, Catiline began to form magazines of arms in different parts of Italy, and contrived to borrow money, which he placed in the hands of his confederate Manlius at Fæsulæ (*Fiesole*) in Etruria, afterwards the head quarters of the brief Catilinarian war. Nor was the least of Catiline's hopes reposed on the influence of those abandoned but clever women, of whom Sallust draws a striking picture, by whose means he hoped to raise the slaves, to set fire to the city, and to procure, if not the adhesion, the murder of their husbands. With all this, however, he resolved to delay the explosion till after the next consular election; hoping that his success would win over Antony, while many a secret plot was laid against the life of Cicero. The consul, however, had bribed Fulvia to obtain from Curius all the secrets of the conspirators, and had bought over Antony by surrendering to him the rich province of Macedonia, which had fallen to his lot for the ensuing year. On the day of the consular elections, Cicero, thus forewarned, escaped the dagger of an assassin, and Catiline lost his last hope of obtaining the consulship.

The presence of this danger, known as it was to Cicero from the beginning of his consulship, had doubtless aided his decision to embrace the party of the Senate. On the first day of his consulship (Jan. 1, B.C. 63), he announced his severance from Cæsar's party by speaking against the Agrarian Law of the tribune P. Ser-

* "Idem velle, atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est."—Sallust. *Cat.* c. 20.

vilius Rullus, the most sweeping measure hitherto proposed for dividing the public lands,—which was ultimately defeated. He even went so far as to oppose with success the restitution to their civil rights of the sons of those who had been proscribed by Sulla. His defence of Rabirius against the accusation of Labienus in connection with that proscription, and his efforts to advance the dignity of the equestrian order, have been already noticed. He reformed a senatorial abuse by persuading the Fathers to give up the custom of "free embassies" (*liberæ legationes*), as a pretext for exacting entertainment at the expense of the cities of the empire, when they were travelling on their own business. Amidst his public duties, his forensic labours were not suspended; he successfully defended L. Licinius Murena, the consul-elect, from the charge of bribery, and C. Calpurnius Piso, the consul of B.C. 67, from that of extortion.

But the chief occupation of Cicero's consulship was to keep a constant watch on the progress of the conspiracy. On his second repulse at the Comitia, Catiline had determined on open war. While his adherents, Manlius, Septimius, and Julius, were stationed in Etruria, Picenum, and Apulia, he spent his days and sleepless nights at Rome in plotting the murder of the consul and the conflagration of the city. But still no favourable opportunity arrived; and at length he called together the conspirators on a stormy night, and told them that he was ready to start for the army if Cicero were first disposed of. A knight, C. Cornelius, and a senator, L. Vargunteius, undertook to assassinate the consul in his own house that very night; but a timely warning, conveyed by Curius through Fulvia, caused Cicero to close his doors to all visitors. Meanwhile, Manlius was making rapid progress in collecting an army in Etruria, among the people who had been driven from their possessions by Sulla's military colonies, and from the robbers who infested the wasted country. Cicero now thought it time to act. On the 21st of October, he laid a general account of the conspiracy before the Senate, which adopted the formal vote investing the consuls with dictatorial power.* On the 27th, Manlius appeared openly in arms at Fæsulæ, and news soon reached the Senate that a servile war threatened to break out in Apulia and Campania. Q. Marcius Rex and Q. Metellus Creticus, who were with their armies at the city gates, each waiting for a triumph, were despatched to Fæsulæ and Apulia, and the prætors Q. Pompeius Rufus and Q. Metellus

* "Darent operam consules, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet."

Celer to Capua and Picenum. Rewards were proclaimed for information concerning the conspiracy, and the watch and ward of the city was committed to the lesser magistrates. Rome had the appearance of a besieged town.

At this juncture, Catiline, relying perhaps on the ramifications of his conspiracy among the nobles, dared to make his appearance in the Senate, as if to offer an explanation or defence. His presence moved Cicero to that burst of indignant declamation, which is so familiar to all his readers as the first of his four celebrated Catilinarian Orations.* Even Catiline's audacity was quelled. With a cast-down look and faltering voice, he begged the Fathers not to think evil of a fellow patrician; but, when he grew bold enough to add the insult, that the Republic must needs be ruined, to be saved by M. Tullius, a citizen sprung from the dregs of the people, his voice was drowned by a universal cry of "enemy" and "parricide." Losing all control over his fury, he exclaimed: —"Since then I am beset and driven headlong by my enemies, I will quench my own conflagration in the common ruin." He rushed from the Senate to his house, where he brooded for the rest of the day over the disappointment of his schemes of murder and conflagration; and, committing their prosecution to Lentulus and Cethegus, he left Rome at midnight to join Manlius. On the morrow, the 9th of November, Cicero addressed the second of his Catilinarian Orations to the people in the Forum. The Senate declared Catiline and Manlius public enemies, and ordered Antonius to march against them, while Cicero remained to guard the city.

The only evidence on which it was possible to take proceedings against the conspirators in Rome was that of Fulvia; but their own imprudence soon supplied the want, by an intrigue with some ambassadors from the Allobroges, who revealed the whole matter to Cicero, through their patron, Q. Fabius. Having, by Cicero's directions, obtained letters under the hands of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the others, the ambassadors were arrested as they were leaving Rome, in company with Titus Volturcius, the bearer of despatches

* The following are the nominal dates of the Four Catilinarian Orations, with the corrections required by the disordered state of the Roman Calendar :—

I. *Ad Senatum:* a. d. VI. Id. Nov. = Nov. 8, B.C. 63 = Jan. 12, B.C. 62.
II. *Ad Populum:* a. d. V. Id. Nov. = Nov. 9, ,, = Jan 13, ,,
III. *Ad Populum:* a. d. III. Non. Dec. = Dec. 3, ,, = Feb. 5, ,,
IV. *Ad Senatum:* Nonis Decemb. = Dec. 5, ,, = Feb. 7, ,,

The corrected dates are those computed by Abeken in his invaluable work *Cicero in seinen Briefen* (translated by the Rev. Charles Merivale). The dates of Orelli are ten days later.

for Catiline, soon after midnight on the 3rd of December. Cicero now sent messengers to desire the attendance of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, and of another who at once fled the city, but was recaptured. The Senate was convened in the temple of Concord; Cicero led in Lentulus by the hand, with the respect due to the prætor: the rest followed with their guards. Their letters were acknowledged by themselves, and confirmed by the evidence of Volturcius and the Gauls, to which was added the story that Lentulus had often been heard to quote a Sibylline prophecy, that three Cornelii should reign in Rome: Cinna had been one, Sulla the second, and he himself was to be the third. He was compelled to abdicate the prætorship, and was delivered with his comrades, each to the custody of a leading Senator. Cicero was received in the Forum as the saviour of the state, when he addressed to the people his third oration, informing them of what the Senate had done, and exhorting them to keep the thanksgiving it had decreed.

His position was, however, one of the deepest anxiety. Besides that responsibility for the lives of Roman citizens, which was afterwards so rigorously exacted, he was beset by informations against the first men at Rome. The absurd charge against a man with such a stake in the public safety as Crassus was as absurdly ascribed by himself to the jealousy of Cicero,* who however pronounced the informer a false witness. The audacity which had marked Cæsar's course thus far, and the fact that he was overwhelmed with debt, offered a tempting opportunity to his enemies, such as C. Piso, whom he had accused for *repetundæ*, and Q. Catulus, to whom he had been preferred in the election to the chief pontificate, both within this very year. The charge, to which Cicero refused to listen, was so industriously circulated among the aristocratic party, that Cæsar was threatened as he came out of the Senate by the swords of the Knights who guarded the door. In the following year, when Cæsar was at open conflict with the Senate, he was distinctly accused by Curius; and Vettius, another of the in-

* Sallust states that he had heard this accusation against Cicero from Crassus himself. The evidence offered by the informer L. Tarquinius of the manœuvres of Crassus to aid the escape of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest, may have had some foundation in the personal relations of Crassus to the conspirators, many of whom probably owed him money. Sallust does not hesitate to ascribe the Senate's readiness to stifle the enquiry to a similar motive. Another instance of the like *animus* is shown in his statement, that Catulus and Piso tried to persuade Cicero to foist a charge against Cæsar into the depositions of the Allobroges. This hardly looks like writing about the events "when prejudices and delusions cease to exercise their influence."

formers, offered to produce a letter from Catiline to Cæsar. In a full Senate, Cæsar called on Cicero for his evidence; and the ex-consul not only bore testimony to his innocence, but praised his services in crushing the conspiracy. Vettius was thrown into prison, after being nearly torn to pieces by the mob, and Curius was deprived of the reward already voted for the information he had furnished to Cicero. Every probability is opposed to Cæsar's complicity in the plot. It sprang from the party most opposed to his, and its objects were utterly at variance with his own. If he already intended to reign, it was not over a ruined city, nor by the help of such men as Catiline:

"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis."

Niebuhr despatches the question with one of those intuitive judgments of his, which are generally right in their proper sphere:—"Cæsar too was mentioned, but Cicero thought him innocent; and I am perfectly convinced that it was impossible for a mind like his to participate in such things."

After the interval of an anxious day, Cicero convened the Senate on the Nones of December (Dec. 5, B.C. 63), to decide on the fate of the conspirators, whose friends and clients were meanwhile planning their rescue. The debate that ensued is of the deepest interest on account of the speeches which the historian puts into the mouths of Cæsar, and of Cato, who, having just entered on the office of tribune, now appears for the first time as his great opponent; but there remains the tantalizing doubt, how much of the speeches is due to Sallust's rhetorical invention, as an illustration of the elaborate comparison which he draws between these two great men.* But whether Sallust reports the debate accurately or not, there can be little doubt that he faithfully represents what is most interesting to us in the sentiments of Cæsar, and of those who thought like him, in the argument that perpetual imprisonment would be a severer punishment than death, for a crime which surpassed all that had ever been known before it, and to which all tortures would be inadequate, because death was no torture, but the rest from grief and misery, a release from all the ills of mortals, and "beyond it there was no place either for care or joy;" while Cato touches but lightly on the opposite opinion, that in the shades below the bad take a different path from the good to regions wild, waste, foul, and fearful. But the real strength of

* "His genus, ætas, eloquentia prope æqualia fuere; animi magnitudo par, item gloria, sed alia alii;" &c. The delineation of Cato's character must be left to a future opportunity.

Cæsar's speech lay in the warning, lest the Senate should allow the crime of Lentulus and the rest to have greater weight than its own dignity, or be moved rather by the anger of the moment than the reputation of the future, and in recalling to their minds the law, which forbad a Roman citizen to be put to death without a trial. His proposal was that the conspirators should be placed in perpetual imprisonment, under a sure guard, in various fortresses of Italy; nor is there any reason for imputing a treacherous design to the advice. Cato's reply was simply to insist on the greatness of the crime, the pressing danger from Catiline, the need of security for the future, the confession which rendered a trial superfluous. Not without hesitation, and under the sense of imperious necessity, Cicero threw into the scale the weight of his commanding position and the eloquence of his Fourth Catilinarian oration. The culprits were doomed to death by a decree of the Senate, and the same night they were strangled in the vault of the Tullianum. The completion of the deed was announced by the voice of the Consul, proclaiming to the crowds assembled in the forum below, "*Vixe runt*—they have finished their lives"—"for so," says Plutarch, "do the Romans, to avoid words of evil omen, speak of those that are dead." The scene of rejoicing that followed is thus described by the biographer: "A bright light shone through the streets from the lamps and torches set up at the doors, and the women showed lights from the tops of the houses in honour of Cicero, to behold him returning with a splendid train of the principal citizens." It was probably amidst this throng that Cato saluted him by the title of "Father of his Country (PATER PATRIÆ);" and in this blaze of glory ended the famous "Nones of December," on which Cicero was wont ever after to dwell the more fondly, as it was almost his last day of happiness. The Senate voted thanksgivings to all the gods in the consul's name, and deputies flocked to congratulate him from all the towns of Italy. The picture would be unfaithful were we to suppress the somewhat grotesque feature of the orator solacing himself in later years with the verse-making which had formed the amusement of his youth, and beginning a poem in honour of his own consulship with the line,

"O fortunatum natam me consule Romam."*

* In his well-known derisive comment,—

"Antoni potuit gladios contemnere si sic
Omnia dixisset"—

we are not sure but that Juvenal is speaking rather after the taste of his age, which could make no allowance for the archaic form of poetry, which abounded in spondees, especially in an exordium.

While these events were passing at Rome, Catiline and Manlius were in arms in Etruria, and a general agitation prevailed at both extremities of the peninsula. But the first symptoms of insurrection in Picenum and the north were firmly suppressed by the prætor, Metellus Celer, whom Cicero had sent into those parts, at the same time resigning to him the succession to the province of Cisalpine Gaul.* Catiline's force of 2000 men had meanwhile grown to an army of two legions; but not more than a fourth of them were properly armed. On the arrival of Antony, with whom he was too weak to cope, he marched up and down in the mountains, hoping for the success of the plot in Rome. The news of the fate of Lentulus and his associates caused most of Catiline's followers to drop off, and left him no resource but to try to escape into Gaul. He led his few remaining followers through rugged mountain roads to the neighbourhood of Pistoria (*Pistoia*) between Lucca and Florence; but Metellus learned his movements from deserters, and occupied the passes on the Gallic side, while Catiline was closely followed by Antonius. He resolved to turn upon the latter; and Antonius, disabled by an opportune attack of gout from fighting against his old friend, devolved the command upon Petreius, a thorough soldier. The insurgents fought with the courage of despair, but the battle was speedily decided by a charge of the prætorian cohort, led by Petreius against the centre, where Catiline himself was conspicuous in the front. Left with only a few around him, he rushed into the thick of the enemy, and fell mortally wounded, while Manlius and his other lieutenant were killed on the two wings. Not a single freeman was taken prisoner; each man lay dead where he stood; and those who had been driven asunder by the charge of Petreius had all their wounds in front. Catiline was found far from the rest amidst the bodies of his foes, still breathing, and retaining in his face the undaunted courage of his soul. The Roman veterans suffered heavy loss, and scarcely one escaped unwounded. The battle was fought early in B.C. 62.

Before this victory was gained, the sun of Cicero's consulship had set behind a cloud of evil omen for the future. Beneath all the outward congratulation, there was a deep undercurrent of discontent; and the full force of Cæsar's warning against trifling with the constitutional sacredness of a Roman citizen's life began to be felt.

* In the first allotment of the provinces for B.C. 62, Macedonia and Hither Gaul had fallen to the two consuls, but Cicero, to gain over Antony, exchanged the former for the latter. Afterwards, preferring to remain at Rome, he gave up Gaul, and in the new allotment conducted by Antony, it was contrived between them that this province should fall to Metellus.

He had hinted, not obscurely, that the act contained the germ of another proscription, though no such consequence need be dreaded under a consul like Marcus Tullius. But when the deed was done, his measured warnings swelled to loud complaints in the mouth of the popular leaders, who felt that the Senate had successfully assumed a power which might soon be used to re-enact deeds like the murder of the Gracchi. The year closed with a distinct intimation of the revenge that was to be taken upon Cicero, as the leader and organ of the Senate. It was the custom for the consuls to address the people in the Forum, when they laid down their office on the last day of the year, and took the oath that they had done their duty. On the 29th of December, B.C. 63, Cicero came forward on the Rostra to make a speech, which would doubtless have been one of his grandest efforts, when, instead of the grateful genius of Rome imagined by the poet in our motto, Q. Metellus Nepos, one of the new tribunes, interposed his veto, declaring that the man who had put Roman citizens to death without a hearing should not himself be heard, except to take the necessary oath. Then Cicero, lifting up his voice, swore that he had saved the Republic, and all the people swore that he had sworn the truth. A great concourse attended him to his house; but he felt keenly the insult which, he says, had never before been put upon a Roman magistrate, and the day did not pass without his remonstrating with Metellus through common friends, but in vain.* He was doomed to bear the consequences of a deed which has always been admired, but is now generally admitted to have been illegal. The principle recognized from the earliest times, as in the case of Horatius, had been again and again confirmed, and it was distinctly enacted by the *Lex Porcia de Provocatione*, that no Roman citizen might be scourged or put to death, but by the sentence of the whole people. If it were argued that the right of appeal was of no avail against consuls armed by the Senate with dictatorial authority for the salvation of the state, the reply is evident, that Cicero had not acted upon that authority,—like Opimius against Caius Gracchus, and Marius against Saturninus,—but he had referred the whole question to the Senate. His reluctance to act upon his own responsibility had involved him in the responsibility for their deed, and the party led by Metellus Nepos and Clodius were preparing to exact the penalty.†

* See the very interesting letter to Q. Metellus Celer, the brother of Metellus Nepos, referred to on the next page (*Epist. ad Div.* v. 2).

† Cicero's consulship must not be dismissed without a notice of the birth (on Sep.

Cicero lost no time in taking up the challenge of Metellus Nepos. On the 1st of January (B.C. 62) he made a speech in the Senate, to let the tribune feel that he had to do with a firm antagonist.* On the 3rd, Nepos renewed the attack in a speech full of personalities and threats against Cicero, who replied in an elaborate "Oratio Metellina," which seems to have been in the style of his Philippics. This oration gave rise to a correspondence, which throws an interesting light on the internal working of Roman politics, and proves how much the great nobles set personal considerations above public policy. Q. Metellus Celer, the late prætor, to whom Cicero had yielded the province of Cisalpine Gaul, with the title of proconsul, was the brother of Metellus Nepos, and was further connected with the popular leaders by his marriage with the sister of Publius Clodius, though himself of the aristocratic party. Energetic as were his services against Catiline in the field, he had preserved a silence in the midst of the general congratulation, at which Cicero expressed his disappointment under the guise of that pleasantry which often cost him so dear. Thereupon the fiery noble wrote a letter to Cicero, which remains a choice specimen of the style of the Roman soldier-magistrate, terse, direct, and haughty, and in marked contrast with the polished semi-irony of Cicero's reply. Metellus, writing from the head of his army, even goes so far as to hold out threats against Cicero and the Senate for their proceedings against his brother.† The contest had in fact become most serious. Nepos proposed two rogations, to permit the election of Pompey as consul in his absence, and to recal him with his army, in order to protect the citizens from being put to death at the pleasure of the Senate. The veto interposed by Cato only prevailed after a tumult in the Forum, the popular feeling being still mostly on the side of those who had suppressed the conspiracy. The Senate then declared every one who questioned the justice of the late executions a public enemy, and Nepos fled to the camp of Pompey, whose conduct, when he arrived at Rome, seems to have been materially influenced by these events. Cæsar had supported the rogations of Nepos, and the Senate took the bold step of suspending him from the prætor-

23, B.C. 63) of C. Octavius, who became, by adoption, C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus, afterwards the emperor AUGUSTUS.

* "Sic cum eo de republicâ disputavi, ut sentiret sibi cum viro forti et constanti esse pugnandum." (Cicero, *Epist. ad Div.* v. 2.)

† "Quæ quoniam nec ratione nec majorum nostrorum clementiâ administratis, non erit mirandum si vos pœnitebit." (*Epist. ad Div.* v. 1.)

ship; but Cæsar's prudent firmness compelled them to give way in the end, with no small gain both to his popularity and to his influence in the Senate itself. At the expiration of his prætorship, he obtained the province of Further Spain, where he retrieved his ruined finances, and laid the foundation of his military fame. Cicero's brother Quintus was prætor in the same year, and obtained the province of Asia as proprætor. The year closed with one of those incidents which show how the wanton act of an individual may bring on a crisis in the affairs of a disordered state. The Roman matrons were met, according to their custom, in Cæsar's house, to celebrate the mysteries of the Good Goddess (*Bona Dea*), on which it was the greatest profanation for any male creature to intrude, when Publius Clodius was discovered among them, in the disguise of a female musician, in pursuit—it was alleged—of an intrigue with the wife of Cæsar.* He escaped from the house by the aid of a maid-servant; and Pompeia was divorced by her husband because, he said, Cæsar's wife must be above suspicion. The case was brought before the Senate; and the trial of Clodius became, as we shall see, a great political question.

This state of political and social disorder seemed to invite the interference of Pompey, who had spent most of the year in regulating the affairs of Asia Minor, and had landed at Brundisium towards its close. But Pompey's cold reserve and want of decision baffled the speculations of all parties. He at once removed the fear of any intention to repeat the part of Sulla, by disbanding his soldiers, with orders to reassemble for his triumph; nor did he show any haste to arrive at Rome. On the 1st of January, B.C. 61, the approach of his avant-couriers is mentioned by Cicero, who expected his return with the deepest anxiety. But he thought even less of the arbiter who was to decide the question between him and the friends of the conspirators, than of the chief whose panegyric was to crown the honours of his consulship. On both points he had reason to feel no small misgiving; for, besides provoking Pompey in the affair of Metellus Nepos, he had wounded his self-love in the very attempt to secure his approbation. Just when Pompey was in all the glory of the end of the Mithridatic war, and—as Niebuhr well says—"thinking of nothing and nobody but himself," Cicero wrote to inform him of the great deeds that had been done at Rome in the same year in which he had completed the conquest of the East. We can judge of the tone

* This was Cæsar's second wife, Pompeia, the daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus, and granddaughter of Sulla.

of this letter (which is not preserved) by a second, in which Cicero complains of the slight recognition of his services in Pompey's public and private letters, which he imputes to the fear of offending Cæsar. A mingled strain of remonstrance and conciliation is concluded with these words;—"Be assured that the deeds we have done for the salvation of our country are fully approved by the judgment and testimony of the whole world. And, when you arrive, you will find them to have been done by me with such wisdom and such greatness of mind, that you—though much greater than Africanus—will readily suffer one not much less than Lælius to be joined with you, both in public measures and in private friendship."

That such language, from the pen of a civilian and a "new man," should have made an enemy of such a man as Pompey, was a consequence which Cicero ought to have foreseen; but that his frank self-consciousness should have made him a perpetual object of contempt to a host of detractors, is a penalty against which the historian ought ever to protest. Those who find Cicero's vanity less pardonable than other great men's crimes would do well to study the following words of Niebuhr:—"It is natural that an eminent man should demand acknowledgment: for, as truly as it is the will of nature that we should not lie, so also it is her will that we should honour and acknowledge noble acts. Plato says, 'the last garment which a pure man puts off is the love of fame,' and if he does put it off, he is in a dangerous way. . . . When I contemplate the disease of our time, I perceive with pain, that there are very few who strive after immortal fame: that wretched and unsatisfactory life, which is confined to the present moment, leads to no good. . . . Cicero was a man of a curious, we may almost say, of a morbid sensibility to any affront: envy and hostility were ruinous to him. It was a misfortune for him, that he endeavoured to counteract the want of appreciation on the part of his fellow-citizens, by coming forward and showing what he was; sometimes doing so by way of reproach, sometimes by argument. Persons who have themselves displayed their vanity in the pettiest affairs of their little native places have censured Cicero for his vanity, and have written upon it in a very edifying manner. It always grieves me to hear such expressions, which we meet with even among the ancients: for I love Cicero as if I had known him, and I judge of him as I would of a near relation who had committed a folly."* The personal alienation between Cicero and

* Niebuhr: Lectures on the History of Rome, Vol. iii. pp. 24, 25.

Pompey tended to prevent a political combination, which might have had the greatest influence on the destiny of the state; for it is quite evident that Pompey had not made up his mind which party he should espouse, till the Senate drove him into the arms of Cæsar.

Pompey arrived at Rome in January, B.C. 61, and Cicero complains that, amidst a great show of affection, he suffered his jealousy to be clearly seen; and he adds what seems no unjust estimate of the man's whole character:—"There is nothing refined about him, nothing simple; in his politics he is neither straightforward nor clear: he has neither strength nor liberal feeling."* As he was constitutionally disabled from entering the city while waiting for his triumph, a meeting of the Senate was held outside the walls, and Pompey made a speech, which is thus characterized by Cicero:—"It gave no pleasure to the distressed, no encouragement to the wicked, no gratification to the prosperous, and seemed of no weight to the good. Therefore it fell dead."† The man who, returning to Rome with all the prestige of the conqueror of the East, could make such a first impression, was clearly not destined to be the saviour of the state. In his harangue to the people in the Flaminian circus, Pompey was more decided upon the supreme authority of the Senate; and when the consul Messala, a strict aristocrat, asked him his opinion, at another meeting of the Senate, about the measures taken in reference to the sacrilege of Clodius, he contented himself with a general approval of all the proceedings of the Order, and remarked to Cicero, as he sat down, that he thought he had really said enough upon that subject. Crassus, who well knew what more one member at least had hoped for, saw the opportunity of outbidding his rival for the applause of the Senate, and launched forth into an unbounded eulogy of Cicero, to whom—he said—he owed his position as a Senator, a citizen, a free man—the safety of his wife and family—his very life. Stimulated by the applause that followed, and gratified by observing that Pompey's reserve was shaken, Cicero delivered a speech, of which he himself gives the following *naïve* description:—"But as for myself—good heavens!—how I showed off before

* *Ad Att.* i. 13, written Jan. 25. It appears from this letter that Pompey, who had seen Atticus in Greece, had spoken in praise of Cicero as if he could not venture to find fault.

† *Ad Att.* i. 14; written February 13. Any allowance to be made for prejudice from wounded feeling is more than counterbalanced by Cicero's perfect frankness in his correspondence with Atticus.

my new hearer, Pompey! If ever I had a full supply of periods, turns, sentiments, tricks of rhetoric, it was on that occasion. Why say more? Shouts of applause! For this was the argument:—the firm decision of the Order,—the hearty co-operation of the Knights,—the unanimity of Italy,—the expiring relics of the conspiracy,—the blessings of cheapness and repose. You know the sound of my thunder when I have these materials to work upon: so clear and full was it, that I am now all the briefer, because I suppose that its distant echoes reached you in Epirus." Such is the vivid picture of a debate in the Roman Senate, which we owe to the freedom of Cicero's correspondence with Atticus.*

While Pompey was preparing for his splendid triumph, the attention of Rome was concentrated upon the affair of Clodius; and it is curious to observe how all the party leaders kept out of that vortex, except Cicero, who evidently hoped to crush Clodius like another Catiline. Not content with giving decisive evidence against Clodius, who called him to prove an *alibi*, he pelted him with unmerciful sarcasms in the Senate, and thus confirmed the enmity of which he soon felt the force. We must be content to refer to Cicero's letters for a graphic account of the trial, which resulted in the acquittal of Clodius by unblushing bribery of the Judices.† Cicero records his conviction that by this trial the Republic had slipped out of the hands that had just saved it; but he consoles himself with his rhetorical triumphs over Clodius and the outward union with the great chief which, however hollow, was so ostentatious, that the young nobles of the Clodian party nicknamed Pompey—doubtless to his great disgust—Cneius Cicero. The growing discredit of the Knights—to the causes of which allusion has been made before—was felt by Cicero as a bitter disappointment; and his annoyance was completed by the election to the consulship of Afranius, a creature of Pompey, whose conduct in putting such a man forward he stigmatizes as disgraceful.

* This letter furnishes an excellent example of the manner in which Cicero's semi-ironical frankness about himself, in the confidence of close intimacy, has given a handle to the detractors who persist in putting the most literal, not to say the most mischievous interpretation upon every jest of his exuberant playfulness. No man ever, both alive and dead, paid dearer for his jokes.

† *Ad Att.* i. 14, 16. A passage in the former letter shows that universal suffrage and vote by ballot could be *manipulated* in Rome, as in other times and countries. When the vote was to be taken in the Comitia on the Bill of the Senate for the selection of the Judices, there was a difficulty in obtaining tickets inscribed with AYE (V.R., *i.e.*, *uti rogas*). In more recent times, the scarcity is said to have been the other way.

On the 29th of September, B.C. 61—the same day on which he reached the age of forty-five—Pompey entered the Capitol in the most magnificent triumph that Rome had ever seen. It lasted two days: amongst the train of captives, 324 princes walked before his triumphal car: and besides all the spoils that glittered before their eyes, the imagination of the spectators was excited by tablets announcing the gains that Pompey had won for the Republic:—1000 fortresses, 900 towns, and 800 ships taken:—39 cities founded:—20,000 talents brought into the public treasury;—and 26,000,000 of sesterces added to the revenue of the state. As this day was the climax, so it may perhaps be called the last, of the truly glorious period of Pompey's life; and almost the last praise that the historian has to bestow upon him is this:—that he did not now abuse his military supremacy. "He took no improper advantage of the senseless honours which were paid to him, and appeared only once in his triumphal robe in the Circensian games; although, on the whole, he showed himself mean and miserable during the time of peace, and certainly did not deserve the name of the Great, which had been given to him by Sulla." (Niebuhr.) He was evidently uncertain which party to adopt, and had not the decision to strike out a course of his own. His personal enmities with Crassus and Lucullus severed him from the aristocratic party, even had he been disposed to forget that all his popularity and recent success had begun with his reversal of Sulla's acts. Whether he had as yet formed the scheme of using the party of Clodius to humble Cicero, may be doubted. His immediate object was to obtain the ratification of the acts he had performed and the political settlements he had made in Asia. With this view he had promoted the election of Afranius; and the Senate's resentment at his success brought their jealousy to a climax. They refused the required ratification; and the first half of the year B.C. 60 was spent in an unseemly contest, which drove Pompey back upon the popular party.

It was at this crisis that Cæsar returned from Spain, where he had achieved brilliant successes, especially against the mountaineers of Lusitania and Gallæcia. His troops saluted him Imperator, and the Senate voted a thanksgiving in his honour. He was now strong enough to take his place as the leader of the popular party; and he had also a measure of his own to carry—one still more distasteful to the Senate than the ratification of Pompey's acts—the division of the public land of Campania as a means of rewarding the soldiers, and securing the support of the poorer

citizens. On him, too, the Senate put a personal affront by refusing him leave to stand for the consulship while he was detained outside the city, waiting for his triumph. With characteristic decision, he renounced the triumph, and presented himself in the Forum as a candidate. His election was secure from the first; and the Senate could only succeed in clogging him with M. Calpurnius Bibulus as a colleague. The great events of the succeeding year may be anticipated, so far as Bibulus is concerned, by a single word. After a vain attempt to withstand the measures of the triumvirs, he withdrew altogether from the Comitia, and gave the wits of Rome occasion to say that the consuls of the year were Julius and Cæsar.

Meanwhile the appearance of Cæsar upon the scene made an almost magic change in the positions of the chief actors. Cicero began to feel that, instead of discussing whether he was to be the first or second man in Rome, he should have enough to do to save his head from Clodius, and he now finds no hope for the state but in the republican purity of Cato. For a mind like Pompey's it was a hard struggle to admit even the equality of Cæsar's superior genius, his jealousy of which was doomed to be his torment for the rest of his career. But a coalition was the only alternative to save him from at once sinking to the second place; and they bound themselves by a mutual engagement, Cæsar to obtain the ratification of Pompey's acts, Pompey to support the agrarian law of Cæsar. Their success was ensured by a master-stroke of Cæsar's policy, in gaining over Crassus, whose position as one of the most influential leaders of the aristocratic party was due to his wealth rather than to any steady political principle. Even from his first connection with Sulla, he had never been a regular adherent of the party, and he was bound by close personal relations to Cæsar, who knew the kind of bait that would secure him. The fascination which Cæsar exerted over his friends was powerful enough to overcome the bitter jealousy that Crassus had felt towards Pompey ever since their consulship, and to effect a reconciliation. From the analogy of the constitutional commissions, permanent or occasional, for the discharge of public duties by an appointed number of persons, this coalition obtained, by a sort of parody, the name of the First Triumvirate. But the title is first recognized in that which is usually called the *Second Triumvirate*, of Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus, who were appointed for five years as Triumviri Reipublicæ Constituendæ.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE AND THE GREAT CIVIL WAR.—FROM THE FIRST CONSULSHIP TO THE DEATH OF CÆSAR. BC. 59 TO B.C. 44.

"Motum ex Metello consule civicum,
Bellique causas, et vitia, et modos,
Ludumque Fortunæ, gravesque
Principum amicitias, et arma

"Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ,
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.

* * * *

"Audire magnos jam videor duces
Non indecoro pulvere sordidos,
Et cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis."

HORAT. *Carm.* ii. 1.

ORIGIN OF THE CIVIL WAR FROM THE CONSULSHIP OF METELLUS—ITS CAUSES AND CHARACTER—FIRST CONSULSHIP OF CÆSAR—MEASURES OF THE TRIUMVIRS—PROCONSULATE OF CÆSAR—POSITION OF CICERO—CLODIUS ELECTED TRIBUNE—CICERO'S BANISHMENT AND RECAL—CLODIUS QUARRELS WITH POMPEY—RIOTS OF MILO AND CLODIUS—MEETING OF THE TRIUMVIRS AT LUCCA—PARTITION OF THE PROVINCES—SECOND CONSULSHIP OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS—DEDICATION OF POMPEY'S THEATRE—POMPEY REMAINS AT ROME—CRASSUS DEPARTS FOR SYRIA—OMENS OF DISASTER—HE CROSSES THE EUPHRATES AND RETIRES—EMBASSY FROM THE PARTHIANS—CRASSUS ENTERS MESOPOTAMIA—TACTICS OF THE PARTHIANS—THE BATTLE OF CHARRÆ—DEATH OF THE YOUNGER CRASSUS—RETREAT TO CHARRÆ—DEATH OF CRASSUS—SEQUEL OF THE PARTHIAN WAR—ANARCHY AT ROME—MURDER OF CLODIUS—POMPEY SOLE CONSUL—TRIAL OF MILO: SPEECH OF CICERO—POMPEY JOINS THE OPTIMATES, AND AIMS TO STRENGTHEN HIMSELF AGAINST CÆSAR—PROROGATION OF HIS COMMAND—CÆSAR'S GALLIC WAR—FIRST CAMPAIGN: THE HELVETII AND GERMANS—SECOND CAMPAIGN: THE BELGIC TRIBES—THIRD CAMPAIGN: THE ARMORIC NATIONS—FOURTH CAMPAIGN: CÆSAR CROSSES THE RHINE, AND INVADES BRITAIN—FIFTH CAMPAIGN: SECOND INVASION OF BRITAIN: ATTACKS ON THE WINTER QUARTERS OF THE ROMANS—SIXTH CAMPAIGN: SECOND PASSAGE OF THE RHINE—SEVENTH CAMPAIGN: REVOLT OF GAUL UNDER VERCINGETORIX: SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ALESIA—EIGHTH CAMPAIGN: COMPLETE SUBJECTION OF GAUL—CÆSAR IN CISALPINE GAUL—CICERO'S PROCONSULATE IN CILICIA—MEASURES OF THE SENATE AGAINST CÆSAR—HE IS DECLARED A PUBLIC ENEMY—ANTONY AND CASSIUS FLY TO CÆSAR'S CAMP—CÆSAR CROSSES THE RUBICON—THE GREAT CIVIL WAR BEGINS—FLIGHT OF THE POMPEIANS TO BRUNDISIUM AND GREECE—CÆSAR MASTER OF ITALY—WAR IN SPAIN: DEFEAT OF AFRANIUS AND PETREIUS—CAPTURE OF MASSILIA—CÆSAR DICTATOR FOR ELEVEN DAYS—CÆSAR IN GREECE: BATTLE OF PHARSALIA—FLIGHT OF POMPEY TO EGYPT—HIS DEATH—CÆSAR IN EGYPT—CLEOPATRA—THE ALEXANDRINE WAR—CÆSAR IN PONTUS: *VENI, VIDI, VICI*—HIS RETURN TO ROME—PARDON OF CICERO—AFRICAN WAR: BATTLE OF THAPSUS: SIEGE OF UTICA: DEATH OF CATO—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR—REFORMATION OF THE CALENDAR—INSURRECTION IN SPAIN—CÆSAR DEFEATS THE POMPEIANS AT MUNDA—HIS RETURN TO ROME AS MASTER OF THE EMPIRE—DICTATORSHIP FOR LIFE, AND OTHER HONOURS—HIS GIGANTIC PROJECTS—THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIS LIFE—CHARACTER OF BRUTUS—THE IDES OF MARCH—CHARACTER OF CÆSAR—HIS ADMIRERS AND IMITATORS.

POLLIO, who adorned the court of Augustus with qualities not inferior to those of Agrippa and Mæcenas, began his great work

on the Civil Wars of the two Cæsars from their true origin in the consulship of Metellus and Afranius (B.C. 60); and Horace, in addressing his friend upon the undertaking, connects with great accuracy the chief transaction of that year with its fatal consequences. The hollow friendship of the chieftains, pregnant with fruits as yet unforeseen (*graves* amicitiæ) led inevitably to the "arms" which Horace makes their direct sequel. What one of Cicero's correspondents observed as a fact, was a necessity of their characters and position:—their professions of attachment and their jealous union could not subside again into covert detraction of each other; but the first rupture must needs burst out into a struggle for the mastery.* Nor is the poet less happy in his allusion to the "faults" which Cicero and Cato joined in bitterly lamenting, and in the justice that he does to the one hero of pure patriotism, who still divides with the conqueror the admiration of the world. His warning to Pollio is even now a lesson to the historian. The fires which burnt amidst the recent embers nineteen centuries ago are still ready to burst forth at the summons of that party spirit, which is so eager to fortify itself with analogies often totally inapplicable to modern politics, and to exalt or to stigmatize the characters of men who acted on principles utterly different from those which guide or ought to guide our own leaders, of whatever party. The advance of historical knowledge and political intelligence may in some future age produce the writer, who shall pass unscathed through these treacherous fires, and do justice to the great qualities on either side, without plunging into the pitfall laid for him by the false show of patriotism made by a selfish aristocracy, or being caught by the fatal flame in which the commonwealth is offered up as a sacrifice to a despot. In avoiding the old errors of making a hero of the vain, selfish, and irresolute Pompey, an ideal patriot of the ungrateful assassin Brutus, and a political martyr of the vindictive and rapacious Cassius, it is not necessary to despise Cicero or disparage Cato; nor does an honest admiration of Cæsar's true greatness require us to offer incense to that despotism, the unflinching hatred of which is in all ages the surest test of fidelity to the principles of liberty, or demand for him a higher political eulogy than this:—

> "Unmoved, superior still in every state,
> And scarce detested in his country's fate."

To write the life of Cæsar in a spirit of unqualified admiration is a

* Cælius, *Epist. ad Div.* VIII. 14. § 2:—"Sic illi amores et invidiosa conjunctio non ad occultam recidit obtrectationem, sed ad bellum se erupit."

work which may be left to those who wish to benefit by the precedent of his usurpation.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR entered on the first of his five consulships in the year B.C. 59, and pursued for exactly fifteen years that marvellous political and military career, to which history has since furnished but one, and that an unequal parallel.* He at once brought forward his proposal for the division of the Campanian lands, the richest which remained in the possession of the state. The support of Crassus had weight with the Senate, and Pompey plainly declared that he would meet any appeal to force with force. The vote of the Comitia was taken amidst a tumult in which Bibulus was driven out of the forum, not to reappear there during his consulship. Twenty commissioners were entrusted with the execution of the agrarian law, and provision was made for 20,000 poor citizens, including many of Pompey's veterans. The means taken to carry the measure left no doubt of the subjection of the commonwealth to those whom Cicero calls the Dynasts.

Cæsar next secured the favour of the Equites by the very measure which their own great supporter, Cicero, had pronounced a shameless demand when it was proposed by Crassus the year before —their relief from one-third of the sum, which their rapacity had overreached itself by bidding for the farming of the taxes of Asia. The ratification of Pompey's acts was easily obtained; and the personal bond was drawn closer by his marriage with Cæsar's daughter Julia. It remained to reap the substantial reward of power, and to lay the foundation of future mastery. The prolongation of the consulship, even if the people had been willing to return to that form of despotism, would not have suited Cæsar's plans. Even if he did not yet meditate the subversion of the Republic, he doubtless saw that the mortal blow must soon be given either by himself or Pompey, and he could safely leave his rival and the Senate to try how they could do without him at Rome, while, like Sulla, he was creating, in a prolonged proconsular government, an army devoted to his person. Accordingly the tribune, P. Vatinius, carried a Rogation, investing Cæsar with the government of Illyricum and Cisalpine Gaul for five years. The Senate anticipated by its own decree a second bill for extend-

* The period of Napoleon's supremacy was also fifteen years, dating from his election as first consul in 1799—1800. However different the offices that were called by the same name, there is a close resemblance between the position of Cæsar with such a colleague as Bibulus, and that of Napoleon with his *faineant* colleagues, of whom it was said that 1 + 1 + 1 = 1.

ing his power to Transalpine Gaul for the same period, and added another legion to the three granted to the proconsul by the Vatinian Law. No field of action could better have suited Cæsar's present views or his future fame. As proconsul of Gallia Cisalpina, he could spend his winters in watching the progress of affairs in Italy; while the Further Province opened to him an unbounded prospect of surpassing the fame of Camillus and Marius by subjugating the country of those Celtic tribes, before whom Rome had trembled for her existence. Possessing, amidst his varied accomplishments, a Latin style even purer though less ornate than Cicero's, he has told us how he used the opportunity in that immortal work which (under the modest title of *Commentaries*, or Notes for History) must ever rank as the chief text-book of the military student.

The little reference to Cicero in the record of these proceedings is even less remarkable than the reserve of his familiar letters. Neither on public nor private grounds was he in any condition to resist the triumvirs, though he deeply felt that they were destroying the cause he had espoused; and his letters, after his return to Rome from the country, about June, contain allusions to their unpopularity.* He had come to confess that his political influence was departed. Crassus had often flattered his vanity, and he still clung to his union with Pompey as a source of strength. For Cæsar he felt a personal regard which was honourable to both, and which Cicero would have done wisely to have made the ground of closer relations. For he now began to feel that he needed powerful defenders. His allusions to Clodius are in a style of affected security which betrays deep uneasiness. And with good reason; for in this year Clodius gained his election to the tribunate, though not till he had sworn to Pompey that he would do Cicero no harm. If Pompey did not know the value of such an oath, Cæsar did; and he made a generous effort to save Cicero by inviting him to accompany him to Gaul as legate. In declining the offer Cicero seems to have relied on his popularity even more than on Pompey's good faith; and it may well be doubted whether, if he had been entrusted with that memorable defence of the winter-quarters of a legion against the whole host of the Nervii his name would have stood in the "Commentaries" in the brilliant place filled by that of his brother Quintus, to whom Cæsar gave the legateship which he declined.† The uncertain nature of

* His real feelings of dislike towards Pompey find vent in the nicknames of *Sampsiceramus* and *Hierosolymitanus*.

† Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* v. 38, foll.

his reliance upon Pompey may be gathered from the following passage of a letter to Atticus:—"Pompey loves me and treats me with affection. 'Do you believe it?' you will ask. I do believe it: he makes me believe it. But we are warned by precepts both in prose and verse to be on our guard and avoid credulity. Well! I take care to be on my guard; but incredulous of his professions I cannot be." Those who are ever harping upon Cicero's pusillanimity overlook the self-confidence, amounting to rashness, which he felt in the prospect of measuring his strength with Clodius. But that confidence began to fail him as the machinations of his enemies were unfolded, and his later letters of this year breathe the despondency which disappointment engenders in natures like his. With the new year (B.C. 58) the final struggle came, and Clodius, supported by two consuls of a character as despicable as his own, proposed a bill to interdict from fire and water any man who had put Roman citizens to death without a trial. The rogation was, in effect, a "bill of pains and penalties" against Cicero, and the absence of his name merely covered the personal attack with the profession of a general principle. He assumed the sordid garb of an accused person, and made his appeal in the forum to the compassion of the citizens. The same classes that had offered their congratulations on his consulship now brought the tribute of their sympathy. Deputations from the Italian cities flocked to Rome: the whole equestrian order went into mourning; and, when the consul Gabinius prohibited the Senate from doing the like, many of the Senators tore their robes. But all availed nothing against the city rabble and the armed bands, by means of which Clodius kept possession of the forum. The triumvirs were appealed to; and each of them gave a thoroughly characteristic refusal. Pompey had retired to his Alban villa, twenty miles from Rome, where, after rejecting the appeal of the Senators who followed him to his retreat, he had the contemptible gratification of seeing Cicero prostrate before him as a suppliant, and coldly repelling him with an answer which threw the responsibility upon Cæsar. As for Cæsar, he evidently thought that he had done enough to satisfy the claims of generosity, and it was not his policy to break with the popular faction on the eve of his departure, for the sake of a private friend and political opponent who had rejected his help. He was encamped with his army outside the walls; and, at an assembly of the people in the Flaminian Circus, Clodius asked him what he thought of Cicero's conduct in his consulship. Cæsar repeated the opinion

which he had maintained from the first in the Senate, that the executions were illegal; but deprecated severe measures in a matter so long past. The effect of the answer was to leave the charge to take its course; and Cicero, unless he could have adopted the advice of Lucullus, to stay and fight it out in the Forum, or have taken refuge in suicide—a temptation from which Atticus dissuaded him—had no resource but to yield. After dedicating in the Capitol a small image of Minerva, his own tutelary deity as well as of Athens and Rome, he went into voluntary exile, but not without hope of a speedy recal. Clodius now carried a bill interdicting Marcus Tullius by name from fire and water within 400 miles of Italy: his property was confiscated: his new house on the Palatine was burnt on the same day: and Clodius erected a temple to Liberty on its site (March, B.C. 58).

It belongs to the province of biography, rather than of general history, to trace the exile's steps to Thessalonica, and to discuss the spirit in which he bore the greatest misfortune that could befal a Roman, till he was recalled in the middle of the following year (B.C. 57); but the party manœuvres by which both his banishment and recal were effected are characteristic of that ruin of the Republic which they also hastened on. The success of Clodius in his attack on Cicero had emboldened him to take a course independent of the triumvirs; and his release of Tigranes, the son of the king of Armenia, whom Pompey had brought as a prisoner to Rome, decided the latter to support Cicero's recal. Meanwhile the methods adopted by Clodius to carry his measures were imitated by the aristocratic party. Titus Annius Milo, a native of Lanuvium, a man of unscrupulous character, and overwhelmed with debt, devoted himself to the party in the hope of securing a rich province. As tribune of the plebs in B.C. 57, he supported the recal of Cicero, and formed a body of hired gladiators to cope with the armed bands of Clodius. For five years Rome was at frequent intervals the scene of desperate fights between the factions, which were only ended, as we shall presently see, by the murder of Clodius and the banishment of Milo.

This state of confusion, which Pompey found himself powerless to quell, not only destroyed his influence with the people, but renewed his estrangement from Crassus, whom he accused of secretly furnishing Clodius with money. Cato and other aristocratic leaders hurled invectives at him in the Senate, and the party put forward a candidate for the consulship, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who threatened to propose a law for the recal of

Cæsar. It was now time for Cæsar to take some new decisive measure. In the spring of B.C. 56, he invited Pompey and Crassus to meet him at Luca (*Lucca*).* He reconciled them to one another, and arranged a scheme for the partition of the most important provinces among the triumvirs. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls for the ensuing year, and, having obtained their proconsular armies, the former was to gratify his ambition for a military command in the two Spains, the latter to satisfy his thirst for gold by the government of Syria and the conduct of a Parthian War. Both commands were for five years; Cæsar's provinces also were to be granted to him for another term of five years, dating from Jan. 1, B.C. 53. The elections were carried, after great tumults, in the beginning of the year B.C. 55,† the armed bands of Pompey and Crassus having driven the aristocratic party out of the Campus Martius; and they became joint consuls for the second time, after an interval of fifteen years from the first. Except the allotment of the Provinces, which the tribune Trebonius carried through the Comitia of the Tribes, the only important event of this year was the dedication of the splendid theatre, which Pompey had built after the model of that at Mitylene. It was the first stone theatre that had been built at Rome, and was capable of holding 40,000 spectators. The games at its dedication, which lasted several days, were a heterogeneous mixture of dramatic performances with the shows of gladiators and wild beasts, for which a morbid craving was obtaining the mastery at Rome. Cicero, whose taste was as much offended by the wretched acting of the plays, as he was disgusted by the bloody sports, has left us a sarcastic account of the exhibitions in one of his letters. The breaking down of the tragic actor Æsop, whose voice failed him through age, was more than compensated to the populace by the stage spectacle of six hundred mules in the tragedy of Clytemnestra and three thousand soldiers in that of the Trojan horse; and their delight was unbounded when, in addition to the shows of gladiators and athletes, 500 African lions and 18 elephants were butchered in the arena, and a live rhinoceros was exhibited for the first time at Rome. Still the elephants, as they raised their trunks and uttered cries of pain, excited the pity of the spectators, who fancied that there was something human about them (B.C. 55).

* Luca was within Cæsar's province of Cisalpine Gaul, the boundary of which he could not cross into Italy Proper, except to lay down his command.

† It had now become usual for the Comitia to be adjourned, by riots and tribunitial interventions, even beyond the period when the magistrates ought to have entered upon office.

On the expiration of the year, before the close of which Crassus had already set out for his province, Pompey showed no disposition to abdicate the power to which the possession of an army had again raised him. Sending part of his forces to Spain, under his legates Afranius and Petreius, he himself remained with the rest in the neighbourhood of the city;* and the hope of converting his proconsular authority into a dictatorship was shortly quickened by the fate of Crassus. That hapless leader had started, at the age of sixty, in quest not only of the riches of the East, but of a renewal of the military fame which had been completely eclipsed by Pompey and Cæsar. His ambition could only be gratified by a flagrant violation of the treaty which had been made with the Parthians by Sulla, and recently renewed by Pompey. The Senate refused to declare war against the Parthians; and, when Crassus was determined to persevere, he was arrested by the tribune, C. Ateius Capito. Released by another tribune, the consul hastened out of the city to take the command of his army; but he was met at the gate by Ateius, who there kindled a fire and with fumigations and libations devoted Crassus to the infernal deities, according to an ancient formula which was believed to be alike fatal to the curser and the cursed. Other strange omens, which attended his departure and dogged his march through Macedonia and Asia Minor, depressed the spirit of his troops.† But the worst omen was that sudden change of character which, in the case of Crassus, had a direct tendency to produce the disasters that superstition believes it to portend. Distinguished hitherto by a cold and sedate reserve, he displayed a childish elation at his command, and an arrogance which led him to reject the good advice of his able legate and quæstor, Octavius and C. Cassius Longinus. His thought was to repeat the exploits of Scipio and Sulla, of Lucullus and Pompey, on a wider field, and having overrun and plundered the region of the Euphrates and Tigris, to pursue his march to India. Anticipating an easy victory, he neither took advantage of the intestine divisions of the Parthians, nor strengthened himself by the alliance of Armenia, with which the Parthian king was at war;

* It may be argued, with some reason, that Pompey would have abandoned all hold of Rome, by going to Spain while Cæsar held the command of Cisalpine Gaul.

† One story is interesting for the light it throws, not only on Roman superstition, but on the pronunciation of the Latin language. As Crassus was sacrificing near the city gate, a fig-seller passed by, crying "*Cauneas, Cauneas*" (sc. *ficus*, i.e. *figs from Mount Caunus*), which the haruspices interpreted as *cave ne eas*, i.e. *beware of going*.

and he gave the enemy time to collect their forces, by recrossing the Euphrates after he had taken Zenodotium (B.C. 54). During the winter which he spent in Syria, Crassus occupied himself in amassing fresh treasures, while his troops neglected the most ordinary military exercises; and he even accepted money in place of the levies which he demanded of the neighbouring states. The fate of the sanctuary at Jerusalem was shared by the temple of Derceto at Hierapolis, the treasures of which took several days to weigh.

Meanwhile the Parthian king Orodes, or Arsaces XIV., who was himself in Armenia, prepared for the campaign by despatching into Mesopotamia a young and able general, Surenas. But first he sent an embassy to Crassus, requiring, in true oriental style, to know whether he was making war at his own pleasure or by the authority of the Roman Senate; for if it were by the latter, one or other of the two nations must perish, but if by the former, the king would yet allow him to retreat, in compassion to his old age. Crassus replied that he would give his answer at Seleucia.* "Sooner," rejoined the Parthian envoy, "shall the hair grow on the palm of this hand, than thine eyes see Seleucia." The obstinacy of Crassus seemed bent on fulfilling the prediction. As in the previous year he had rejected the advice of Cassius to follow the course which the younger Cyrus had taken down the left bank of the Euphrates, so now he turned a deaf ear to the Armenian king, who pointed out the advantages of his mountainous country for resisting the dreaded cavalry of the Parthians. Under the guidance of an Arab chieftain, whom Surenas had chosen as his agent from his being already known to the Romans in Pompey's campaigns, and who offered to show the nearest way to the position of the enemy, Crassus again crossed the Euphrates, at the part where the sands of the desert extend far beyond the left bank. His perfidious guide found a pretext for riding off to inform Surenas that he had left the Roman army exposed on the open plain; and

* This city, built by Seleucus I. on the left bank of the Tigris, near the mouth of the *Nahr Malcha*, or Royal Canal, which united the rivers, and a little below the site of the modern *Baghdad*, speedily supplanted Babylon as the capital, commanding the navigation of both rivers, and the chief road down the plain of Chaldæa, and at the junction of the great caravan routes. It grew to such greatness that, in spite of the rise of the Parthian city of Ctesiphon on the opposite bank of the Tigris, it numbered, in the reign of Titus, 600,000 inhabitants. Its prosperity was finally destroyed when it was taken by Severus. It is interesting to observe how the name of Babylon was transferred to each of the capitals of Lower Mesopotamia, even down to the modern Baghdad.

the rolling columns of sand soon announced the approach of the Parthian cavalry. The tactics of that nation of mail-clad horsemen,—who, pouring down from the deserts of Khorassan, had in the course of two centuries overrun the eastern provinces of the Græco-Syrian empire,—are too well known to need minute description. Their strength consisted in their rapid evolutions, and in their skill as horse-archers. Trained to scatter their force so that each man had free scope for action without losing the power of rallying again into a solid squadron, they spread round an enemy on all sides, pouring in a storm of arrows; and, when threatened with a charge, they retreated at full speed, still shooting their backward shafts with the certain aim which became proverbial.*

The conduct of Crassus betrayed the indecision of age, and whatever military talent he once possessed appeared to desert him. The usual Roman order of battle afforded the best chance of coping with such an enemy. The cavalry on the wings protected the legions from being outflanked and surrounded; and the African campaigns had proved that the superior endurance of the Roman horse could tire out the best light cavalry. Thus protected, the extended line of the legions could make front and act freely against the enemy over a large space, without offering any dense masses to his fatal aim, and his too near approach would expose his flanks to charges from the cavalry. But just as the Parthians were reported by the scouts to be at hand, Crassus formed the legions into a solid square, which afforded the best mark to the horse-archers and received the least possible protection from the cavalry on their flanks. Taking his own post in the centre, he entrusted the one wing to Cassius, and the other to his younger son Publius Crassus, who, after earning distinction in Gaul as Cæsar's legate, had been sent back to Rome with a body of troops, to aid in carrying the election of Pompey and Crassus for B.C. 55, and had led a force of 1000 Gallic cavalry to perish on the sandy plains of Mesopotamia.† Down came the Parthian squadrons, with the noise of kettle-drums and terrific yells, upon the Romans, who were long since dispirited and dis-

* The frequent allusions of Horace and Virgil are so well known, that one specimen may suffice (Hor. *Carm.* II. xiii. 16):—

"Miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi." [timet].

Most of the passages in which the Medians and Persians are mentioned by these poets refer to the Parthians, who were in that age masters of Media and Persia.

† The young Crassus was a devoted friend of Cicero, who has borne witness to the literary pursuits which he cultivated amidst his ambition for military fame.

trustful of their commander. The crowded column was decimated by their arrows; and its close formation was soon broken up into straggling bodies, which the feigned retreat of the Parthians drew on to disadvantageous ground, where, worn out with heat and thirst, and blinded by the sand, they were cut to pieces. The efforts of the cavalry to check the enemy were all fruitless. The younger Crassus, after a brilliant display of courage, found himself unable to extricate his squadrons, and his right hand was pierced by an arrow. Refusing to desert his soldiers, he ordered his sword-bearer to despatch him. On the news of his fall, the old Roman spirit blazed up in the heart of Crassus; and he exhorted his soldiers not to be disheartened by a loss which concerned the father only. But the faint shout of response showed that hope was abandoned. The deadly hail of arrows never ceased, for the Parthians were followed by camels, carrying a reserve of ammunition. Still the Romans held the field till sunset, when the Parthians drew off to a distance, according to their custom, for fear of a night attack on their unfortified camp.

Octavius and Cassius made haste to improve the respite. They found Crassus utterly prostrated by the fatigues of the day, the loss of his son, and the disappointment of his hopes of fame and gold. Acting on the authority of a council of war, they drew off the relics of the army to Carrhæ, abandoning the camp, with 4000 sick and wounded, whom the Parthians massacred in the morning, besides cutting to pieces four cohorts which had lost their way.

From Carrhæ, it needed but moderate skill and courage to effect a retreat into the highlands of Edessa and across the ford of Zeugma. Surenas tried again to mislead the Romans by a faithless guide; and, when this attempt failed, he proposed an interview, which the mutinous troops of Crassus forced him to accept. The intention of getting possession of his person was so evident, when a horse with splendid trappings was offered as a present by Surenas and Crassus was forcibly placed in the saddle, that Octavius seized the bridle to prevent his departure. A scuffle ensued, in which Crassus was cut down,—it was never known whether by the enemy, or by some friend, to save him from being taken alive. His body remained in the power of the Parthians, who sent his head and hands to their king. Orodes had just made a peace with Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, who had given his daughter in marriage to Pacorus, the Parthian prince. The royal party were sitting at the nuptial banquet, when the

ghastly trophies were brought in; and the "Bacchanals" of Euripides, to which they were listening,—for such was the Hellenism now in vogue at the oriental courts,—supplied more than one parallel between the fates of Pentheus and of Crassus:—

"'Ye revellers of Asia!' 'Why call'st thou me thus?'
'We bring from the mountains a glorious prey,
A wreath of ivy newly cut.'*
'I see, and invite you to join in my feast.'
'Yes! you may see! I caught the young lion,
Without the aid of snares.'"

With a more practical and savage irony, Orodes ordered molten gold to be poured down the severed throat, exclaiming:—"Sate thyself now with the metal of which in life thou wert so greedy!"† Meanwhile Cassius led back the few survivors of the Roman army into Syria, the total loss having been 20,000 slain and 10,000 prisoners. The result of this catastrophe, one of the most disastrous that the Roman arms had ever experienced, was to lay open Syria to the Parthians, whom we have seen setting up a king on the throne of Jerusalem. They were driven out of Syria by Ventidius, the legate of Mark Antony (B.C. 39—38); and a dynastic contest not only prevented their renewing the war with Rome, but led them to accept the arbitration of Augustus, who obtained the restitution of the standards of Crassus (B.C. 20). Later emperors carried on war with the Parthians with various success; but practically the Euphrates remained the eastern boundary of the Roman empire, just like the Rhine at the other extremity. For it is worth while to notice the coincidence that Cæsar's second passage of the Rhine into Germany took place in the same year as the fall of Crassus beyond the Euphrates (B.C. 53). Far more enduring was the intellectual fame which Cicero had just earned by the completion of his work "On the Republic."

Well might he retire from the anarchy of Rome, which seemed tending to the dictatorship of Pompey, whose connection with Cæsar was weakened by the death of Julia (B.C. 54), while he was released from the rivalry of Crassus. The city was again a prey to the riotous conflicts of Clodius and Milo, the course of which it is superfluous to trace, till the year B.C. 53, when the former was a candidate for the prætorship, the latter for the consulship. Each wanted office as the means of paying off an enor-

* The head of Pentheus. (Eurip. *Bacch.* v. 1169, and so on through the whole passage between Agave and the chorus.)

† If the story be true, the Parthian only parodied the treatment of Aquillius by Mithridates. See p. 107.

mous burthen of debt; but the previous services of Milo enabled him to boast himself the champion of Cicero and the Senate, while Clodius had materially aided the election of Pompey and Crassus for B.C. 55. The fights between their hired bands postponed the elections to the very end of the year; and on one occasion Clodius fell upon the consuls as they were holding the Comitia, and one of them, Ahenobarbus, was wounded. At length, on the 20th of January, B.C. 52, as Milo was travelling to Lanuvium, to discharge some duty belonging to his office as dictator—for so the chief magistrate of the town was called—he met Clodius returning from one of his estates to Rome.* Each was attended by a retinue of his hired gladiators; but they had already passed one another, when a quarrel broke out between the hindmost of the two trains. Clodius, riding back to the scene of the fray, was wounded in the shoulder, and driven with his followers into a house at Bovillæ. The house was stormed by Milo's order: Clodius was dragged out and despatched: and his body was left lying on the Appian Road. Here it was found by a Senator and conveyed to Rome, where it was exposed in the Forum to the view of the people, who were further excited by the harangues of the tribunes. Headed by Sextus Clodius, the brother of the murdered man, they bore the corpse to the Senate-house of Hostilius, and, having made a funeral pile of the benches, tables, and even the records, they burnt it with the Senate-house and several of the adjoining buildings. From this state of anarchy the only refuge was in Pompey and his army; and the Senate were obliged to call in his aid. On the 25th of February, he was elected "consul without a colleague"—the first time that such a dignity had been held by a Roman citizen. Forthwith he carried a series of laws for dealing with the crimes of bribery and violence at the elections, and for the trial by a more speedy process than usual of those concerned either in the murder of Clodius or in the burning of the Senate-house. These measures were plainly levelled at Milo, who was now placed upon his trial; but he preserved a bold front, and even renewed his canvass for the consulship. The people were constantly excited against him by the tribunes Plancus, Rufus, and Sallust;† and Pompey either was, or affected to be, persuaded

* After all the elaborate argument upon the point in the *Pro Milone*, it would seem that the meeting was purely accidental.

† This was the historian Sallust, who is said to have been caught by Milo in adultery with his wife Fausta, and to have received from him a severe personal chastisement. Two years later, when Sallust was active in supporting the cause of Cæsar,

that his own life was in danger. He availed himself of the pretext for strengthening the city guards, and, on the last day of the trial, when the evidence was closed and the speeches on both sides were to be delivered, he surrounded the court and occupied all the approaches to the Forum with his soldiery, and seated himself in front of the treasury, surrounded by a body-guard. The scene is made the occasion of a noble exordium in Cicero's published speech for Milo, which is a masterpiece alike of brilliant eloquence, and of forensic argument in a doubtful case. But this speech was written after the event; and the scene which it describes inspired Cicero with very different feelings at the time. By no means assured of that dignified impartiality which he ascribes to Pompey, and well aware of the danger to be apprehended from a hostile mob, the advocate lost his self-possession, and his speech proved ineffective. Of the fifty-one Judices, thirty-eight found Milo guilty, and he retired into exile at Massilia. The story is well known, how, when Cicero sent him a copy of his written speech, Milo, after reading it at supper, laid it down with the remark:—"I am glad it was not delivered, for else I should never have tasted these delicious mullets."

The trial of Milo was no less than the turning point in the history of the Republic, for it showed Pompey acting as absolute master of Rome. From that moment it became his study how to maintain this position against Cæsar. Having made use of the popular party so long as he was threatened by the jealousy of the Senate, he now made common cause with the nobles, who could not afford to reject such a leader. He married the daughter of Q. Metellus Pius Scipio, who was a Scipio by birth and the adopted son of Metellus Pius, the legate of Sulla; and he associated him with himself in the consulship from the 1st of Sextilis (August). He now attempted to accomplish the prolongation of his own power and the cessation of his rival's, by laws by which if he expected Cæsar to be bound, he must have been infatuated. As Cæsar had no intention either of retiring into a private station on the expiration of his pro-consulship, or of risking not his power only but his safety by laying down his military command to stand for a second consulship,* he had resolved to be a candidate in his

this charge furnished the censors with a fair pretext for expelling him from the Senate (B.C. 50).

* In the utter confusion of constitutional order, no stress can be laid on the fact which he himself notices in his Commentaries, that Cæsar had satisfied the law which required a ten years' interval before re-election.

absence for the consulship of B.C. 48. To prevent this, Pompey proposed the re-enactment of an old law, that no one could be a candidate for a public office in his absence. Cæsar's friends insisted that he should be specially exempted; and as Pompey was not prepared for an open rupture, he was fain to yield. He carried a law, however, that no consul or prætor should in future have a province till five years after the expiration of his office, intending thus to prevent Cæsar from having another army, while he obtained the prorogation of his own government of the Spains for five years more. Before the time when these measures were to come into operation, the battle of Pharsalia had been fought, and Pompey's head had been laid at the feet of Cæsar.

Such was the position of affairs at Rome at the end of B.C. 52, when Cæsar, having finished his marvellous career of victory beyond the Alps, was at leisure to watch the course of events from his province of Cisalpine Gaul. It belongs to military history to trace the details of the seven brilliant campaigns which he has recorded in his Commentaries. In his first campaign he repelled an invasion of the Helvetii, who had migrated westward from the plain of Switzerland between the Jura and the Alps; and, after defeating the German chieftain Ariovistus, who had attacked the territories of the Aedui, he drove him back beyond the Rhine (B.C. 58). The second year was occupied with the conquest of the Belgæ, that one of the three great Gallic nations which dwelt between the Seine (Sequana) and the Rhine. It was in this campaign that Cæsar gained his great victory over the Nervii, the most warlike of the Belgic tribes, who dwelt from the forest of Ardennes and the Sambre to the ocean. They had surprised the Romans while engaged in fortifying their camp; and a lost battle was regained by the daring courage of Cæsar, with such a slaughter of the enemy, that out of 60,000 warriors only 500 survived. The Senate decreed a thanksgiving for fifteen days, the longest with which any Roman general had yet been honoured (B.C. 57). The east and north being thus subdued, Cæsar turned in the third year to the north-west, and by means of his fleet subdued the Veneti in Brittany, and then conquered the Morini, on the Straits of Dover.* These conquests, added to the possession of the "Province" and the previous submission of the

* The nations on the north-western shores of Gaul, and especially those in the peninsulas of Normandy and Brittany, were called by the general name of *Armoric*, from the Celtic words *ar*, near, and *mor*, the sea.

southern tribes, completed in three years the subjection of all Gaul (B.C. 56).

But Cæsar's curiosity had been excited by the sight of the white cliffs of Albion from the coasts of the Morini; and at the same time he had again to secure the Rhenish frontier. In the pressure of the German peoples toward the West, two tribes had been driven over the Rhine by the Suevi, and Cæsar resolved to prevent their settlement in Gaul. After completing their defeat, he determined to check such inroads by inspiring the Germans with terror of the Roman arms. He crossed the Rhine by a bridge of boats near Bonn, and, after spending eighteen days in ravaging the territory of the Sigambri (on the Sieg), he returned to Gaul and destroyed his bridge. Far as the season was advanced, Cæsar could not rest without seeing with his own eyes something of the state of Britain. He set sail from Portus Itius,* and made the British shore near Deal. The formidable array of the "tattooed Britons," with their cavalry and war-chariots, the courage with which they rushed forward into the sea to hurl their javelins, and especially the depth of the water, caused the Romans to hesitate, till the standard-bearer of the tenth legion leaped down from the ship, calling the soldiers to follow him, unless they wished to betray the eagle to the enemy. Even then the landing was only effected after a hard fight in the water, aided by Cæsar's skilful use of the ships of war on the enemy's flank. Once upon the dry land, the Romans regained their superiority, and Cæsar's victory was followed by the submission of the neighbouring tribes. A disaster suffered by the fleet from the equinoctial spring tides—a phenomenon new to the Romans—revived the courage of the Britons. After a skirmish, in which the novelty of their mode of fighting from war-chariots gave the Romans some trouble, their united forces were defeated; they again sued for peace, and Cæsar, having required them to give him hostages, returned to Gaul just in time to avoid the dangers of the equinox, and to crush a rebellion of the Morini. The Senate decreed a thanksgiving for twenty days, in spite of Cato's opposition (B.C. 55).

While Cæsar spent the winter in Cisalpine Gaul, according to his custom, he ordered great preparations to be made for a second invasion of Britain. The Britons of Kent called to their aid

* Probably *Witsand*, near *C. Grisnez*, between Calais and Boulogne. This place, with Rutupiæ (*Richborough*) on the opposite coast, became the usual ports for travellers between Gaul and Britain.

Cassivelaunus (Caswallon), a chieftain from the other side of the Thames; but in spite of his brave opposition, Cæsar advanced beyond the river, crossing it near Kingston, and took and burnt Verulamium (St. Alban's), the forest fortress of Caswallon. But the reduction of the island by the Romans was postponed for a whole century; and the time has not yet come for bringing either Britain or Germany within the scope of the History of the World (B.C. 54).

The ensuing winter was distinguished by that catastrophe of Cotta and Sabinus, and that defence of Quintus Cicero against the Nervii, which form two of the most animated episodes in Cæsar's narrative; and the following campaign (the sixth) was occupied in subduing the rising spirit of insurrection. In this year Cæsar again crossed the Rhine by a timber bridge, higher up than before; conquered the Ubii and attacked the Suevi (B.C. 53). But, in the seventh year, all his conquests were endangered by a general rising of the Gauls,—including even those who had been the allies of Rome from the very first,—under a young and able chieftain, Vercingetorix. The peril called forth all the highest qualities of Cæsar's military genius. Its most interesting features were the sieges of Avaricum (*Bourges*), Gergovia (near *Clermont*), and Alesia (*Alise* in Burgundy). This last city, which stood upon a hill, in a position thought to be impregnable, was the final refuge of Vercingetorix. Cæsar had invested it on every side, when he was himself threatened by an immense army which had assembled for its relief. He drew an outer line of circumvallation to defend himself against the new enemy, and collected supplies for thirty days within these double lines, which enclosed all of Gaul that he could now call his own. His masterly dispositions and almost ubiquitous energy succeeded in repelling two combined attacks from within and from without. In the heat of the second engagement, when the Romans seemed scarcely able to hold the outer lines, a sally led by Labienus against the rear of the enemy produced a complete panic, and few of the Gauls survived to reach their camp. The Roman cavalry pressed on the pursuit through the night, and the relieving army was annihilated. Vercingetorix declared, in a council which he called on the following day, that, as he had begun the war for no object of his own, but for the common cause, so he was ready, now that all was lost, to be delivered up, alive or dead, as an offering to the anger of the Romans; but the quiet admiration with which Cæsar records this self-sacrifice did not prevent his consigning the Gallic chieftain to the

executioner after he had adorned his great triumph of B.C. 46. This crowning victory was celebrated at Rome by another thanksgiving for twenty days (B.C. 52). But an eighth campaign was still required to quench the embers of the rebellion; and as, in the meantime, Cæsar's enemies at Rome were driving matters to the last extremities, he spent the early part of the winter among the Belgæ, from whom alone any new disturbance was to be feared, and arranged such measures of conciliation as might enable him with safety to lead his army into Italy. The states were flattered by marks of honour; the chieftains won by valuable presents; the people gratified by having no new burthens imposed upon them; and Gaul worn out by so many defeats, learned to regard submission as their better state (B.C. 51—50). Cæsar's conquest of Gaul proved as permanent as it had been rapid, and the country became ere long one of the most thoroughly Romanized provinces of the empire. Even after a body of German conquerors had imposed their own name upon the land, the laws and institutions of Rome formed the basis of its political and social life; and, of all the "romance"* languages of Europe, there is none—in spite of the system of abridgment in orthography and pronunciation—which bears a closer affinity to its parent Latin than the French.

Having finished the war, Cæsar passed into Cisalpine Gaul, and his progress through the cities was one continued triumph. Towards the end of the year B.C. 50, he returned to his army at Nemetocenna (*Arras*) in Belgium, and having assembled the legions on the banks of the Moselle under the pretext of a lustration, he moved about by gentle marches, watching the course of events at Rome. Still professing to believe that the Senate would permit his quiet election to the consulship, he refused to strike any blow at their authority. Meanwhile his interests were watched at Rome by the profligate and unprincipled Caius Trebonius Curio,† one of the tribunes for the year B.C. 50; and by Marcus Antonius, afterwards the triumvir, who had been Cæsar's quæstor in Gaul, and whom he now sent forward to stand for the tribunate of B.C. 49. The only man who might possibly have performed the part of a mediator had been removed from the scene. Cicero had gone in B.C. 52 to govern Cilicia as proconsul, and he only returned to Rome in January B.C. 49, just after the Senate had virtually proclaimed war with Cæsar.

* That is, those derived from the Romans.

† Curio was a friend of Clodius, and is spoken of in that character with the utmost contempt by Cicero.

The proceedings of the Senate had meanwhile exhibited the resolution to humble Cæsar, mingled with hesitation in striking a decisive blow. New leaders, whose eagerness outstript the vacillating counsels of Pompey, were supplied by the illustrious house of the Marcelli, three of whom held the consulship successively in the three most critical years, B.C. 51, 50, and 49. These were Marcus Claudius Marcellus, an intimate friend of Cicero, who had been curule ædile with Clodius in B.C. 56; Caius Marcellus, his first cousin; and another Caius, the brother of Marcus.* The first was one of the bitterest of all Cæsar's enemies, and may perhaps be considered as representing the feelings of the plebeian *nobiles* towards the patrician *popularis*. As consul in B.C. 51, he scourged a citizen of Comum (*Como*) to show his contempt for the privileges of the new colony of Cæsar. Everything now turned upon Cæsar's standing for the consulship while retaining the command of his army; for he was resolved not to risk his person at Rome as a private citizen. Cato had declared that he would impeach him as soon as his government was expired; and Pompey had shown, in the trial of Milo, the use which he was ready to make of his army in a far more important case. As early as May, M. Marcellus carried a resolution in the Senate, that a successor should be appointed to Cæsar, on the ground that the Gallic War was finished, though nearly two years of his proconsulship were unexpired. The law was negatived by the Tribunes, and Pompey himself considered it premature; but it was resolved that the new consuls should bring forward the question again in the ensuing March. If then either Cæsar, or the tribunes for him, refused obedience to the Senate, and if he persisted in being a candidate while absent,—what then? "You might as well ask," said Pompey, "what if my son wished to strike me with a stick?"

Pompey reckoned on having the support of both the consuls for the year B.C. 50, C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Æmilius Paulus, as well as of the active and unscrupulous tribune Curio; but the unsparing bribes, which Cæsar lavished among the leading Romans, bought over both Paulus and Curio. The latter, whose enormous debts Cæsar paid, served him as an able and devoted agent; and that the more effectively, as he did not at once throw off the appearance of supporting the Senate. When Marcellus proposed

* The three Marcelli, and especially the two Caii, are frequently confounded. It should be remembered that the Marcelli were a plebeian branch of the Claudian Gens, who first became illustrious in the person of the hero of the Second Punic War.

in the Senate that Cæsar should be required to lay down his command by the 13th of November, Curio moved that Pompey should be required to do the same. This compromise had the appearance of perfect fairness; but Cæsar's election to the consulship would have placed the whole power of the Republic in his hands. The truth was, that the leading-staff which the triumvirs had joined in seizing had now become an object of contention, which neither could let go without standing helpless before the other. Still the refusal of Pompey gave Curio a fair pretext for invective, though he still preserved some show of impartiality by declaring that whichever of the two refused to disband his troops ought to be deemed a public enemy. The Senate next tried a pitiful trick to strengthen their military force at Cæsar's expense, by a decree that each of the proconsuls should furnish a legion to serve against the Parthians. Pompey demanded back for this service a legion which he had lent in the crisis of the Gallic War to Cæsar, who thus had to give up both legions, and that not for a Parthian War, for they were at once sent to winter at Capua. Cæsar complied in the consciousness of his strength, and from the determination not to begin the rupture; but he moved on his headquarters to Ravenna, the nearest town to the little river Rubicon, which divided his province from Italy Proper. About the same time, the consul Marcellus formally laid before the Senate the twofold question,—should a successor be named to Cæsar, and should Pompey be required to lay down his command? The former was carried and the latter negatived. Upon this Curio repeated his proposal, and the Senate eagerly caught at the compromise, which was carried by an immense majority. Pompey retired from the neighbourhood of Rome in disgust: according to another account he was laid up with sickness at Naples, and his life was for a time despaired of by his friends. Niebuhr expresses the naïve regret that he did not solve the difficulty by dying. Marcellus, however, refused to execute the Senate's decree, and, upon a report that Cæsar was marching upon Rome, he proposed to call out the two legions that were at Capua for the defence of the city. Curio stopped this proceeding by his veto, but knowing that his life would be in danger on the expiration of his office, he fled to Cæsar at Ravenna (Dec., B.C. 50).

At this crisis we obtain the light of Cicero's testimony and opinion. Having landed at Brundisium towards the end of November, he had a long conference with Pompey at Formiæ in December. He found him neither expecting nor wishing for

peace; full of confidence in his military resources; and—what now sounds strange indeed—despising Cæsar as an opponent in the field! He maintained that Cæsar's election to the consulship, even if he disbanded his army, would involve a revolution; and Cicero, without disputing so obvious a truth, preferred the ascendancy of Cæsar to a war of which despotism in some form was the inevitable issue. "Victory"—he says, meaning the victory of Pompey—"will produce many evils; and there will certainly come out of it a tyrant." As to the other alternative, he professes his uncertainty whether Cæsar would play the part of a Phalaris or a Pisistratus. In a state of tormenting doubt, he reached Rome when all had been decided by the fatal vote of the 6th of January.

Cæsar made a last effort to avoid war by a letter to the Senate, declaring his readiness to carry out the proposed compromise. With this letter Curio returned to Rome on the 1st of January B.C. 49, the day on which the new consuls, C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus, entered on their office. Among the tribunes of the plebs, M Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus were vehement supporters of Cæsar.* Their authority scarcely obtained a hearing for Cæsar's letter; and the consuls refused to take a vote of the Senate upon its contents. On the question of the state of public affairs, Lentulus offered to lead the Senate in any measures of boldness, but if, as in former times, they had respect to Cæsar, then he would take his course, even in disobedience to the Senate. Pompey was not present, as the meeting was held in the city; but his father-in-law Scipio declared for him that he would not be wanting to the Republic if the Senate would follow him; but if they hesitated now, they would ask his help in vain when they wished for it. Some voices, however, were raised for moderation and prudence. Marcus Marcellus, who in his consulship had been the first to propose an extreme course, now desired to suspend the decisive vote till the consuls had made their levies; and M. Calidius went so far as to move that Pompey should set out for his province, so as to avoid all cause of war. This question the consuls refused to put: Marcellus was intimidated by the violent reproaches of Lentulus: and the motion of Scipio was carried, "that Cæsar should disband his army by a fixed day, on pain of being considered a public enemy."

* Q. Cassius was cousin (Cicero calls him *frater*) to C. Cassius (the legate of Crassus in Parthia, and the murderer of Cæsar), who was also tribune in this year, but a steady supporter of the Senate.

The intercession of the Tribunes only provoked a new discussion, in which they themselves were threatened. Pompey sent for the leading members of the Senate, approved their course, and stimulated their zeal, while fresh troops were poured into the city. The offers of Cæsar's friends, to acquaint him with the feelings of the Senate and to bring back his answer within six days, were rejected by Scipio, Cato, and the Consuls, and on the 6th of January the Senate passed the vote, which—as Cæsar observes—had never been passed before, but when the city was in the last crisis of danger, "that the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes, and the Consulars who were in the city, should provide that the Republic sustained no harm."*

This was a declaration of Civil War, and the Senate followed up the vote by an allotment of the Provinces, in which L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was appointed to succeed Cæsar in Gaul. A levy was ordered throughout Italy; and money was voted from the treasury to Pompey, who made magnificent promises of the ten legions that he had ready for the field, and assured his supporters that Cæsar's soldiers were disaffected. The tribunes Antony and Cassius fled to the camp of Cæsar, who, immediately upon receiving news of the Senate's vote, had harangued the soldiers of the one legion that was with him at Ravenna, and, after receiving the enthusiastic assurance of their support, had advanced to Ariminum. Such is his own simple account of the movement by which he crossed the Italian frontier at the head of an armed force, and so declared war against the authorities at Rome. Later writers tell how he hesitated on the bank of the Rubicon, and how at last, after hours of deliberation, he rose up with the exclamation "*Jacta est alea*—the die is cast," and passed the river. The story is such an one as a rhetorician would invent, but it is one also which may have been handed down by a true tradition; and no one familiar with Cæsar's style will be surprised at his not recording the incident.† His remaining troops were summoned from their winter-quarters (Jan. B.C. 49).

* In relating these proceedings, Cæsar shows his thorough knowledge of his rival's character:—"Ipse Pompeius, ab inimicis Cæsaris incitatus, et *quod neminem secum dignitate excæquari volebat*, totum se ab ejus amicitiâ averterat, et cum communibus inimicis in gratiam redierat, *quorum ipse maximam partem illo adfinitatis tempore adjunxerat Cæsari.*" (Cæsar, *De Bell. Civ.* I. 4.) Lucan sums up all in the few words:—

"Nec quenquam jam ferre potest, *Cæsarve priorem*,
Pompeiusve parem." (*Pharsal.* i., 125),

† Suetonius tells the story with marvellous embellishments;—that Cæsar, travelling privately from Ariminum, after sending forward the 13th legion, met it unexpectedly at daybreak on the bank of the Rubicon. Awe-struck for a moment, he

At this last moment, Pompey sent private friends to Cæsar to explain his motives; and Cæsar took the opportunity to make a last effort at accommodation, the rejection of which would at least put Pompey in the wrong. Pointing out how manifestly all the recent measures of the Senate had his ruin for their aim, he still offered to disband his army if Pompey would set out for his province and if the levies ceased throughout Italy. Let the Comitia then be freely held, and the government left to the Roman Senate and People. As a pledge of good faith, he proposed not only mutual oaths, but the more practical security of a personal conference. The mediators found the Consuls and Pompey at Capua, whither they had gone to secure the doubtful fidelity of the two legions, which had once belonged to Cæsar and now formed their whole available army. After a consultation, a formal letter was despatched to Cæsar, requiring him to retire from Ariminum into his province, and to dismiss his army. In that case Pompey would set out for Spain, but not a word was said of the time of his departure; and, as far as any engagement went, he might remain in Italy to keep a check upon Cæsar till the consulship of the latter should expire, and both be again on the same footing, as proconsuls with provinces and armies. To the proposal for mutual oaths and a conference, the only reply was the assurance that, till Cæsar pledged his faith to do what was required, the levies would not be discontinued. Without affecting to judge the hidden motives of both parties, or to say how far Cæsar foresaw that such must be the answer of such men, we must at least give him the praise of that magnanimity which marked his character, and believe that war might yet have been averted, had Pompey possessed a spark of the same quality.

On receiving the reply, Cæsar put his forces into motion, and it was at once seen that neither the towns nor the troops in Picenum were disposed to resist him. In the first skirmish, fought near Auximum, the Pompeian general, Atius Varus, whom the townsmen had already induced to leave the city, was deserted by his troops. The news reached Rome with the addition that Cæsar's cavalry were already at the gates; and such was the panic, that the consul Lentulus, who was opening the sacred treasury to take

had just said to his attendants, "We can even yet draw back; but if we cross that little bridge, all must be decided by the sword"—when a great and beautiful form was seen seated near him, playing on a flute. As the soldiers drew near to listen, the phantom snatched from one of them a trumpet, blew the signal of advance, plunged into the river, and disappeared. "Let us go"—cried Cæsar—"whither the portents of heaven and the injustice of the enemy call us. THE DIE IS CAST."

out the money voted to Pompey by the Senate, fled without accomplishing his purpose. The other leading Senators left Rome with the like precipitation, and Cicero, who had been parading outside the city with the fasces of his lictors wreathed in laurel—for even at that crisis he was asking for a triumph—slipped away one morning before daybreak. No safety was imagined short of Capua, where the Senators reassembled, Pompey having meanwhile repaired to the winter-quarters of his two legions in Apulia, destitute of plan or presence of mind. He did not even attempt to aid Domitius, the newly-appointed governor of Gaul, who had thrown himself with twenty cohorts into Corfinium, the first place where Cæsar's triumphal march through Picenum encountered a brief resistance. Domitius, informed by a letter from Pompey that he would not risk a battle before Corfinium, was meditating flight, when he was seized by his soldiers, who delivered up the place to Cæsar, with a number of Senators and knights besides. All these Cæsar protected from insult and dismissed in safety, having gently upbraided them for their ingratitude: for such had been the genial relations of Cæsar to the public men of Rome, that there were few among his present enemies who had not been once his friends. He returned to Domitius a large sum of money which had been seized and surrendered to him by the magistrates of Corfinium. Having caused the soldiers of Domitius to take the oath to himself, and sent them into Sicily under Curio, he marched against Pompey in Apulia. Pompey retired in all haste to Brundisium, with all the forces he could collect; whither Cæsar sent him an invitation to the conference he had hitherto declined. Advancing by rapid marches to Brundisium, Cæsar found that the consuls had already sailed with the main body of the army to Dyrrhachium; and, on the return of their transports while Cæsar was pressing the siege, Pompey carried over the remainder of his troops, on the 17th of March. Anxious as Cæsar was to finish the campaign, the want of ships forbad immediate pursuit; and a long absence might have endangered Italy, and given time to organize resistance in Spain, where Pompey's old relations to the country had created for him a strong party. The letters of Cicero, who—amidst the most painful irresolution—seems to have felt bound by his political principles to espouse the cause of Pompey, breathe indignation at his leader's pusillanimous flight, and reveal the wild schemes by which it was defended. To use his power over the eastern provinces and their fleets for the purpose of blockading the coasts of Italy and starving Rome, and then to return—

as Mithridates had proposed to come—at the head of an army of barbarians—such was the project debated in the camp of the Roman nobles! while Pompey intimated the use to be made of his victory by the repeated exclamation—"Sulla could do it: why cannot I?" The tacit answer of the event proves the inferiority of Pompey even to his early patron.

Having thus become master of all Italy in less than three months, and almost without a battle, Cæsar at once made his arrangements for securing the western provinces, and turned towards Rome, which he re-entered after an absence of nearly ten years. He came not however, like Sulla, at the head of a victorious army, to take vengeance on his enemies. His troops were distributed among the Italian towns, and he advanced to Rome with only a moderate escort. We have the testimony of Cicero, that the general feeling of the Italians was indifference for all except their own lives and property, and the question with them was from which party they had most to fear—a question which the flight of Pompey and the clemency of Cæsar had now decided, and they looked on Cæsar as a god. He had long been the idol of the Roman populace, and nearly all his enemies had left the city. One man, however, had dared to withstand him. Cæsar had called together the remains of the Senate, and, after exhorting them to unite with him in carrying on the government, he proposed that envoys should be sent to treat with Pompey. None were found willing to undertake the office, for Pompey had declared that he would look upon those who remained at Rome in the same light as if they were in Cæsar's camp; and L. Metellus, one of the Pompeian tribunes, interposed such delays, that Cæsar left Rome without accomplishing what he knew would have been a vain form. This conduct seems to negative the popular story of his threatening the life of Metellus, when the latter opposed his entrance into the treasury; and such a threat seems alike inconsistent with Cæsar's steady forbearance and with the use he made, in all his letters and addresses, of the Senate's violence to the tribunes of his party.

It was about the middle of April when Cæsar started for Spain, which was held by two of Pompey's ablest lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius. Massilia shut its gates against him; and he left C. Trebonius and Decimus Brutus to conduct its siege. We must refer to his own narrative for the interesting military details of the Spanish campaign in the neighbourhood of Ilerda (*Lerida*). It was not till Cæsar had been reduced to a very critical position, that he finally compelled Afranius and Petreius to surrender, dismissed

them uninjured, and drafted most of their troops into his own army. Varro, who held the province of Further Spain, surrendered to Cæsar at Corduba (*Cordova*), and the campaign was ended in forty days. On his homeward march he received the submission of Massilia. Meanwhile the lieutenants whom he had sent to reduce Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa, had had various success. These provinces had been assigned respectively to the Pompeian leaders Cotta, Cato, and Tubero. Cotta was ejected by the Sardinians before Cæsar's legate Valerius had left Rome; and he fled to Africa. Cato was engaged in active preparations for the defence of Sicily, when Curio arrived with four legions. Unable to resist this force, Cato loudly complained, in an harangue to his soldiers, that he was betrayed by Pompey, who had begun an unnecessary war without any real preparation, and then fled to join his chief in Greece. Curio then passed over into Africa, where he was joined by Valerius. The province had been put into a state of defence by Atius Varus, who had forbidden Tubero to land. Juba, king of Numidia, threw his whole force into the scale of the Pompeians. Curio, rashly hazarding a battle with Varus and the king, was slain, with the loss of nearly his whole army; and Africa was still destined to supply one of the most memorable episodes of the Civil War.

While Cæsar was in Spain, the prætor Lepidus, by the authority of the Senate, had named him Dictator for holding the Comitia, at which he was now elected to that second consulship, which had so long been the cause of contention. His colleague was P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus. Cæsar laid down the dictatorship at the end of eleven days; but not till he had passed laws for the restoration of private credit by a settlement of debts by means of the transfer of property according to its valuation before the war broke out, a compromise designed to remove all fear of a general cancelling of debts (*tabulæ novæ*):—for the reinstatement in their civil rights of persons condemned for political offences while the city was commanded by Pompey's legions;—and for the extension of the full Roman franchise to the cities of Gallia Transpadana,—a measure which at last made Italy one from the Alps to the Straits of Messina. The year in which Pompey had so long striven to prevent his rival from even standing for the consulship, and which had begun with Cæsar's being declared a public enemy, ended amidst his preparations at Brundisium to commence his consulship by pursuing into Greece the fugitive Pompeians (B.C. 49).

But, while Cæsar was making himself master of the West, and securing the provinces that supplied Italy with corn, Pompey had had a year for collecting all the resources of the East. Ships were furnished by the islands and maritime cities of Greece and Asia Minor, by Phœnicia and Egypt. An immense quantity of money was collected from the province of Asia, the princes of Syria, and the states of Greece. The army contained nine legions of Roman citizens, five of which had been brought over from Italy and the rest formed of the veterans settled in the eastern provinces, which supplied a large force of auxiliaries and mercenaries, including 7000 cavalry. Corn had been stored up from the fertile plains of Thessaly, Asia, Egypt, Crete, and Cyrene. The army was posted in winter-quarters at Dyrrhachium, Apollonia, and the other towns on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, where the whole fleet was collected under Cæsar's former colleague Bibulus, who had his head-quarters at Corcyra, to oppose his landing. The legions of Cæsar, on the other hand, had been thinned by the Gallic wars, the long march from Spain, and unhealthy winter-quarters in Italy; but even for his diminished force the means of transport were so inadequate, that he could barely carry over 15,000 infantry and 500 cavalry. Nevertheless he set sail from Brundisium on the 4th of January (B.C. 48), and venturing his ships among the Ceraunian rocks, to avoid the ports held by Bibulus, he landed without the loss of a man at a retired place, called Palæste. The transports were sent back the same night to fetch over the remainder of the army; but about thirty of them were intercepted by Bibulus, who, smarting under the disgrace of having permitted Cæsar's flotilla to escape, burnt them with their masters and crews, to deter other mariners from serving Cæsar. Such were the savage cruelties with which Cæsar's clemency was repaid. The reinforcements he so much needed remained at Brundisium, as the Grecian coast was now closely blockaded.*

Cæsar was thus thrown upon a hostile shore, cut off from his supplies, and in the presence of a superior enemy. But he had full confidence in his followers, and his cause was favoured by the people of some of the chief Illyrian towns. The Pompeian governors of Oricum and Apollonia were obliged to evacuate those cities at his approach: and Dyrrhachium was only saved by Pompey's precipitate march to its relief. The two armies now confronted one another on the opposite banks of the little river Apsus; while Cæsar sent pressing orders to Brundisium, that the reinforcements

* Bibulus died soon after, through exposure during the winter campaign.

should be brought over at all risks. This was at length accomplished by Antony; and about the same time Pompey's father-in-law, Scipio, arrived in Macedonia with two legions brought from Syria, leaving the province defenceless against the Parthians, who were fortunately weakened by dynastic quarrels.* Scipio had plundered both his own province and that of Asia most unmercifully, and the urgent message, which informed him that Cæsar had already crossed the Adriatic, had alone prevented him from carrying off the vast treasures of the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

The time during which these reinforcements were waited for on both sides had afforded the interval for a last attempt at a compromise. Almost immediately upon his landing, Cæsar had sent a message to Pompey, reminding him of that lesson, on which no general has ever laid more stress—how great a part fortune has in the game of war—a lesson enforced by the losses already suffered on both sides, which might suffice to quench their animosity. Now was the time for each to obtain a fair share of honour; but if the quarrel should be pushed to extremities, the victor would assuredly not be content with less than all. Let the terms of peace be settled at Rome by the Senate and the People; and let both leaders take an oath to disband their armies in three days. There can be no doubt that Cæsar was sincere in these repeated overtures. He desired peace; but he was resolved to be the first man in Rome. To this necessity Pompey could not bring himself to submit; and he silenced the friend who bore the proposals by asking:—"What can I want with either life or citizenship, when I shall seem to owe them to Cæsar's good pleasure? For such cannot but be the opinion of all who see me brought back to Italy after leaving it as I did." Meanwhile, the soldiers on the opposite sides of the Apsus exchanged those courtesies which mitigate the savage spirit of war;† and Cæsar took advantage of the opportunity to send his legate Vatinius to the bank, to speak of an accom-

* Pompey is said even to have solicited aid from Orodes, who declined to grant it unless Syria were ceded to him, but appears to have favoured the Pompeian party. These relations with Parthia, at the time when the Roman armies were divided against themselves, give peculiar force to the words of Horace:—

"Audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
Quo graves Persæ melius perirent,
Audiet pugnas vitio parentum
Rara juventus."

† So in the latter days of the Peninsular War, the advanced bodies often watered at the same stream, and when two picquets met, the weaker at once gave way, with mutual salutations.

modation. On the second day he was met by Titus Labienus, who had lately joined the party of Pompey. Exasperated, as it would seem, at beholding Cæsar's most distinguished legate a leader among his enemies, the soldiers cut short his speech with a shower of missiles, and wounded several of the Pompeians. "Have done, then, with your conferences," cried Labienus—"we will have no peace, unless you bring us Cæsar's head!"

Pompey, adhering to the policy of avoiding a pitched battle with Cæsar's veterans, had retired on hearing of Antony's arrival, and entrenched himself on a rising ground near Dyrrhachium. Cæsar, having despatched two legions into Macedonia to make head against Scipio, and two others to protect the friendly states of Thessaly and Aetolia, blockaded Pompey in his position, and had made successful progress with his immense lines of circumvallation, when Pompey broke through his works, and inflicted a double defeat on the severed divisions of Cæsar's army. The prompt pursuit, from which Pompey was deterred by the fear of an ambuscade, might have made the victory decisive. As it was, Cæsar found himself obliged to raise the siege, and to retire into Thessaly, in order to join Domitius and Cassius, who had been holding that district and Macedonia against Scipio.

This success at Dyrrhachium, the last that fortune ever granted to Pompey, proved the ruin of his cause. It puffed up the general with that belief in his being more than a match for Cæsar, which he had long desired to cherish, and broke down his prudent resolutions for the conduct of the war. Whatever hesitation he still showed was overborne by the rashness of the young nobles in his camp, who, utterly inexperienced in war, had but the one idea of winning back their estates in Italy, with the pleasures and honours of the capital. The internal condition of the party is set in a most interesting light by Cicero's correspondence. Drawn, as we have seen, to Pompey by a sense of gratitude and a conviction that his cause was that of the Republic, he had been solicited by Cæsar, first to remain neutral, and afterwards to give him the countenance of his appearance at Rome. A personal interview, on Cæsar's return from Brundisium, had left them mutually dissatisfied; and, during Cæsar's absence in Spain, in spite of all the influence of Antony, who was left in command of Italy, Cicero, after long and pitiable indecision, sailed from Campania to Epirus. His welcome was but cool, and he soon found himself out of his element. Cato, whose clear judgment foresaw the issue of the course to which his unbending principles had committed him,

censured Cicero for his folly in joining the foundering ship. The orator's deep disgust at what he saw found relief in jests which made him a new enemy every day, and gained for him the epithet of the "consular buffoon." When Pompey received him with the cold remark that he had come somewhat late, Cicero replied, "Not at all: for I find nothing ready." "Where is your son-in-law?"—said Pompey, meaning Dolabella, who had remained at Rome. "With your father-in-law:" replied Cicero. His more serious feelings are summed up in a letter to his friend M. Marius, in which he looks back upon this period two years after the event. After telling him that he left Italy because he yielded to reputation and a sense of shame, rather than consult his safety—an honest profession, as he well knew he had nothing to fear from Cæsar—he proceeds:—"I soon repented of what I had done, not so much on account of my danger, as for the many faults* which I found when I had come. First, the forces were neither large nor warlike; then, except the general, and a few besides (I am speaking of the leaders) the rest were rapacious in the conduct of the war itself, while their talk of the future was so cruel, *that I shuddered at the very thought of victory.* The most distinguished men were overwhelmed with debt. *In a word, nothing was good, but the cause.*" He goes on to tell how he had from the first advised peace—which Pompey utterly rejected—and then a dilatory war, advice to which Pompey would probably have listened "had not a certain battle [that of Dyrrhachium] roused his confidence in his troops. From that moment the greatest of men proved worthless as a general. With his raw miscellaneous force he risked a battle against the most powerful legions. Defeated most disgracefully, with the loss of his camp, he fled from the field alone."†

The well-known scene of this final disaster was the plain of PHARSALIA‡ in Thessaly, whither Pompey followed Cæsar from Dyrrhachium, in the full confidence of ending the war by a decisive victory. He left fifteen cohorts at Dyrrhachium under Cato, who was thus absent from the decisive battle; and with him Cicero remained behind. Pompey's junction with Scipio in Thes-

* *Vitia*, the very word used by Horace in our motto.

† *Epist. ad Div.* VII. 3.

‡ Pharsalus was the city; but the name of Pharsalia may be properly applied to its territory. It is curious that Cæsar had so little thought of the lasting association of the place with his renown, as to tell the story of the battle without even mentioning its name.

saly raised the confidence of his followers to the highest pitch, and seemed to remove all excuse for protracting the campaign. Every day was counted as a postponement of their return to Italy; and every wise delay on Pompey's part provoked the taunt, that the business might be finished in a day, but that he clung to the pleasure of supreme command, and regarded men of consular and prætorian rank as his slaves. Unjust as the charge may have been on this occasion, it showed their estimate of their leader's character. Pompey advanced southwards from Larissa, and pitched his camp not far from that of Cæsar. In his rear was the fertile plain of the Peneus, through which his communications were open with the sea, while Cæsar was restricted for his supplies to the small range of country at the foot of Mount Othrys. Pharsalus (*Fersala*), an ancient and important city in the south of Thessaly, stood at the northern foot of Mount Narthacium, near the left bank of the Enipeus, which cuts into two equal parts a plain that extends northward of the city to the width of five or six miles. Cæsar was encamped in the southern portion of this plain, west of the city of Pharsalus, when Pompey arrived from Larissa, crossed the Enipeus, and pitched his camp on a hill to the east of that which formed the citadel. While he still hesitated about risking a battle, Cæsar manœuvred in the plain, with a view of restoring the confidence of his troops, and forcing Pompey to engage. He was rewarded by a successful skirmish of his horse against the enemy's far superior cavalry; and at length he shifted his camp to a position about three miles north-west of Pharsalus, in the angle between the Enipeus and a little tributary stream. Thus, as so often happens in war, the hostile forces looked in directions nearly opposite to their first, the rear of Pompey being to the mountain, and Cæsar's to the valley of the Peneus. Pompey still refused to move, hoping that Cæsar would attack him on the hill, and be exposed to the full force of his cavalry in the plain below. Seeing this, Cæsar resolved to shift his camp from place to place, drawing supplies from the plain of Thessaly, wearying out Pompey's ill-trained levies and impatient officers, and waiting an opportunity to turn upon and crush them. The signal had been given, and the tents were struck, when it was seen that Pompey was leading down his army into the plain. The danger of being outflanked, and cut off from his communications with Thessaly and the sea, had decided Pompey to risk the battle. "We must suspend our march," cried Cæsar to the column already in the gates —"and think of the battle we have so long demanded. Let our

minds be ready for the encounter; we shall not easily find such another opportunity." The time had thus arrived, when the two generals who had subdued the East and West, while both had in turn conquered Spain, were to decide which was to be first and which second in that rivalry, from which any third competitor had long since been excluded. The result was equally fatal to the pretensions of the second and proved the unapproachable superiority of the first. For Pompey placed his army on the defensive against an enemy of less than half his force, without a reserve or a line of retreat, and risked all on the assumed success of a manœuvre which Cæsar easily disconcerted.

The distance from camp to camp was less than four miles, and between them lay the plain along the left bank of the Enipeus, to the width of two miles and a half. The steep banks of the river covered the right of Pompey's line and the left of Cæsar's; and at the other extremity Pompey took his post, with the two legions which he had withdrawn from Cæsar, who confronted him at the head of his favourite tenth legion. The former had 45,000 infantry, the latter only 22,000; but, though Labienus had assured Pompey that Cæsar's troops were no longer the veterans of Gaul and Spain, they were worth almost one to two of the mixed levies of his opponent: and Cæsar had improved the advantage by bidding his soldiers to attack the Italians with all their strength, as the barbarians would then be an easy prey. But the real dependence of Pompey was on his cavalry, which numbered 7000—some say 10,000—to Cæsar's 1000, and included the celebrated horsemen of Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Cappadocia, besides other contingents from Asia, led by the flower of the young nobility and knights of Rome.* With these he proposed to outflank Cæsar's right on the wide plain; and so certain did the result appear, that he had predicted the flight of Cæsar's army before the main lines joined in battle or even a javelin was hurled. To guard against this manœuvre, Cæsar withdrew six cohorts from the third line, and formed them into a fourth in the rear of his cavalry on the right, warning them that the day's victory hung upon their valour.

The signal was given, and Crastinus, a veteran of the tenth

* The popular story, that Cæsar ordered his horsemen to strike at the faces of the young nobles, who would be sure to fly rather than return to Rome with what a modern classic has called a *poculum inornatum*, hardly deserves serious notice. Cæsar was not the man to order such mere mischief, which could have had no real effect on the result of the battle.

legion, sprung forward, calling his old comrades to follow him to this one decisive battle, and telling Cæsar that he would have to thank him that day alive or dead. The first line of Cæsar's right had covered half the distance at a run, when they found that, contrary to the Roman custom, the enemy did not move to meet them, for Pompey had ordered his men to wait and receive the charge. Cæsar's comment is an interesting contribution to the theory of war. "Pompey seems to us to have done this without judgment, for there is a certain eagerness and alacrity implanted by nature in all, which is inflamed by the heat of battle. This it is the duty of generals not to repress but to augment, nor has the rule been laid down for nothing from all antiquity, that the trumpets should sound on every side, and the whole body raise a shout; for they judged that this both terrified the enemy and stimulated their own men." After halting to take breath, the soldiers renewed the charge, hurled their javelins, and fell with drawn swords upon the Pompeians, who received them with equal courage, and with unbroken ranks. Meanwhile the great movement of Pompey's cavalry was made under cover of a storm of missiles from the slingers and archers whom he had posted on his left. Cæsar's horse gave way, as had been foreseen, and the Pompeians, secure of victory, were sweeping round to attack the rear, when they received the unexpected charge of the six cohorts. At once they broke and fled, never drawing bridle till they reached the shelter of the mountains. Wasting no time in their pursuit, the six cohorts turned upon the defenceless archers and slingers, cut them to pieces, and fell with full force upon the rear of Pompey's left. At this moment Cæsar brought up his third line, and the Pompeians fled. Pompey himself had left the field when he saw the overthrow of his cavalry, and riding round the gates of the camp, which seven cohorts had been left to hold, he bad the guards be on the alert, and hurried into his Prætorium.

Though it was now high noon, and the soldiers were exhausted by the heat of a midsummer day,* Cæsar led them on at once to storm the camp. Of the wearied and dispirited fugitives, most fled on to the mountains, and the rest were in no condition to re-

* The battle of Pharsalia was fought on the 9th of August, according to the Roman Calendar, but the corrected date is the 6th of June, B.C. 48. An incidental notice of the confusion of the calendar at this time occurs in a passage where, after Cæsar has sailed from Brundisium at the beginning of January, taken Oricum and Apollonia, and advanced to the Apsus, he says:—"Multi jam menses transierant, et *hiems jam præcipitaverat*" (*Bell. Civ.* III. 25).

sist. The Thracian auxiliaries, who made a brave defence, were overwhelmed by the javelins, and the troops of Cæsar poured over the entrenchments. Roused by the noise, Pompey breathed out the last fond thought of his invincibility in the cry, "What! assault my very camp!"—mounted his horse, and fled through the *porta decumana*, or rear-gate. The tables were found spread for a banquet and covered with silver plate. Huts of fresh turf had been built for the officers who were too delicate to live under canvas, and the tents of Lentulus and others were covered with ivy, for a Bacchanalian triumph—it would seem—as well as for shade. But the soldiers were called away to the pursuit. Four legions, led by a short road to a position about six miles from the field of battle, cut off the retreat of those who had taken refuge in the mountains, and they all surrendered the next day, except a few Senators who escaped during the night. With but slight allusions to his lenity, rather to encourage than reproach them, Cæsar spared their lives; and Cicero afterwards asked,—"Who would not approve that victory, in which not a man fell, except in arms?" Cæsar's clemency was so habitual, that we need recal to mind the massacres of Marius, the proscription of Sulla, and above all the declared intention of Pompey to repeat them, in order to do justice to such magnanimity in the very hour of victory. As the victor rode over the field of battle, strewn with the corpses of twelve senators, forty knights, and 6000 Roman soldiers,* he said with genuine feeling:—"This is their own choice: after all my deeds, I should have been condemned, had I not sought help from the army." His own loss amounted to only 200 legionaries; but the death of no less than 60 centurions proved the eagerness with which the onset had been led. Among the rest was Crastinus, who made good a part of his boast to Cæsar, being slain by a sword-thrust in the face. The same day that he received the surrender of the survivors, Cæsar marched to Larissa, where he unconsciously prepared his own fate by the first use that he made of his victory. For there he found M. Junius Brutus, who had escaped from the field of the battle, and who had been led by Pompey's flight to despair of his party's cause, waiting to make his submission. Cæsar not only pardoned him, but admitted him to that intimate friendship, which he repaid with the assassin's dagger on the Ides of March.

* The auxiliaries are not included in the estimate. The total loss was 15,000, and more than 24,000 surrendered, including the garrisons of the neighbouring towns. The account of Cæsar's loss is taken from our copies of the "Civil War;" but other authorities make it 1200.

Of all the fugitives from that fatal field, the chief himself met the speediest and saddest fate. Without stopping at Larissa, Pompey pursued his flight through the pass of Tempe to the mouth of the Peneus, where he embarked on a merchant vessel, with a few companions, among whom were the late cousul Lentulus Crus, Lentulus Spinther, the Galatian king Deiotarus, and Favonius whose devotion served Pompey in the place of the slaves whom he was generous enough to leave behind to the certain clemency of the victor. Steering first to Lesbos, he took on board his wife Cornelia, and Sextus, his younger son, destined to be the last defender of his ruined cause.* Landing in Cilicia, he deliberated with his followers, whom he chose to call a Senate, on their future course. Africa was held for him by two victorious legions, backed by the resources of Numidia; and his fleet, with which Cassius had just gained a signal victory off Sicily, might have hindered Cæsar's landing, till another of those unexpected changes which are the common incidents of a revolution. The infatuation which rejected this resource seems to have sprung from the superstition that the East was his destined field of glory. Pompey's own inclination was towards Parthia, where the cession of Syria might have purchased for its conqueror the new distinction of leading the armies of Western Asia against his country, but he dared not risk his wife's honour at that licentious court. He at last decided to take refuge in Egypt, on the gratitude of whose rulers he had a claim. Our last glimpse of that kingdom was in connection with the history of the Maccabees, when we saw the expelled king, Ptolemy VIII. Lathyrus, reigning in Cyprus and making war in Judæa. His expulsion was the result of a popular insurrection, incited by his mother Cleopatra. The people of Alexandria, made insolent by the favours of their kings, and puffed up with pride as the citizens of the chief seat of literature and philosophy, became the most turbulent populace in the world, and their insurrections are, for many centuries, among the most striking events of oriental history. Ptolemy IX. Alexander, who shared the kingdom with his mother for seventeen years, assassinated her in B.C. 90, but was expelled by the army and people of Alexandria, and killed in the war that ensued (B.C. 89). Lathyrus was now recalled, and died in B.C. 81, leaving a daughter Cleopatra and two illegitimate sons. His brother Alexander had left a son of the same name, who was now at Rome. The dictator

* Both of Pompey's sons, Cneius and Sextus, were the children of his third wife Mucia. He had five wives, Antistia, Æmilia, Mucia, Julia, and Cornelia.

Sulla espoused Alexander's cause, but the Alexandrians had already set Cleopatra on the throne. Their claims were adjusted by a marriage; but only nineteen days afterwards, Alexander murdered his bride, whose death was avenged by a popular insurrection, to which the king fell a victim. The legitimate line of the Ptolemies was now extinct, and the elder son of Lathyrus was proclaimed by the style of Ptolemy XI., surnamed Dionysus and Auletes (the *flute-player*), an epithet which shows the contempt in which he was held. The ratification of his title by the Romans was delayed till the consulship of Cæsar (B.C. 59). The taxes he imposed, to raise the immense sums expended in bribery, provoked an insurrection, and the newly-recognized king appeared as a fugitive at Rome (B.C. 58). The Senate passed a decree for his restoration; but he provoked the anger of the people by causing a deputation of the chief Alexandrian citizens to be waylaid, and many of them murdered, on their arrival in Italy. Strange to say, the Senate did not even then abandon his cause, and Pompey was ambitious of leading an army into Egypt; but the opposition of the tribunes prevailed, and Ptolemy Auletes retired to Ephesus (B.C. 55). In the following year, however, Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria, was induced by the influence of Pompey, and a bribe of 10,000 talents from Ptolemy, to lead an army against Egypt. The throne was meanwhile filled by Ptolemy's daughter Berenice and her husband Archelaüs, son of the celebrated general of Mithridates. The Egyptians offered a desperate resistance, but were thrice defeated by Gabinius; Archelaüs was killed in battle; and Berenice was murdered by her father soon after his restoration. Ptolemy was maintained by a Roman force against the hatred of the Alexandrians till his death in B.C. 51. He left a daughter, the fatal charmer CLEOPATRA, now seventeen years old, two sons somewhat younger, and another daughter, Arsinoë. His will directed that the kingdom should be shared by Cleopatra and her elder brother, Ptolemy XII.; and its execution was entrusted to the Roman Senate, who appointed Pompey the guardian of the young king. The brother and sister married, according to the usage of their family, and they reigned jointly during the three years in which the Civil War was coming to a head at Rome. But Ptolemy fell into the hands of a trio of ministers, Pothinus, a Greek eunuch, Theodotus, the king's preceptor, and Achillas, an officer of the army. To get rid of the influence of Cleopatra, they resorted to the common expedient of a popular insurrection, and expelled her from the kingdom. Cleopatra collected an army

in Syria, and the young king was carried by his ministers with the army to meet her at Pelusium.

It was at this very juncture that the flotilla of Pompey appeared in sight of the army encamped at the foot of Mt. Casius, and a messenger landed with the request that Ptolemy would grant the fugitives a refuge at Alexandria. The ministers met to deliberate on the embarrassing supplication. To grant it and receive Pompey, with his claims as the king's guardian, would be fatal to their power if his cause revived, and an act of hostility to Cæsar if he should keep the mastery. To refuse would be sending Pompey to the camp of Cleopatra, with all his ability and influence and the 2000 men whom he had gathered during his voyage. There remained a third course, by which to avoid the present danger, and to gain, as they supposed, the gratitude of Cæsar. Achillas went out in a small fishing boat, to invite Pompey to a conference with the king. The meanness of the equipage, chosen that as few Romans as possible might land, was excused by the shallowness of the coast; but the Egyptian fleet, drawn up along the shore, at once exposed the pretence and roused the fear of an attack. But, in reply to all the remonstrances of his friends, Pompey only bad them farewell with a melancholy smile, as he repeated the words of Sophocles :—

> "Whoever to a tyrant bends his steps,
> Goes as a slave, although his hands be free."

In the boat, he recognised an old comrade, Septimius, who had been brought with another Roman to disarm suspicion, but his salutation remained unanswered. The vessel reached the shore, and Pompey had risen to step out, when the sword of Septimius pierced his back. He drew his toga over his face and fell upon the beach, where his head was severed from his body. His wife and son and friends, who had seen all from the ships, had barely time to escape from the Egyptian fleet. The body, left among the breakers, was watched by one faithful freedman. When the curious spectators had retired, this man—aided by a Roman soldier, who alone remained, of all the myriads that had followed Pompey's standard, to grace his funeral—gathered the wreck of a fishing bark into a scanty funeral pyre. The spot where the ashes were buried was covered by a stone, on which was traced, with a burnt brand, the rude inscription, HIC SITUS EST MAGNUS.

The day of Pompey's murder was that on which he completed his fifty-eighth year.* One hundred and sixty years later, the

* September 29th, B.C. 48, according to the Roman calendar. The corrected date is July 24th.

emperor Hadrian took the pains to discover the spot on which Pompey's body had been burnt, and to mark it by a monument; and a doubtful story tells that his ashes were recovered by his wife Cornelia, and buried at his Alban villa.

Cæsar had wasted no time on the relics of the Pompeian army, who had found their way back to Dyrrhachium, where Cato had been left with fifteen cohorts. The worthlessness of the nobles had been proved on the field of battle; for the only man of note among the slain was L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and he was cut down in the flight. The soldiers broke out into open mutiny: the desertion of the allied fleets endangered the mastery of the sea: and all that remained for Cato was to draw off his forces to Corcyra. His little hope of the cause was proved by his offering the command to Cicero, as the senior consular present! But the orator shared Cato's despondency, without his devoted sense of duty, and resolved to abandon the enterprize altogether. It was not without difficulty that Cato protected his life from the threats of young Cneius Pompey; and Cicero returned to Italy in November. Scipio remained for a time in Greece to collect the scattered garrisons; but when the vigorous measures of Cæsar's lieutenant Calenus were crowned by the surrender of Athens, he departed for Africa, which soon became the rallying ground of the Pompeians. The defence of Italy against any attack from that quarter was committed to Antony.

Having spent only two days in arranging his measures, while his soldiers gathered the spoils of victory, Cæsar pressed on in pursuit of Pompey with one legion and a single troop of cavalry. Arriving at Amphipolis just after Pompey's departure, he pursued his march by land, and made the passage of the Hellespont in fishing barks. Cassius, who was present with his fleet, placed himself at Cæsar's disposal, and was freely pardoned, some say by the intercession of Brutus. The news of Pompey's flight to Egypt, involving the prospect of a new war, caused Cæsar to wait in Asia to collect his forces. Having secured the gratitude of the provincials by his measures for repairing the wrongs done by Scipio, he left Calvinus with three legions to make head against the Parthians and the princes in alliance with Pompey, and embarked for Egypt with only 3200 foot and 800 horse. Arriving at Alexandria only a few days after Pompey's murder, he was met by Theodotus, bearing the head of his ill-fated rival as the first intelligence of his death. Cæsar turned with unfeigned horror from the sight; ordered the head to be burnt with costly spices,

and placed the ashes in a shrine which he dedicated to Nemesis. He then proceeded to business with the double authority of a Roman consul and a private creditor; for he had never received the sum of 17,500,000 drachmæ (about 700,000*l.*) promised for his part in the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes. He was in urgent want of money, and had resolved not to provide it by political confiscations. He demanded 10,000,000 drachmæ, and, rejecting the dilatory pleas of Pothinus, he landed at Alexandria with all the insignia of a Roman consul, amidst a popular riot which cost the lives of several of his soldiers. The rival sovereigns were summoned to his camp; Cleopatra had already appealed to him for aid; and the first sight of her charms captivated his heart. His decision that the brother and sister should again share the throne was well understood to imply that Ptolemy would be a cipher, and that the present ministers would be deposed and punished. Commanding a force of twenty thousand men, recruited from the most desperate characters of the East, they succeeded also in rousing the fanaticism of the Alexandrians. On the first open collision between the populace and his troops, Cæsar burnt the Egyptian fleet, lest it should cut off his expected reinforcements, and fortified himself in the island (or rather peninsula) of Pharos.* He executed Pothinus,—who had fallen into his power when he came to him with Ptolemy,—having detected him in a correspondence with Achillas. The latter officer was put to death about the same time by Arsinoë, the sister of Cleopatra and Ptolemy, who had assumed the title of queen of Egypt. Cæsar was now so hard pressed by the strict blockade of the peninsula,† that, in spite of the proverbial bad faith of the Alexandrians, he deemed it prudent to listen to their promises of agreement if Ptolemy were restored to them. No sooner was this done, than the young king became the leader of the operations against Cæsar. But by this time Mithridates, the titular king of Pergamus, and a devoted friend of Cæsar, had accomplished his march through Syria, and Ptolemy broke up the blockade, to meet this new enemy. Cæsar followed, overtook him on the banks of the Nile, and stormed his camp with immense slaughter. Such of the

* It should be remembered that Alexander had united the island to the mainland by the causeway called Heptastadium, the sides of which formed the harbours of Alexandria.

† Among the incidents of the siege was the celebrated escape of Cæsar by swimming across the harbour, with his papers (some say the Commentaries) held above the water in one hand; but with the loss of his cloak, which the Alexandrians kept as a trophy.

Egyptians as escaped crowded to their flotilla on the river, and Ptolemy perished in one of the overladen boats. The Alexandrians now submitted; and Cleopatra was restored to the throne under the protection of a Roman army; for Cæsar did not choose to set up a probable rival in the person of a proconsul of Egypt. This Alexandrine War—so petty in regard to its scene, and yet so critical for Cæsar's fortunes and the very safety of his person—occupied the whole autumn and winter, and was only ended in March, B.C. 47.

While Cæsar had been expecting daily relief from his legate in Asia, Calvinus had been occupied with the danger of another Pontic War. Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, whose treachery to his father had been rewarded by Pompey with the throne of Bosporus, appeared with an army in Pontus, overran Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia, and threatened Galatia. Calvinus, advancing against him with an army weakened by the reinforcements he had sent forward to Cæsar, sustained a complete defeat. But Cæsar's rapid march through Asia, where he was received with submission and honours at every step, drove Pharnaces to bay at Zela in Pontus. An easy and decisive victory lost him both his new conquests and his kingdom of Bosporus, which was conferred on Mithridates of Pergamus. It was not without reluctance that Cæsar turned back from the confines of Parthia, the conquest of which he was afterwards meditating when all his schemes were cut short by his assassination. He had now completed that cycle of adventure in the East which has been commemorated by the poet:—

> "Alcides with the distaff now he seemed
> At Cleopatra's feet: and now himself he beamed,
> And CAME, and SAW, and CONQUERED."

But the very style of that vaunting despatch proved that Cæsar was no longer his former self when he indited it. The sight of Alexander's statue at Gades had roused his emulation in earlier years; and his conduct in Egypt seemed to show that he could not approach the Macedonian conqueror's tomb without, like him, imbibing the spirit of Oriental despotism. He now began to envy the Eastern conquests of his conquered and slain rival. But if the pride of victory and the flattery of the Asiatics altered the tone of his ambition, his love for Cleopatra worked in him a deeper moral change. This connection with a fascinating Oriental, whom he even proposed to make the partner of his dignities at Rome, infused a fatal poison into that character of more than Roman

manliness which had hitherto redeemed Cæsar's worst faults, while it outraged the cherished feelings of his countrymen concerning the limits of concubinage. These results are most ably brought into view by Mr. Merivale, who sums up thus:—"It is with no wish to heap unmerited obloquy on a woman whose faults were those of her birth and position, that history brands with infamy her influence on the Roman hero. Regardless of her personal dignity, and indifferent to human life, she maintained herself on an Oriental throne by the arts of an Oriental potentate. The course of her chequered career will display to us hereafter a character, in which good contended with evil, Macedonian magnanimity with Egyptian suppleness. But in this place it becomes us to remark the fatal effect of a connection of disparagement, by which Cæsar felt himself degraded in the eyes of his own countrymen. If from henceforward we find his generosity tinged with ostentation, his courage with arrogance, his resolution with harshness; if he becomes restless, and fretful, and impatient of contradiction; if his conduct is marked with contempt for mankind, rather than with indulgence to their weakness, it is to this impure source that the melancholy change is to be traced." *

In nothing was Cæsar's genius more conspicuous than in his choice among those scenes of action, the claims of which would have bewildered any ordinary mind. All the dangers that threatened his power in Italy and the western provinces had not sufficed to recal him from the East, till he could return with the feeling that the empire was secure on its most vulnerable side. Meanwhile his interests at Rome had been watched over, first by Servilius, his colleague in the consulship, and afterwards by Antony. The private irregularities and tyrannical bearing of the latter made him a dangerous deputy; but he acted with energy and decision, and Cæsar's incessant watchfulness over the affairs of Italy was shown by a correspondence, the allusions to which remind us of the letters written by Napoleon in the midst of his campaigns. The mass of the citizens were attached to the cause of Cæsar, though the mob of the forum was liable to be swayed from side to side by the turns of fortune and by the harangues of tribunes, and the nobles regained or lost courage with the varying news from the seat of war. At the tidings of Pharsalia, the Senate ordered the statues of Pompey and Sulla to be thrown down; and all

* Rev. Chas. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. II. p. 347. The author takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Mr. Merivale's admirable work.

wavering ceased at the sight of Pompey's signet-ring, which had been presented by his murderers to Cæsar, and by him sent on to Rome. He was named Dictator for the unprecedented period of a whole year (Oct., B.C. 48); and the Senate affected to place his future proceedings against the Pompeians under the legal sanction of their authority, by committing to him the sole power of making war and peace. Antony, whom Cæsar named his master of the horse, promptly suppressed a sedition excited by the tribune Dolabella (Cicero's son-in-law) at the cost of the lives of 800 citizens; but such tumults were renewed again and again, till the approach of Cæsar was announced. On landing at Tarentum, in September, B.C. 47, the first distinguished Roman that he met was Cicero, who had been waiting for him at Brundisium, while the other leaders of the party had been forbidden to return to Italy, and many had gone by Cæsar's orders to make their submission at Alexandria. The frank pardon of Cicero was an act both of generous kindness and of sound policy, for his character and his forensic pre-eminence could still add much to the authority of Cæsar's government. The only severe measure which the dictator took at Rome, was to confiscate the property of Pompey and his sons. This seems to have been an act of policy rather than of vengeance, for Cæsar lost no opportunity of declaring that he regarded Pompey, not as a personal rival, but as a rebel against the consul and the Roman Senate and people. He firmly refused to gratify the cupidity of his partisans by a system of confiscation, and when Antony outbid every competitor at the sale of Pompey's property, he was astonished by being required to pay the price. His resolution to have no tokens of vengeful spite, was proved by the restoration of the statues of Sulla and Pompey. And in distributing honorary distinctions, Cæsar showed his anxiety, not only to reward his friends, but to attach men of all parties to his government. While he rewarded the services of Calenus and Vatinius with the consulship for the remnant of the year, and restored Sallust to the Senate by making him prætor, he bestowed the proconsulship of Cisalpine Gaul on Marcus Junius Brutus.

The government was now placed without disguise in the hands of Cæsar, and the Republic became, in the language of the Greeks, a "tyranny," though still under the forms of the constitution. The guardianship of popular rights, so dearly won and kept at such a cost, was surrendered to Cæsar by his investment with the tribunician power for life. The Senate had already

nominated him consul for five years, but he caused himself to be elected for the ensuing year, with Lepidus as his colleague, and also to be named dictator for the third time. But the very foundation of his power was threatened by the mutiny of two veteran legions, the XIIth and his own favourite Xth, which had returned from Macedonia during his absence, and had been stationed in Campania. Acting, it would seem, on the presumption that they held the balance of power, they had already disobeyed the command of Antony to embark for Sicily, and now they marched to Rome, declaring that they would only confer with Cæsar in person. He met them in the Campus Martius at the head of the few cohorts that were with him in the city; and it is said that on his beginning to address them—"*Quirites* (*Citizens*)"—as no longer deserving the names of *Soldiers*, they were overwhelmed with shame and made a full submission.*

The absence of Cæsar in the East had given the Pompeians time to collect their forces, which under more competent leaders might have struck some decisive blow. As it was, a disaster had been suffered in Illyricum by Pompey's old legate, Gabinius, who had gone over to the side of Cæsar; but the small naval force under Vatinius had regained the command of the Adriatic, and driven the Pompeian fleet of Octavius to the African coast. The misconduct of Q. Cassius Longinus, Cæsar's governor in Further Spain, had caused an insurrection and a mutiny, which had been suppressed by the prompt energy of Lepidus; but the disaffected soldiers were still intriguing with the Pompeians in Africa. But the chiefs of the party at Corcyra had neither the courage to strike a blow at Italy, nor the concert to attempt some other enterprize. Scipio, on whom the command naturally devolved, adopted the prudent but indecisive course of joining Varus and Juba in Africa, with the greater part of the army. Labienus, with the same self-will that he had shown in deserting his old commander, made a fruitless attempt upon Cyrene. A higher spirit of devotion led Cato to join Cneius Pompey in following his father's flight; and at Patræ in Achaia they were joined by Petreius and Faustus Sulla. On their way to Egypt, they were met by the ships of Cornelia and Sextus Pompey, flying from the scene of a husband's and father's murder. Ignorant of the critical position into which Cæsar had fallen at Alexandria, Cneius would still have pursued his course to Egypt; but Cato deemed it safer to make for Cyrene, where he was ad-

* The same story is told of a mutiny of the IXth legion during Cæsar's first dictatorship.

mitted after a slight show of opposition; and, after the needed rest and refreshment, the fleet sailed for Africa. On approaching the dangerous shores of the Lesser Syrtis, a storm warned them of the lateness of the season, and they resolved to land. Cato performed a march across the desert, which has justly been reckoned among the greatest exploits in the military history of Rome; and he was afterwards joined at Utica by Cneius Pompey, who had remained behind in charge of the fleet.

Once more the destiny of Rome was about to be decided on the plains of Africa; but this time it was a Scipio that awaited the attack of his own countrymen from Italy. But it was merely the shadow of that great name with which Metellus Pius was invested; and he was hampered by the jealousy of Varus and the arrogance of Juba. Cato, who had renounced all claim to the command for which the soldiers had seen his pre-eminent fitness,* was disliked for his unbending principles, and removed from the field by being placed in command of Utica, which city he had saved from being destroyed to gratify Juba; while Scipio fixed his head-quarters at Hadrumetum. His army numbered ten full legions, to which Juba added his Numidian cavalry and 120 elephants. With a vastly inferior force of only 3000 foot and 150 horse, Cæsar landed near Hadrumetum, in December, and was received by the people of Leptis Parva. To secure his communications with the sea, he was obliged to hazard a battle. His little army was overpowered by superior numbers, through which he with difficulty cut his way back to the camp by forming his troops into a wedge. But the arrival of reinforcements enabled him to undertake the siege of Thapsus, on the coast of Byzacium. Scipio marched to relieve the large Pompeian garrison of this important city; and a decisive battle ended in a rout as complete as that of Pharsalia. The republican chiefs fled from the field, each his own way. Scipio and a few others took ship for Spain; but were driven back by stress of weather to Hippo, where their flotilla was destroyed in the harbour. Several of the chiefs were drowned, and Scipio, having thrust his sword into his side, leaped overboard.

Cato was now left alone in Utica. He assembled the Roman Senators and others of the Pompeian party, together with the three hundred Italian residents, and laying before them a full account of his resources, left the choice between resistance and flight or submission to themselves. His noble bearing was

* "Propter ejus singularem integritatem, et quod dissimillimus reliquorum ducum erat"—is the testimony of his great antagonist. (Hirtius, *Bell. Afric.* c. 88).

answered by an enthusiasm which, however, soon declined. Finding that the three hundred and the Africans were engaged in treacherous intrigues, he advised the Roman leaders to escape by sea, and sent Lucius Cæsar to make terms for the resident merchants. Of his own course he said nothing; but his son and a few intimate friends, who had refused to leave him, perceived his intention but too well. He spent his last evening with them, according to his custom, discoursing at table of that sublime philosophy which irradiated the heathen world with the reflection of the true light; and he dwelt with especial fervour on the favourite doctrine of his Stoic teachers, that the good man alone is free, rich, nay, a king, even in a state of slavery, and the bad, in whatever condition, is a slave. But even his noble spirit had not attained the moral freedom, which was unknown to the ancient world, of pursuing the doctrine to its practical conclusion of patient submission to the will of the Intelligence which his sect believed to govern all events. Nor, in the prospect of the death he had chosen, was he content with the shadowy hopes of the future held out by the Stoic doctrine, that the soul will exist just as long as the perishable world. He sought a fuller consolation in that sublime work of the great Academic chief, of which, above all other remains of ancient heathen literature, it may be said,—

> "As little children lisp and tell of heaven,
> So thoughts beyond their thought to those high bards were given."

On retiring to his chamber, he had spent some time in reading the *Phædon* of Plato, when a glance round the room showed him that his sword was gone. After an outburst of irritation against his slave, which proved that the best of Stoics was, even in his last moments, himself a slave to the imperious Roman temper, he sent for his son and friends, who had taken this precaution against the act which they could not bring themselves to talk of, and reminded them how easily a resolute man could find, if he desired, the means of self-destruction. Reassured but in part by his calmness, they submitted to his authority and retired. He made repeated enquiries concerning the progress of the embarcation, and, when informed that the last ship was leaving, he laid himself on his bed and was left alone. It was not long before his attendants were roused by the noise of a heavy fall. He had plunged his sword into his bowels, and rolled groaning upon the floor. The wound was sewn up while he was unconscious; but on coming to himself he tore it open with his own hands, and so expired. Cæsar lamented that Cato had deprived him of the plea-

sure of pardoning his noblest though most inveterate enemy, and paid due honour to his remains. But when Cicero soon afterwards wrote his friend's eulogy, in his lost dialogue *Cato*, Cæsar could not rest without replying in two books under the title *Anticatones.** It was doubtless an easy task to expose the unbending arrogance of the stern Roman Stoic, and to make him responsible for the faults of his party, which no one had felt more keenly than himself. But Cato was none the less a martyr to that great principle of liberty which Cæsar's greatest eulogists can only apologize for his sacrificing. A modern historian, the late M. Ampère†—one of those who have lived in a time when the choice had to be made between a despotism claiming, not altogether untruly, to be beneficent, and fidelity to a freedom sacrificed by the faults of its self-styled champions—has gone back to the faith which all antiquity held in spite of the verdict of success :—

"Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni :"—

and reminded an age which idolizes Cæsar, that "Cato's life was a constant practice of justice, and the ultimatum of Cæsar found him ready for death, rather than for what practically amounted to an acknowledgment of despotic authority. He had watched Cæsar, and predicted the advance of his power step by step, when Pompey himself was blind to the danger; and ten years afterwards Pompey avowed that Cato had been in the right. He resisted the encroachments of both, without falling into any delusion as to the perilous prospects of the Republic, but *unwilling to believe that, because liberty was in danger, it was necessary to betray it*, to renounce it because it was disordered, to *kill it because it was sick.*" Judging like a Roman, he chose not to survive it.

For in truth the history of the Roman Republic ends with Cato's death. As Ampère characteristically says—"L'EMPIRE ETAIT FAIT." Juba and Petreius fled to Zama, and there ended their lives by a voluntary mutual slaughter. Afranius and Faustus

* It is not easy to judge, from the few notices of the ancient authors, of the *animus* displayed in this work. Cicero designates it by the word *vituperatio*, and speaks of the unscrupulous manner (*impudenter*) in which Cæsar made use of certain rhetorical artifices. From his letters to Atticus, however, it would seem that the censure of his friend was not so severe as to destroy his pleasure at the praise which Cæsar bestowed upon himself. He tells us that Cæsar "collected the faults (*vitia*) of Cato's life." Probably the work was a laboured argument to prove the inconsistency of the part taken by Cato in the Civil War with his professions of high justice, without necessarily involving any malignant attack on his personal character, for which Cæsar uniformly showed his respect.

† *L'Histoire Romaine à Rome.*

Sulla (the son of the dictator) were killed on the coast of Mauretania, while attempting to make their way to Spain, whither the two sons of Pompey had repaired before the battle of Thapsus. Cæsar reduced Numidia to a Roman province, and returned to Italy in July, with immense wealth gathered from the treasures of Juba and the contributions of the African cities and of Sardinia. He was received with honours in which, though the name of royalty was absent, an approach was made to equality with the gods. In the fourfold triumph which he celebrated, not ostensibly over his own countrymen, but for his victories in Gaul and Egypt, and over Pharnaces and Juba, his car was drawn by the sacred milkwhite steeds, the use of which had exposed Camillus to the charge of impiety. The Senate decreed that his image in ivory should be carried in procession with those of the gods, and laid up with theirs in the Capitol, where his bronze statue was set upon a globe, as the fit pedestal for the master of the world, with the inscription: CÆSAR THE DEMIGOD: but this he himself caused to be erased. A thanksgiving was decreed for forty days, twice the length of the unprecedented acknowledgment of his victories in Gaul; and the number of his lictors was doubled. He was named Dictator for ten years, with the command of all the armies of the State, and the presidency at public festivals. The office of censor, conferred upon him for three years, under the new title of *Præfectus Morum*, enabled him to regulate the Senate to his mind; but he declared his resolution to make no distinction henceforth between Pompeians and Cæsarians, though he did not abstain from exhibiting in his triumph figures representing the deaths of Scipio and Cato, Juba and Petreius, Lentulus and Domitius. The headless effigy of Pompey was alone kept back from the dreaded sympathy of the populace. The triumph was followed by profuse largesses to the soldiers and the people, and by magnificent games, at which the people sat in the Circus under an awning of silk, a fabric then but newly known at Rome, and long after so scarce that even a silk dress was esteemed precious for an empress. Beneath that luxurious shade not only was the blood of gladiators shed in disgusting profusion, but men of equestrian rank descended into the arena with a shamelessness that betrayed the conscious loss of freedom. The festivities were concluded by the dedication of the magnificent *Forum Julium*, with its marble corridors and spacious halls, which Cæsar had built between the Forum Romanum and the foot of the Quirinal.

Cæsar's triumph in August, B.C. 46, was the last great event the

date of which is denoted in terms of the old Roman calendar, which was now more than two months in advance of the true meaning of the days and months, as referring to a year determined by the seasons. The length of such a year had been known, by the observation of the apparent path of the sun among the fixed stars, from a very remote antiquity;* but Roman superstition had adhered to the old lunar year; and the power of intercalation, according to the decision of the college of pontiffs, had been used by the nobility for regulating the times of festivals, of elections, and of public business in general, for their own objects.† By his authority as chief pontiff, and with the aid of a Græco-Egyptian astronomer named Sosigenes, Cæsar undertook to put an end to this intolerable evil by an accurate calendar. Taking $365\frac{1}{4}$ days for the true length of the year, he made the months, some of thirty days, as the nearest approximation to a lunation, and some of thirty-one days, so as to complete the sum of 365 days; and the surplus quarter of a day was added in the form of one day to every fourth year, which was called *Annus Bissextilis*, our LEAP YEAR.‡

* Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians were the first of men who discovered the year, and distributed twelve divisions of seasons over it; and they said they made the discovery from the stars. (See Vol. I. p. 106.)

† An account of the old Roman calendar is given at Vol. II. pp. 166-8.

‡ We have seen (Vol. II. p. 166) that the old Roman lunar year was considered to end on the 23rd of February, after which day the intercalary month, called *Mercedonius*, was inserted when required. At this point, therefore, the Julian Calendar introduced its intercalary day. The 24th of February was, on the Roman mode of reckoning backwards, the *sixth* before the Calends (the 1st) of March; and the inserted day was called the *second-sixth* (BISSEXTUS) before the Calends. This name, transferred to the year itself, gave it the name of *annus bissextus;* that of *bissextilis* is first found in the writings of Bede. On the Continent, the 24th (not the 29th) of February is still generally reckoned as the intercalary day. The Julian Law declared that the intercalation should be made *every fourth year;* and the pontiffs, who had the regulation of the Calendar, interpreted this in the Roman sense, including both extremes, and so made *every third year* a leap year. Thus in the thirty-six years following the reform of B.C. 46, there were twelve leap years instead of nine; and Augustus rectified the error by omitting the three leap-year days which should have been added in the twelve following years. From the commencement of our era, the leap years followed in their proper order, A.D. 4, 8, 12, &c.; according to the simple law:—*Every year, the number of which is divisible by* 4, *is a leap year.*

Now the exact length of the *mean solar* or CIVIL YEAR (that is, the *mean length* of the year determined by the return of the sun to the vernal equinoctial point) is $365^{d}\ 5^{h}\ 48^{m}\ 49^{s}{\cdot}54$, which falls short of the Julian year by $11^{m}\ 10^{s}{\cdot}46$, a difference which amounts to about one day in 129 years. At this rate, therefore, the Julian Calendar had lost date (by gaining time), till the error was rectified by the bull of Pope Gregory XIII. on Feb. 24th, 1582. It was enacted that the day following the 4th of October in that year should be the 15th (thus striking out 10 days): and for the future, three intercalary days were to be dispensed with in every four centuries,

The existing accumulation of error was corrected by the addition of ninety days to the current year, which thus consisted of 445 days. Hence it was called *annus confusionis;* but "the last year of confusion" would have been a more proper designation. With some slight modifications made by Augustus, the Julian Calendar has remained in use to the present time. Centuries passed before it was deemed necessary to correct the slight excess which it still left, inasmuch as the true length of the year is not quite 365¼ days. This last step of reform was effected by Pope Gregory XIII. in A.D. 1582.

Cæsar was engaged in other works of legislation, when he was called to draw the sword once more. The relics of the Pompeian party, under Cneius and Sextus Pompey, Varus and Labienus, had gathered in Spain an army which numbered in its ranks many of Cæsar's discontented veterans; and the cities of the peninsula for the most part espoused their cause. The field of Munda,* where Cæsar joined battle with them after a difficult and desultory campaign, was contested with all the fury of despair; and Cæsar, after retrieving an almost lost battle by the most brilliant personal courage, declared that he had often fought for victory, but never before for his life. Varus, the conqueror of Curio in Africa, Labienus, whose name shines so brightly in the Commentaries on the Gallic war, and many other nobles, fell, with 30,000 men; and Cneius Pompey, after escaping on board ship,

according to the rule:—*Those century-years only, the number of which is divisible by* 400, *are leap years;*—e.g. 1600, 2000, 2400, &c., are leap years; but 1700, 1800, 1900, 2100, &c., are not leap years, because, though divisible by 4, they are not divisible by 400. This reform, which constitutes the difference between *Old Style* and *New Style*, was adopted at once by the Catholic nations of Europe; but religious jealousies delayed its reception in Protestant countries for more than a century. It was enacted in England in A.D. 1752, when eleven days were struck out between the 2nd and 14th of September. Fidelity to the Greek Church still maintains the Old Style in Russia. The ignorant cry of the London populace—"Give us back our eleven days"—can be more easily excused than the cynical jest of Cicero, who, when some one remarked to him, "Lyra rises to-morrow," replied, "Yes, by command." Such outbursts of prejudice are as old as Aristophanes and the Metonic cycle, and no doubt much older.

The *Gregorian Year* is still about 24^s longer than the mean solar or civil year. This excess amounts to a day in 3600 years; and accordingly Delambre proposed that the year A.D. 3600 and all its multiples—7200, 10,800, &c.—should not be leap years. (See further Sir John Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*, §§ 911, foll.: and Lardner's *Museum of Science and Art*, Vol. V. pp. 167, foll. Dr. Lardner makes some curious statements about the modifications of Augustus in the Julian Calendar, for which we are not able to find the authority.)

* The modern *Monda*, in Andalusia, between Malaga and Ronda.

fell a victim to a miserable accident.* The ferocity which had marked his brief command, and the personal character which he gave to the insurrection by his watchword of *Filial Duty* (*Pietas*), may partly account for the unwonted severity with which Cæsar used his victory. Sextus Pompey alone escaped pursuit among the mountains of Hither Spain. Such was the work left for Cæsar in reducing the two provinces to order, that, though the battle of Munda was fought on the 17th of March, B.C. 45, he did not return to Rome till September. There he celebrated the first triumph that a Roman general had ever avowedly had over Roman citizens; and the Senate hastened to acknowledge him as the sole master of the Roman World, by giving him for life the title of IMPERATOR, which now for the first time assumes a sense like that of our modern EMPEROR, though it was not yet adopted as the ordinary title of the ruler of the State. He was made consul for ten years, dictator and prefect of manners for life; his person was declared inviolable, and surrounded by a body-guard of senators and knights; and the oath which the whole Senate took, to watch over his life, soon furnished another example of what such safeguards are really worth. To these realities of sovereign power were added its outward insignia, a golden chair and a diadem set with gems, to be exhibited, though not worn, at the public festivals. A thanksgiving of fifty days was decreed for Cæsar's final victory over the Pompeys; he was to wear the triumphal robe whenever he appeared in public; and he was hailed by the title *Parens Patriæ*. The coins of the Republic, which had hitherto borne various devices, but no portrait, were all to be stamped with his effigy: his statues were placed in all the temples of the gods, among whom it was decreed that he should be enrolled after his death. The obsequious Senate which conferred these honours had its roll enlarged, while Cæsar's chief friends were rewarded, by the nomination of sixteen prætors, forty quæstors, and six ædiles, and corresponding additions were made to the priestly colleges.

Cæsar's highest eulogy is to be read in the use that he made of a power which far exceeded that of Alexander, and the greatest enemy of depotism may be consoled for a violation of liberty which he ceases not to condemn, by the undoubted truth, that it needed one great mind and one mighty hand to do the work which was to weld the Roman empire into one, in order to prepare

* An attendant wounded him with a hatchet in cutting a coil of ropes in which his foot had got entangled; and being obliged to land for surgical aid, he was discovered by his pursuers and slain.

the way for the King of the whole earth. This work was now sketched by the capacious mind of Julius, to be achieved by the filial piety of the son whom he adopted as his heir, his grand-nephew Octavius. We can here only trace the outline of his vast reforms and his gigantic undertakings. The former embraced a complete reconstruction of the polity of the Roman state on the basis of an imperial republic, but not of an imperial democracy. The corruption which had now taken full possession of the body politic had sprung from a selfish and luxurious aristocracy, seeking office as a means of wealth, and from a venal and turbulent city rabble. The nobility had been decimated by the civil war, and Cæsar hoped to check the revival of the old abuses by sumptuary laws, and by the abridgement of the tenure of offices and provincial governments. By filling up the vacancies in the Senate with his own adherents from the provinces, and by increasing its number to 900, he lowered the distinction of the order as much as he degraded the dignity of the higher magistracies by causing consuls to be elected—for the form of popular choice was still retained—for the terms of six, three, and even two months. All these changes tended to centre the power and dignity of the government in his own person; and he looked for the support of his authority to the creation of an independent middle class, by a large extension of the franchise to the provincials who flocked to Rome. It is an interesting fact, that Cæsar adopted plans for giving weight to cultivated intelligence apart from the accidents of wealth—similar to those which have been stigmatized in our own day with the nickname of "fancy franchises"—by conferring the full rights of citizenship on professors of science and learning and practitioners of medicine. Various states in Gaul and Spain received the Roman franchise, and Cicero tells us that a plan for conferring the Latin right on the whole of Sicily was found among Cæsar's papers after his death. His own confidence was freely bestowed upon provincials, and he seems to have been advancing as quickly as was prudent in making all the subjects of the empire one people. This policy was kept in view in rewarding the veteran soldiers. Instead of confiscating the lands of his civil enemies, in order to found military colonies in Italy, Cæsar sent forth no less than 80,000 Roman citizens to people new cities, or to restore those of ancient fame, such as Corinth and Carthage.* In Italy he aimed, by

* Respecting his plan for colonizing Carthage, which was carried out by Augustus, see Vol. II. pp. 368-9, note, and p. 534. In Italy only six insignificant colonies were founded by Julius Cæsar.

penal enactments which were too stringent to be successful, at the substitution of free for slave labour, and the residence of land-owners on their estates. He tried to foster the increase of a free population by granting certain exemptions to the father of three or more legitimate children;* and he checked the growth of the Roman rabble by restricting the largesses of corn.

His judicial reforms were of no less magnitude. The exclusion of the *Tribuni Ærarii* from the jury lists, which were now confined to the senators and knights, made the courts perhaps less venal, but certainly less popular; but new laws were enacted for the security of life and property, and the clubs, which had overawed justice, were abolished. In making an exception in favour of the religious organizations of the Jews, as well as in the privileges already granted to them in their own land,† Cæsar appears to have acted on the broadest principles of religious toleration. Above all, he meditated that great work, which was not fully executed till Rome herself had ceased to be the seat of empire,—the formation of the whole body of Roman law into a complete Code. Himself a distinguished author, he founded a magnificent public library, and made it the property of the Roman people. His schemes for public works throughout the empire were on a scale commensurate with those of his great pattern, the founder of Alexandria. Among other vast plans, he proposed to give Rome a new port at Ostia, to drain the Pomptine marshes, and to sever the isthmus of Corinth by a navigable canal. He appointed scientific and military commissioners to construct a map of the whole empire; and this scheme was the commencement of the work which has come down to us under the name of the Antonine Itinerary. But the boundaries of the empire were alike indefinite and insecure on the Danube and the Euphrates; and in both quarters Cæsar meditated vast military enterprises. He made great preparations to set out in person, in the following year, for an expedition against Parthia, in which there is reason to believe that he hoped to surpass the conquests of Alexander, and to add India itself to the Roman Empire.

But that year was destined to bring upon him a widely different fate. The arbitrary will, by which even his best reforms were carried into effect, roused the indignation of the popular party, and furnished a handle to the Pompeians. The nobles, who had been used to the dignified freedom of intercourse with magistrates

* This was called the *Jus trium liberorum.*

† Cæsar exempted them from tribute in the Sabbatical year.

who were still their equals, felt the difficulty of access to the dictator as an intolerable humiliation; and a state already regal was invested with the hateful complexion of an Oriental despotism, when Cleopatra came to Rome at Cæsar's invitation, and her child, Cæsarion, was openly recognized as his offspring. Still the nobles repaired to her court beyond the walls of Rome, and even Cicero was found among her flatterers. The same nobles veiled their dislike of Cæsar beneath the servile adulation which they constantly offered him both in public and in private. He well knew that among their number was many a possible or probable assassin; but he declared that it was at any time better to die than to live always in fear of dying. Against any open attack he felt himself so secure in the general favour of the people and the good-will of the Italians, that he disbanded his veterans, sent the legions which were retained under arms to remote quarters, and refused the offer of his personal friends to form a body-guard for his protection.

On the 1st of January, B.C. 44, Cæsar entered upon his fifth consulship with Marcus Antonius as his colleague, and upon his fourth dictatorship. The dignity of master of the horse was at first conferred on Lepidus; but he soon gave way to Caius Octavius, the son of C. Octavius and of Atia, the daughter of Cæsar's younger sister Julia. The young Octavius was born, as we have already seen, in the consulship of Cicero, B.C. 63. Having lost his father at the age of four years, he was brought up under the eye of his great-uncle, who himself took part in his education. The weak health under which he suffered for more than half his life,* prevented Octavius from taking any active part in Cæsar's campaigns, though he had accompanied him in the last Spanish War. He was now nineteen, and in the full bloom of that perfect beauty which has been perpetuated by his busts; and his elevation at that early age to the mastership of the horse indicated the design of Cæsar to give to his new honours the stability of hereditary succession, especially when he added the distinction of causing the Senate to raise the Octavian house, which was only plebeian, to patrician rank. With a caution almost prescient, Cæsar sent away the youth to complete his studies at Apollonia, in Illyricum. The formal act of adoption was not completed till after the succession of Octavius to Cæsar's inheritance under his will; but when next he appears in history, it is with the name

* Niebuhr observes that Augustus was one of those men whose constitutions are not settled till about the age of fifty, after which he never had a day's illness.

that marks him as Cæsar's adopted son, Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus.*

Cæsar next provided for the government for the three ensuing years (B.C. 44—42) in a manner which indicated his expectation of a prolonged absence. But one step yet remained to perpetuate his power; and with regard to this step, his probable feelings have been most admirably described by Mr. Merivale:—"He had done no more than lay the first foundations of the great edifice which he contemplated in his own imagination; and he might be anxious to bequeath its completion to one whom he had himself bred to inherit his views together with his station. The title of Dictator had never descended from one generation to another; there were no associations connected with it as an hereditary office, no prestige of traditional veneration to blind men's eyes to the naked usurpation of supreme power. But the appellation of King seemed in itself to legitimize its possessor's claim to rule. It was the recognized symbol of hereditary sovereignty. It dazzled men by its brilliancy, and prevented them from looking too curiously into the fact which it really represented. Cæsar might conceive that it was only under the shelter of this illusion that the successor to his principles of administration could maintain the position in which he could carry them into effect. But even if he was conscious of cherishing any wish for the title of king, he concealed it with studious care. It was in the counsels of his friends, at least, that the idea of obtaining it appeared to originate; and it was perhaps first suggested to them by the craft of his enemies, who sought thereby to exasperate the nation against him. While there were, as Cæsar well knew, a hundred poniards ready to bury themselves in his bosom, he was aware that they were restrained by the consideration that, popular as he still was with the army, the provinces, and the mass of the citizens, his assassination might only be the signal for a general massacre of all his real and supposed enemies. It required a series of dark and artful intrigues to warp the affections of these classes from the person of the dictator, and there might seem no readier method of overthrowing a victorious adversary, than to fasten upon him the charge of affecting the kingly title." †

* It is altogether inaccurate to call him *Octavius* after Cæsar's death, and it is misleading to give him (except by anticipation) the title of *Augustus*, till it was conferred upon him by the Senate and People. From B.C. 44 to B.C. 27, it is proper to speak of him as *Octavian*, though his ordinary name was *Cæsar*.

† Merivale: *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. II. pp. 468-9.

In the first two months of this fated year, more than one experiment was made upon the temper of the people, but always with a discouraging result. One morning Cæsar's statue in front of the Rostra was found decorated with a diadem; and the tribunes, Marullus and Cæsetius, obtained the title of the new Brutuses by tearing it down and punishing the offender. At the great Latin festival on the 26th of January, at the Alban Mount, more than one salutation of "king" provoked the low but audible murmurs of the people, till the dictator exclaimed "I am no king, but Cæsar," unconsciously prophecying how the latter name would outshine the former.* As to the last demonstration, made by Mark Antony at the feast of the Lupercalia, on the 15th of February, it is superfluous to do more than remind the countrymen of Shakspere of the words :—

> "You all did see that on the Lupercal
> I thrice presented him a kingly crown
> Which he did thrice refuse."

The poet has closely followed Plutarch's account of the scene, in which the faint cheers of the people at the offer of the diadem, followed by their shout of applause at its refusal, determined Cæsar to declare, "I am not a king: the only king of the Romans is Jupiter." He hung up the offered diadem as a trophy in the Capitol, and caused the transaction to be recorded in the Fasti. But still the idea was not finally abandoned. A Sibylline oracle was quoted, that Parthia could only be conquered by a king; and it was proposed that Cæsar should be invested with the royal title and authority over the foreign subjects of the State. It seems to have been the resolution not to yield this point that matured the plot against his life.

The universal opinion among the free states of antiquity in favour of tyrannicide caused a life like Cæsar's to be held ever at the dagger's point; and some even of his chief adherents, as Antony and Dolabella, had already been accused of plotting his murder. The conspiracy to which he at length fell a victim was concocted by men of all parties in the state;—the old nobles, who had been his enemies from the first, but nearly all of whom owed their position or their life to his clemency; his own adherents, some

* During the international festivities of 1851, at the fête given at St. Cloud, amidst the cries of *Vive Napoleon* with which the officers greeted the Prince President Charles Louis Bonaparte, an officious Englishman shouted, "*Vive l'Empereur*," "Sir!"—said the President of the Republic—"if that cry is repeated, I must leave the grounds." This parallel is related on the authority of one who was close by.

of whom allowed petty disappointments to outweigh all the favours he had heaped upon them, while others—like Decimus Brutus and Trebonius—were still receiving honours and governments at his hands; and if there were in the number any genuine patriots, the sense of shame and gratitude might have made them hold their hands. The tradition which represents this medley knot of conspirators as a band of stern vindicators of liberty is so untrue to history, that it can only have had its source in the instinctive hatred of the principle of tyranny. The conspirators were about sixty, or as some say, eighty. The prime mover of the plot was C. Cassius Longinus, whom we have seen distinguishing himself as quæstor under Crassus in Parthia, and as commander of the Pompeian fleet, and submitting to Cæsar soon after the battle of Pharsalia. Like the knot of personal friends who surrounded Cæsar, he was an avowed Epicurean, and his political principles were no stricter than his philosophy. A narrow selfish jealousy of Cæsar's ascendancy is the only motive that can be found for his concoction of the conspiracy. The semblance of patriotic vengeance, which it would have been a mockery for Cassius to assume, was supplied by the name of Marcus Junius Brutus. "The name of Brutus forced its possessor into prominence as soon as royalty began to be discussed" (Merivale); and besides a doubtful descent from the founder of the republic, Brutus was the son-in-law and panegyrist of Cato, and an ardent student of the Stoic philosophy. But in practical life he was feeble and irresolute. Having joined the Pompeian standard with reluctance, he had been the first to submit after the battle of Pharsalia, and had been ever since distinguished by Cæsar's special favour. But hints which his patron was said to have dropped of Brutus's worthiness to fill his place aided the plausible appeals which his brother-in-law Cassius made to his vanity. The mind which could be caught by such tricks as placards hung upon the statue of the elder Brutus with the inscription "Would thou wert alive!"—by billets thrust into his own hand, bearing the words, "Brutus, thou sleepest, thou art no Brutus!"—had as little of stern principle, as the heart that could plant the last dagger in Cæsar's bosom had of gratitude. It is a relief to turn from the moral weakness and wicked inconsistency of the vain Stoic, who gave the conspirators what they wanted, a name and head, to the tribute which they paid to Cicero's integrity, by not daring even to acquaint him with their design.

It is needless to relate at length the oft-told story of the fatal

Ides of March (March 15th, B.C. 44), the day for which the Senate was convened on the eve of Cæsar's departure for the East,—the day which had been marked by the warning—"Beware of the Ides of March." The conspirators had resolved to anticipate the expected motion for conferring upon Cæsar the title of king in foreign parts, by despatching him as soon as he entered the Senate-house. Hints of a plot entrusted to so many persons could not but get abroad, and some such hints reached Cæsar. His wonted magnanimity seems to have been mingled with that calm acquiescence in approaching fate, which has often marked the coming end of great men. His Epicurean philosophy, confessing no terrors beyond the grave, was consistent in forbidding life to be marred by the fear of death; and on the very evening before his fall, he had replied to the question started at table—"What kind of death is the best?"—"That which is least expected." If, however, we may believe the uniform tradition of antiquity, the remnant of Roman superstition in Cæsar's mind was moved by a fearful dream of his wife Calpurnia, and by the unfavourable auspices which the victims presented in the morning. He had even resolved, it is said, to send his colleague Antony to dismiss the Senate, when the raillery of Decimus Brutus, who had come to escort him, suppressed the show of irresolution. Postponement would indeed have been ruin to the plot; for, while the conspirators were alarmed at each moment by floating hints, more than one last warning met Cæsar on his way to the Senate. In spite of the care of the conspirators who surrounded his litter, a man thrust into it a scroll, which Cæsar rolled up, taking it for a petition, and still held in his hand when he was attacked. The last warning of all, though perhaps a rhetorical invention, expresses with the very truth of nature the premature joy of escape from inevitable doom:—"The Ides of March are come!"—"Yes! but they are not yet passed."

The Senate was summoned to meet in the Curia of Pompey, a hall adjacent to his theatre; and those of the conspirators who were not already in attendance upon Cæsar were waiting in the portico of that edifice, with daggers concealed beneath their cloaks. They crowded about him as he entered the hall, while Trebonius detained Antony in conversation at the door. Cæsar took his seat, and Tillius Cimber approached him to present a petition for his brother's pardon. Under the pretence of joining in the supplication, the conspirators grasped Cæsar's hands, and Cimber pulled his toga over his arms. At this signal, Casca struck the first blow. It only grazed Cæsar's shoulder, and, releasing one of his

arms, he seized the hilt of Casca's dagger. For a moment he defended himself with his *stilus*,* and wounded one of his assailants. But at the sight of Brutus among his murderers, he exclaimed, "*Et tu, Brute*"—"Thou too, Brutus!"—drew his toga over his face, and ceased resistance, while the conspirators fulfilled the oath they had sworn, that each one of them would bathe his dagger in the Dictator's blood. Supported for an instant by the blows struck at him from every side, he staggered a few paces, and fell on a spot which seemed chosen by the very irony of fate :—

> "Even at the base of Pompey's statuë,
> Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell."

He died in his fifty-sixth year. The deeds which he had performed, and the much vaster enterprizes that he meditated, bear witness to his transcendent practical genius alike in war and peace. His intellectual qualities and habits are described by Cicero as embracing genius, understanding, memory, taste, reflection, industry, and exactness. The universal application of his powers is thus summed up by a modern historian :—"He was great in everything he undertook; as a captain, a statesman, a lawgiver, a jurist, an orator, a poet, an historian, a grammarian, a mathematician, and an architect."† And the historian of the Cæsars has pointed out that "The secret of this manifold excellence was discovered by Pliny in the unparalleled energy of Cæsar's intellectual powers, which he could devote without distraction to several subjects at once, or rush at any moment from one occupation to another with the abruptness and rapidity of lightning.‡ Cæsar could be writing and reading, dictating and listening, all at the same time; he was wont to occupy four amanuenses at once, and had been known on occasions to employ as many as seven together.§ And, as if to complete the picture of the most perfect specimen of human ability, we are assured that in all the exercises of the camp his vigour and skill were not less conspicuous. He fought at the most perilous moments in the ranks of the soldiers; he could manage his charger without the use of reins, and he saved his life at Alexan-

* The short piece of iron, sharpened at the end, for writing on waxen tablets, which a Roman carried in his writing case.

† Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, vol. iii. p. 746.

‡ So Cicero says of him : "Sed hoc τέρας horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est." (*Ad Att.* VIII. 9.)

§ At least so says Pliny (*H.N.* vii. 25). Perhaps there are official persons who can form some idea of the amount of attention to each clerk, which would bring the statement within the limits of possibility.

dria by his address in the art of swimming."* There is a bust of Julius Cæsar in the British Museum, in which every lineament corresponds to this character, and which gives us a far better idea of his features than all the laboured description of his biographers.

Of his moral qualities, we have had frequent occasion to notice his generosity and affability, his marvellous power of winning friends, and his clemency to his enemies. The last quality proceeded from a mixture of genuine kindness of heart with a far-sighted magnanimity of policy; for he was restrained by no scruple of conscience from using whatever means would effect his ends. His Epicurean love of the amenities of life never descended to the habit of gross self-indulgence. Though profligate in his amours from his earliest youth, and in the case of Cleopatra enslaved by love, his habitual temperance is attested by the saying of Cato, that Cæsar alone came sober to the overthrow of the Republic. In the control of his temper also he presented a striking contrast to Alexander.† These virtues were conspicuous on the surface of Cæsar's character; but, if we descend deeper, we find in him faults that are an epitome of the corruption of his age,—its want of reverence for the old foundations of social virtue, and for the first principles of truth and of self-sacrificing virtue. He was at once the product and the avenger of the deep-seated diseases which had made the longer duration of the existing state of things at Rome impossible. Cicero, in spite of his pitiable weaknesses, —Cato, notwithstanding his repulsive harshness,—could live through the same age without the sacrifice of pure morality and unselfish patriotism. It is with such men that Cæsar should be compared, and not with Pompey and the faction of the nobles. That these men were utterly in the wrong does not prove Cæsar to have been in the right; nor does the useless crime of his murderers raise him to the dignity of a political martyr. The necessities which urged him on through the later stages of his career—even could "the tyrant's plea" ever be admitted as valid—can plead no excuse for the deliberate choice of his earlier ambition, nor exempt him from the condemnation which history passes upon the usurper. And when the points of real greatness in his character are used to cast a false halo over each fresh attempt to imitate his political crimes, that very greatness assures us that the result must be but a wretched plagiarism:—

"None but himself can be his parallel."

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* Merivale, Vol. II. p. 500.

† "Magno illo Alexandro, *sed sobrio neque iracundo, simillimus.*" (Vell. Paterc.)

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE LAST CIVIL WAR: AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE.—FROM THE DEATH OF CÆSAR TO THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM. B.C. 44 TO B.C. 31.

"His legs bestrid the ocean: his rear'd arm
Crested the world: his voice was propertied
As all the tuned spheres, and that to friends;
But when he meant to quail and shake the orb,
He was as rattling thunder. For his bounty;
There was no winter in 't: an autumn 'twas,
That grew the more by reaping: his delights
Were dolphin-like; they show'd his back above
The element they liv'd in: in his livery
Walk'd crowns and crownets; realms and islands were
As plates dropp'd from his pocket."—SHAKSPERE.

SEQUEL OF CÆSAR'S DEATH—THE CONSPIRATORS AND THE PEOPLE—THE CORPSE OF CÆSAR—PROCEEDINGS OF ANTONY—DECISION OF THE SENATE—HOLLOW RECONCILIATION—CÆSAR'S ACTS ARE CONFIRMED AND THE PROVINCES ALLOTTED—CÆSAR'S TESTAMENT—FUNERAL ORATION OF MARK ANTONY—FURY OF THE PEOPLE—GOVERNMENT OF ANTONY—HIS USE OF CÆSAR'S PAPERS—OCTAVIUS AT APOLLONIA—HIS DECISION ON HEARING OF CÆSAR'S DEATH—M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA—OCTAVIUS RETURNS TO ITALY—CLAIMS HIS INHERITANCE AS C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS—HIS INTERVIEW WITH CICERO—HE ARRIVES AT ROME—OMENS OF HIS GREATNESS—HE COURTS THE SENATE AND PEOPLE—HIS INTERVIEW WITH ANTONY—OCTAVIAN DISCHARGES CÆSAR'S BEQUESTS—HIS POPULARITY—APOTHEOSIS OF JULIUS—THE PROVINCES—CICERO'S 'PHILIPPICS'—ANTONY LEAVES ROME—WAR OF MUTINA—DEFEAT OF ANTONY—OCTAVIAN BREAKS WITH THE SENATE, RETURNS TO ROME, AND BECOMES CONSUL—HIS COALITION WITH ANTONY AND LEPIDUS—*SECOND TRIUMVIRATE*—PROSCRIPTION—MURDER OF CICERO—SUCCESSES OF SEXTUS POMPEIUS—THE REPUBLICANS IN THE EAST—BATTLES OF PHILIPPI—DEATHS OF BRUTUS AND CASSIUS—PARTITION OF THE PROVINCES—ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA—CONFUSION IN ITALY—WAR OF PERUSIA—THE PARTHIANS IN SYRIA—ANTONY AND SEXTUS BEFORE BRUNDISIUM—RECONCILIATION OF THE TRIUMVIRS—PEACE WITH SEXTUS POMPEY AT MISENUM—VENTIDIUS DEFEATS THE PARTHIANS—NEW WAR WITH SEXTUS, AND DEFEAT OF OCTAVIAN—SECOND RECONCILIATION OF OCTAVIAN AND ANTONY—TREATY OF TARENTUM—AGRIPPA'S VICTORY OVER SEXTUS POMPEY—DEPOSITION OF LEPIDUS—DEATH OF SEXTUS—EXTINCTION OF THE SENATORIAL PARTY—HONOURS HEAPED UPON OCTAVIAN—AGRIPPA AND MÆCENAS—ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA IN THE EAST—ANTONY'S DEFEAT IN PARTHIA—HIS ARMENIAN CAMPAIGN AND TRIUMPH AT ALEXANDRIA—ROMAN PROVINCES GIVEN TO CLEOPATRA—THE EGYPTIAN COURT—OCTAVIAN'S SUCCESSFUL WARS IN THE ALPS—HIS GROWING POPULARITY—FINAL BREACH WITH ANTONY—WAR DECLARED AGAINST EGYPT—BATTLE OF ACTIUM—FLIGHT OF CLEOPATRA AND ANTONY—OCTAVIAN LANDS IN EGYPT—DEATHS OF ANTONY, CLEOPATRA, AND CÆSARION—EGYPT MADE A ROMAN PROVINCE—RETURN AND TRIUMPH OF OCTAVIAN—EPOCH OF THE EMPIRE.

COULD the murder of Cæsar have been justified on moral grounds, the want of any preparation for the next step would have branded it as a crime. The conspirators seemed to have hoped that the people would at once have ratified their deed; and they rushed from the Senate-house to the Forum, brandishing their bloody daggers, carrying a cap of liberty on the point of a spear,

and crying out that they had killed a tyrant and a king. Brutus mounted the rostra, and began an elaborate speech; but, instead of being hailed as the second founder of the Republic, his voice was drowned in tumultuous cries. The people had wavered in their allegiance to Cæsar; but a true instinct told them that they would be no gainers by his death. The rest of the Senators had dispersed in fright on the perpetration of the deed, and the conspirators found themselves completely isolated. They hastened to the Capitol, under the pretence of paying their vows to Jupiter, and occupied it with the bands of Decimus Brutus. The movement was not too soon, for Lepidus who, as master of the horse, commanded a legion outside the city, sent troops to occupy the Forum during the night. These hasty movements had left them no time to drag the body of Cæsar, as those of the Gracchi had been dragged, through the streets, and throw it into the Tiber—an indignity which some at least of the conspirators proposed. The corpse of the master of the world, who had boasted in the morning that the Ides of March had come and found him safe, lay alone at the base of his rival's statue, till three of his servants carried it on a broken litter to his house. Antony had escaped in the first confusion. His death had been proposed by some of the conspirators as needful for their safety, but Brutus had protested against sullying tyrannicide with wanton murder; and they now found their own safety in the double policy of Antony. They were joined in the Capitol by the small remnant whom the civil war had left of the old aristocratic party. Among the first to resort to them was Cicero, who never ceased to praise the deed which had been done, as an act of justice on a public enemy. He urged the vigorous policy of assuming the government of the state, and above all making no terms with Antony.

The surviving consul, shut up for security in his own house, continued during the night to gain information of the proceedings of the conspirators, to communicate with Lepidus, and above all to secure Cæsar's private papers, which were sent to him by Calpurnia, with a treasure of 4000 talents. The possession of Cæsar's will gave him an irresistible appeal to the people, and Lepidus was won over by the promise of the vacant pontificate. But on the following morning (March 16th) another of Cæsar's partisans, Dolabella, came forward to support the conspirators from personal enmity to Antony. His appearance in the Forum with the insignia of a consul—for Cæsar had promised him the succession to the office—encouraged the friends of the conspirators to invite them

to descend into the Forum, where Brutus again harangued the people. He boldly justified the deed, claimed to have acted in the spirit of his great ancestor, and called the people to rally once more round the Pompeian standard, which Sextus was still bearing up against the forces of the late Dictator. But the appeal met with no response, and the conspirators returned to the Capitol. They now saw that their only hope was to make terms with Antony, who, by his authority as consul, opened the public treasury, which contained the enormous sum of 700,000,000 sesterces, and assumed the government of the city. The conspirators invited him to summon the Senate to decide between the two parties; and he at once complied, feeling that the balance was thus thrown into his own hands. His proposal that the acts of Cæsar should be ratified, his murder passed over in silence, and his remains honoured with a public funeral, was warmly supported by Cicero, and adopted by the Senate. The conspirators came down from the Capitol in the guise rather of amnestied criminals than of triumphant liberators. Brutus supped with Lepidus, and Cassius with Antony; but the grim pleasantries of the latter banquet betrayed what was in their thoughts. "Have you still a dagger under your arm?" asked the consul in a tone of raillery. "Yes!" replied Cassius, with some bitterness; "one for you if you affect the tyranny."

On the following day (March 18th) the conspirators resumed their places in the Senate, which confirmed the assignment of the provinces that Cæsar had already made to him. Cisalpine Gaul was allotted to Decimus Brutus, who would thus hold the command of an army in the north of Italy; Marcus Brutus obtained Macedonia, where the legions destined for the Parthian war were assembled; Asia and Syria gave Trebonius and Cassius the resources of the East. Marcus Brutus and Cassius, however, had still to fulfil the year of their prætorship at Rome; while the supreme magistracy remained in the hands of the consuls Antony and Dolabella, who had affected a reconciliation. Antony, as will immediately appear, flattered himself with the power of crushing the conspirators long before they could assume their respective governments. The public funeral of Cæsar furnished his opportunity.

Atticus, as he sat by Cicero in the Senate, had whispered that all was lost if the funeral were permitted, and Cassius had attempted an opposition, which was overruled by Brutus. Before the day appointed for the funeral, the testament of Cæsar was

made public.* Joined with his chief heir were Pedius and Pinarius, the other two grandsons of his sisters, and the ingratitude which stamped so many of his murderers was keenly felt, when the name of Decimus Brutus appeared among the heirs in reversion.† But an interest more than sentimental was excited when the people heard that Cæsar had left a legacy of 300 sesterces (nearly 3*l.*) to every citizen, besides bequeathing to them his gardens beyond the Tiber, with their halls and corridors, which were afterwards enlarged and beautified by Augustus. They were already overwhelmed with gratitude, shame, and indignation, when their senses were appealed to by the magnificent obsequies of their benefactor, whose waxen effigy was raised on a platform which turned in every direction, exhibiting the marks of the three-and-twenty wounds. Nor was their imagination less inflamed by the dramas which formed a part of the funeral games. The *Contest for the Arms of Achilles* reminded them that their hero had left behind neither a Ulysses nor an Ajax among the factions that kept hollow truce over his corpse; and the story of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra reminded them of the revenge due for an unnatural murder. Last of all, the consul Antony came forward to pronounce that marvellous oration which Appian has preserved, and of which the authority of Cicero proves that our great dramatist has not exaggerated the power and the artifice.‡ When at the highest pitch to which he could work up his hearers' recollection of the great deeds of Julius, he suddenly lifted the blood-stained robe that covered the mangled corse, and for every rent in the garment pointed to a wound in the beloved form, the struggling tide of fury burst forth at once. They forbad the body to be carried forth to the pyre built up in the Campus Martius. Here it should be burnt, in the Forum, nay some said in the very temple of Jupiter. At last it was borne to the Curia of Pompey, the scene of the bloody deed. A funeral pile was built up of benches and tables, and an apparition of the Dioscuri themselves, descending to apply the torch, redeemed the sacrilege of burning the dead within the sacred boundary of the city. The garments and trinkets of the bystanders, the instruments of the musicians, the arms of the soldiers, were cast upon the burning heap, around which men of every nation, from the Celt to the Jew, swelled the chorus of

* It is by dramatic licence that Shakspere has connected the reading of the will with the funeral oration of Antony.

† There was no recognition of Cæsarion, and Cleopatra retired in disappointment to Egypt.

‡ "Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua *miseratio*, tua *cohortatio*" (Cicero, *Philipp.* II. 36).

wailing, which soon changed to the cry of vengeance. Brands snatched from the pyre were borne against the houses of Brutus and Cassius, who had fled from the city at the beginning of the tumult. Their retainers repulsed the disorderly assault; but the mob roamed through the city in search of victims; and the poet Helvius Cinna, an attached friend of Cæsar's, was torn in pieces by mistake for Cinna the conspirator. A marble column was soon afterwards erected by the people over Cæsar's ashes, with an inscription, "To the Father of his country."

That day's work put an end to the hollow compromise, and left Antony master of Rome. He invited the chiefs of both parties in the Senate to join him in a policy of moderation. Just when he was expected to claim the dictatorship, he proposed the abolition of the office, which no Roman ruler ever afterwards assumed; and Cicero uttered the universal joy at this deliverance not only from the royalty they had borne, but from the very fear of royalty. But they soon found themselves subject to a new and capricious form of irresponsible power. Keeping to himself Cæsar's private papers, Antony began to use them as the authority for proposing new measures, banishing one man, and conferring honours and rewards upon another; and this upon such scraps of memoranda, that, as Cicero says, every act, writing, word, promise, thought of Cæsar's had more force than if he had been alive. Nor was this all. When no vestige of a document could be found to suit his purpose, Antony employed one of his scribes, named Faberius, to fabricate what he wanted. The Senate, taught by recent experience the power of Cæsar's name, registered every decree that professed to bear it; but the wits of Rome took their revenge on those who owed their advancement to the alleged favour of the dead, by nicknaming them *Orcitæ* and *Charonitæ*, the "men of Orcus" and "passengers of Charon." The impatience which the populace began to feel under his despotic government was made a pretext for demanding the Senate's permission to enrol a body-guard of six thousand men. But it was now time to provide for the security of Italy; and Antony left the city in April to superintend the distribution of the Campanian lands among Cæsar's veterans, under an agrarian law carried by his brother Lucius as tribune. His colleague Dolabella, left behind to govern Rome, gratified the Senate, and excited the anxiety of Antony, by the severity with which he repressed the popular movements that were made in the name of Cæsar. Party relations had fallen into a confusion which a power above that of Antony and the Senate was to bring back to order.

Caius Octavius—as we have now to call him for the last time—had been but a few months at Apollonia, waiting for Cæsar's landing on his way to the East, when a hurried letter from his mother Atia informed him of the deed of the Ides of March. The news had reached her but vaguely, and the will had not yet been published; but the instinct of woman saw in the youth at once the only head of Cæsar's party and avenger of his death. She urged his instant return to Rome:—"Go, my son: may the gods conduct thee whither thy high destiny calls thee: may they grant me soon to see thee victorious over thy enemies!" A responsive chord was at once struck in the breast of Octavius. The ambition of the youth who had ventured, at the age of eighteen, to ask Cæsar for the mastership of the horse, did not shrink from his high destiny; and from that moment he resolved to prove himself "the nephew of his uncle." It was an act of personal devotion, not of political principle; and the key to the apparent inconsistencies of his career is to be found in the fact that, while his own politics were aristocratic, he devoted himself heart and soul to the exaction of vengeance for Cæsar's death, and the recovery of Cæsar's inheritance of empire.

It was his fortune to have at his side one of those friends, who, like Sully to Henry IV., seem created to double the strength and counsel of men who are called to a great work. Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, born, like Octavius himself, in the consulship of Cicero (B.C. 63), of an obscure family,* had been appointed by Cæsar as the companion of his military studies at Apollonia. He already showed the elements of that character, the subsequent development of which has been well described in the following words:—"He was, in the highest sense of the term, a man of business, possessing with force of character and natural courage that intuitive good sense which seems more like instinct than genius, but which, if less brilliant, is nearly always more successful. His straightforward abilities were exactly of the class required to complete the far-reaching policies, but over-subtle appliances, of his companion." Octavius had also with him Quintus Salvidienus Rufus, who, after rendering him good service, turned traitor and was put to death in B.C. 40. Agrippa and Salvidienus advised him to sail for Italy at the head of the soldiers in the camp of Apollonia, who declared their readiness to follow him. But now he began to show that profound policy which makes the youth of nineteen one of the greatest wonders of

* It is not certain whether his father was the son of a freedman.

history. Rather than proclaim a new civil war, which would have enabled Antony to declare him a public enemy, he resolved to throw himself upon the support of Cæsar's partisans in Italy. Crossing the Adriatic with only a few attendants, he landed, not at Brundisium, but at the obscure town of Lupia, and there remained quiet to learn the course that events had taken. Here he was joined by his mother Atia and his step-father Philippus, and the tidings of Cæsar's will determined him, in spite of their earnest dissuasion, to claim his inheritance and to assume his adoptive name, C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. Received with enthusiasm by the garrison of Brundisium, he boldly sent forward his claims to Rome; but still he declined the services of the veterans who flocked around him, and journeyed leisurely onwards. At Puteoli he visited and conversed with Cicero, who was rejoiced to welcome a rival to the hated Antony. He reached Rome on the 27th of April, and, as he entered the city, a peculiar effulgence about the sun was interpreted as a welcome from heaven. This omen was but one of many, which are said to have attended his whole course, from the morning of his birth, on the very day on which the Senate was discussing the fate of the Catilinarian conspirators, when an astrologer declared that the Lord of the World was born.

Octavian at once took the formal steps for claiming Cæsar's inheritance, but preserved an impenetrable reserve concerning the succession to his honours. The necessity of obtaining a *Lex Curiata* to sanction his adoption gave occasion to his haranguing the people, and his praises of the late Dictator excited Cicero's anxiety; but his bearing conciliated the Senate. Antony hastened back to Rome, where he arrived in May, and an interview with Octavian revealed to him the unsuspected force of his rival's character. He refused to pay over Cæsar's money, on the grounds that it was public money and was all spent, and that but for him the will would have been set aside. He claimed Octavian's gratitude, and appealed to his fears, urging him not to assume a name that would bring on him so many enemies. Octavian at once sold his own property, and, gathering all he could obtain from his friends, discharged his uncle's legacies. This act at once exhibited to the Senate his firm resolution, and laid the basis of his popularity in the gratitude of every Roman citizen. A splendid opportunity now occurred for showing himself to the people as an heir worthy of Cæsar. On the morning of Pharsalia, when the consul gave his watchword of *Venus Genetrix*, he had vowed to

build a temple and celebrate annual games to his ancestral goddess. The temple was erected and endowed, but the priests had neglected the games, which Octavian now undertook to celebrate at his own charge. In spite of the opposition of Antony, he brought forth the golden throne and jewelled crown, which the Senate had appointed to be exhibited in Cæsar's honour at all public festivals. The signs of heaven were once more vouchsafed. A comet of unprecedented brightness displayed its white scimitar in the sky for seven out of the eleven days of the festival. It was hailed as the *Julian Star*, and the token that the murdered hero had been raised, like Romulus, to the society of the gods. The statue of the new god DIVUS JULIUS was set up in the temple of Venus, a ritual was framed for his worship, and the month *Quinctilis* was henceforth called *Julius* in his honour.*

The Senate could not refuse to sanction the clearly revealed will of heaven, but the conspirators could not mistake the probable consequences. Since their first flight from the city, they seem to have lingered in its neighbourhood, and Brutus and Cassius, who were still prætors, were certainly at Rome in April. Trebonius and Cimber had set out for their provinces of Asia and Bithynia, and Decimus Brutus had assumed his government of Cisalpine Gaul; but an army and people both devoted to Cæsar precluded the thought of repeating the passage of the Rubicon. Meanwhile Antony had obtained from the Senate a new allotment of the provinces. He and Dolabella were to receive Macedonia and Syria on the expiration of their consulships, though these provinces had been promised to Brutus and Cassius; and the appearance of compensation was made to them by a commission to collect corn on the coasts of the Mediterranean, which would have the effect of removing them from Rome (June, B.C. 44). Of their indecision at this crisis, we owe a vivid picture to Cicero, who himself left Italy in disgust, but was driven back by adverse winds, and returned to Rome on the 31st of August. In the interval, Antony had been intriguing to obtain the province of Cisalpine Gaul, with the command of the six legions destined for the Parthian War, which he proposed to recal from Macedonia to Italy; and his purpose had been accomplished by an affected reconciliation with Octavian, who seems to have consented, for the immediate object of crushing Decimus Brutus (July, B.C. 44). M. Brutus and

* It should be remembered that the epithet *Divus* means, not simply *divine*, but *deified*. It was never prefixed to an emperor's name till after his decease. (On the whole subject, see the article *Apotheosis* in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.)

Cassius left Rome, after an impotent protest against Antony's usurpation; and Cicero had met them at Velia.

Antony was now prepared for the decisive conflict with his one formidable enemy in the Senate. He sent a special invitation to Cicero for the meeting of the 1st of September; but the orator stayed at home to forge some of those thunderbolts, of which we have seen him write, and preferred to let his foe commence the fight by a coarse invective against the skulker. Antony threatened to send workmen to pull down about Cicero's ears the house on the Palatine, which Clodius had once before demolished. He then retired to revel at his Tiburtine villa. His colleague Dolabella summoned the Senate for the following day (Sept. 2); and then Cicero came forward to deliver the first of those great orations, which he entitled *Philippics*, in imitation of those launched by Demosthenes against the Macedonian.* "They pretended, like their immortal prototypes, to be the last indignant assertion of a country's freedom against a daring aggressor;" but they fall immeasurably below their original, both in dignity and practical character. Apart from the native faults of imitation by an inferior artist, the meanness of Antony imparts a corresponding tone to Cicero's invectives. In the first Philippic, however, Cicero was content with attacking the public conduct of Antony, who rejoined, on the 19th of September, with a bitter invective on the orator's whole career. Cicero was absent, and the antagonists never again met face to face, till Antony glutted his revenge by gazing on his victim's severed head.

He had meanwhile to prepare for a war not of words. The profound dissimulation of Octavian should warn us against accepting his denial of the charge that he suborned assassins against Antony. Both left Rome, Antony to secure the doubtful fidelity of the four Macedonian legions, which had landed at Brundisium in October; Octavian to levy a force from the colonies of Cæsar's veterans in Campania. Antony had succeeded in quelling a mutiny, and after starting the army for Ariminum, had returned to Rome, to lay his complaints of Octavius before the Senate, when he received the alarming news that two of his legions had deserted to Octavian, and shut themselves up in Alba. His only hope was in obtaining military command of Cisalpine Gaul, where his remaining legions, with the forces that Lepidus and Pollio were bringing from Spain, and Plancus from Transalpine Gaul, might enable him to crush Decimus Brutus, and then to make head

* See Vol. II., pp. 15, foll.

against Octavian. On the other hand, the force commanded by the latter, amounting to four legions, with a fifth in process of levying, left the Senate no choice but to accept him as their captain on his arrival at Rome. Thus strangely were the parts of the leading actors shifted. The Senate, which had rejoiced in Cæsar's murder, was leagued with his heir against the consul with whom they had lately acted, and who, in the assumed character of Cæsar's true representative, was trying to wrest Cisalpine Gaul from one of Cæsar's murderers. But the party of the Senate had another leader, besides their champion in the field. It was at this crisis (Nov. B.C. 44), that Cicero threw off all remains of vacillation, and, while he laboured in private and in the Senate-house to fortify the Senators in the resolution to resist Antony to the last, fulminated against him the celebrated "Second Philippic," which, in spite of the extravagance of its invective, is the greatest work of the great master.* The last attack which Antony had made upon him had removed all dread of offending him by removing all hope of reconciliation.

"Then farewell hope: and with it farewell fear!"

"The desponding patriot has at length roused himself to declare deadly war against his country's foe. Long had he hesitated, long had he schemed for his personal safety, amidst the ruin which he saw too clearly closing around the commonwealth. But all timid, all wavering, all selfish counsels he discarded for ever. The attack he had just sustained had lashed him to frenzy. He beheld all his danger, and he resolved to meet it without shrinking. Rome should be saved, or he should perish with her. He had saved her once before, and no man—he believed—could save her except himself. Or, if he did not really cherish the hope of saving her, he would at least destroy her tyrant with her, and build his own fame upon the overthrow of a personal enemy. The death-struggle to which he had now pledged himself, the fanatic rage he breathed against the object of his hate, the vast interests at stake, the awful scene of murder which had just closed, and the train of proscription, massacre, and civil war, the anarchy crowned by tyranny which loomed in the distance, all combined to invest with solemn interest this divine effort of expiring liberty."† This is a tribute, not more eloquent than true, to the motives of the great man, whose statesmanship some affect to despise, and to denounce

* The Second Philippic was never delivered: and both its length and many characteristics of its style seem to prove that it was never intended for delivery.

† Merivale, Vol. II. p. 115.

his spirit as pusillanimous, but who crushed Catiline, withstood Clodius, and opposed Antony at the climax of his power. It is well, after the event, to echo the levities of the satirist who lived in an age when all sympathy for moral greatness had well nigh perished, and to read in this great speech a fruitless provocation of the dagger of Antony; but the reason for its proving fruitless is overlooked. The smooth, deep perfidy of Octavian was an element on which Cicero could not calculate, or foresee that after striking hands with the tyrant against whom he had drawn the sword, he would seal the compact with the blood of the friend and counsellor, who had given him his generous confidence, and whom he continued to address as his father. The freedom with which Cicero uttered his final judgment on the usurpation of the dead Cæsar ought to have enhanced the value of his affection for his heir, whom he seems to have cherished as the child of his own consulship and the destined saviour of the state from another and worser Catiline. History does not scruple to proclaim that there are unpardonable sins in her judgment, which deals with character, not destiny. Among these are deliberate perfidy, and wanton bloodshed for selfish objects, with whatever success they may be gilded over; and the sacrifice of Cicero forms an ineffaceable stain upon the memory of Augustus. The truth is, that Octavian's professions of friendship to Cicero were sheer hypocrisy; and, in the light of his secret designs, he read in the censures of Julius a condemnation of himself, which his own conscience made keener than the invectives against Antony.

At the crisis itself, the publication of the Second Philippic, followed by the delivery of the Third and Fourth, produced a decisive effect on public feeling. The reputation of Antony was annihilated, the confidence of the Senate restored, and the December of B.C. 44 saw Cicero in a position almost as proud as that of his consulship. Octavian offered to lead his troops in the name of the Senate to the relief of Decimus Brutus, whom Antony was now besieging in Mutina (*Modena*); and, in the Fifth Philippic, delivered in the debate on this proposal, Cicero contrasted Octavian's patriotic devotion with his uncle's first great mistake of preferring his own aggrandisement to the approval of his fellow-citizens (Dec. 20, B.C. 44). The Senate, however, resolved first to try negociation, and Cicero addressed his Sixth Philippic to the people, begging them to rely on his vigilance. He had become, as he jocosely says, a mob orator in his old age.

On the 1st of January, B.C. 43, the consuls Hirtius and Pansa,

who had long before been designated by Cæsar, entered on their office. Hirtius marched at once into Cisalpine Gaul, at the head of the legions of Octavian, who proved his loyalty to the republic by serving as the consul's legate. On the return of the envoys with insulting demands from Antony, Pansa followed his colleague with fresh levies, while Cicero continued to stimulate the Senate and people with his Philippics, and virtually conducted the government of Rome. A furious but indecisive conflict at Forum Gallorum, between Mutina and Bononia (*Bologna*), in which Pansa was mortally wounded (April 15th), was followed by a battle in front of Mutina (April 27th). Antony was defeated, and driven back into his camp; but Hirtius was slain in the pursuit. The first battle having been reported at Rome as a decisive victory, Cicero proposed a thanksgiving for fifty days in honour of Pansa, Hirtius, and Octavian, in the Fourteenth and last of his Philippics. Antony, finding it impossible to hold the lines before Mutina, made a masterly retreat across the Maritime Alps, and joined Lepidus, who had preserved an ambiguous attitude at Forum Julii (*Fréjus*), in Transalpine Gaul. Decimus Brutus, having been detained by the want of cavalry and money, and by the flat refusal of Octavian to join him in the pursuit, at last followed across the Alps, and united his forces to the army with which Plancus, on the *Isère*, watched Antony and Lepidus.

A letter of Decimus Brutus to Cicero confesses that Octavian, if willing to obey him, would not have been obeyed by his own men. The deaths of Hirtius and Pansa* had left the young Cæsar in sole command of his uncle's veterans, and with the vacant consulship in his grasp. Cicero's alarm was proportioned to his newly-awakened confidence; and he turned his eyes to Decimus Brutus on the one hand, and to Marcus Brutus and Cassius on the other, as the last defenders of the Republic. Just then the news arrived from Syria, that Dolabella, whom Antony had sent to take possession of the province, had been defeated by Cassius at Laodicea, and driven to commit suicide. The Senate fancied that they could once more rally the Pompeian party, and dispense with Octavian; and they repeated the fatal policy they had pursued towards his uncle. Sextus Pompey, who had again gathered a force in Spain, was appointed their commander on the seas; and all the officers in the East received orders to obey Brutus and Cassius. Decimus Brutus alone obtained their thanks

* Rumour accused Octavian of getting rid of the two consuls by procuring the death of Hirtius in the assault on Antony, and poisoning the wounds of Pansa!

for the victories which had been won while he was shut up in Mutina: the refusal of a triumph to Octavian was embittered by one of Cicero's ill-timed jests:* his soldiers were tampered with by rewards proceeding directly from the Senate: and, to make the luckless parallel complete, his claim to stand for the consulship was chosen as the point of conflict. Octavian put forward the demand as an honour claimed by his soldiers for their general. A deputation of four hundred veterans proceeded to Rome, to ask the consulship for him, and an amnesty for the followers of Antony, with whom Octavian had now come to a secret understanding the moment he found the Senate turning against himself. The answer was evasive; and one of the soldiers rushed out of the Senate-house to fetch his sword, and declared that *it* should gain his chief the consulship. "If this be the way," said Cicero, "that you sue for the consulship, doubtless your chief will acquire it." Octavian took him at his word, and advanced on Rome, under pretence of being constrained by his eight legions, who threw off all discipline, and plundered along their whole line of march. The hasty preparations for defence, in which Cicero took the lead, were abandoned when Octavian encamped in the Field of Mars. The Senators slipped out to join him: the prætors led their legions from the Janiculan hill into his camp: the gates were thrown open, and he entered amidst the acclamations of the people. Insisting on the forms of election, he was chosen consul with his cousin, Q. Pedius, and received fresh honours from the Senate. He now unveiled the object which he had all along pursued, by causing Pedius to propose the outlawry of the murderers of Cæsar. After a form of trial, the sentence of interdiction from fire and water was passed on Brutus and Cassius, as well as on Sextus Pompey, who had already begun active measures as admiral of the Republic. Cicero and the other leaders of the Senate left the city, and, as soon as Octavian had started with his army for the North, Pedius proposed and carried an amnesty to Antony and Lepidus (Sept., B.C. 34).

By previous arrangement with Octavian, those chiefs had re-crossed the Alps; and both Plancus and Pollio now renounced their allegiance to the Senate. Decimus Brutus, thus left alone, with ten legions of raw soldiers whose fidelity was more than doubtful, tried the bold experiment of a march through the north of Cisalpine Gaul to join M. Brutus in Macedonia. Finding his march threatened by Octavian, he attempted to make his way round by

* *Laudandum, ornandum, tollendum*, is the phrase, only to be spoilt by translation.

re-crossing the Alps; but at the foot of the Septimier pass he was deserted by his legions; and he escaped with a band of 300 horsemen, which soon dwindled down to ten. At Aquileia he was seized by a Gallic chieftain, who informed Antony of his capture, and was required to send his head. The republican party lost in him their most able general. The field was thus left clear to the rival chiefs, who approached each other with strong mutual distrust. Lepidus acted as mediator between Octavian and Antony, and a meeting was held on an islet in the little river Rhenus (*Reno*), near Bononia (*Bologna*). The conferences lasted three days, and ended in the formation of what is usually called the SECOND TRIUMVIRATE, which differed from the first by the claim to be a formally constituted though self-appointed authority.* For five years the Triumvirs were to exercise the functions of the consulate; but they really assumed unlimited power. The magistracies, however, were still to be filled up, and Lepidus was nominated for the consulship of the ensuing year. The western provinces were thus assigned:—Africa, with Sicily and Sardinia, to Octavian; Spain, with Gallia Narbonensis, to Lepidus; the remainder of the two Gauls to Antony. Italy, left nominally free, was threatened on the one hand by Antony from Cisalpine Gaul, on the other by the command of Octavian over the sources of its supply of corn. These were each to have a force of ten legions for the war with Brutus and Cassius, while the more insignificant conspirator, though designated to rule at Rome, was to retain three legions only. The reconciliation was cemented by the marriage of Octavian to the daughter of Antony by Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, and the most revengeful enemy of Cicero.

The time was now come to satiate all the accumulated vengeance which danger and dissimulation had postponed; and the triumvirs applied themselves to the work of proscription with all the malignity of past hatred and the still remaining fear for their own safety. If ever the historian is tempted

"To throw his pen down in divine disgust,"

it is in recording this proscription, which draws its peculiar horror from the character of the conspirators. Cold-blooded, selfish, and resentful, they show not one trace of magnanimity, remorse, or pity; and the fury of Antony is less hideous than the policy of Octavian, who had no private enmity to revenge. Marius and Sulla could plead the poor excuse that they drew the dagger in the heat of victory, and they at least pointed it against their foes;

* Compare p. 201.

but the triumvirs sacrificed their friends. In which character Paulus Æmilius was placed on the list by his brother Lepidus, is uncertain; but, in return for Antony's surrender of his uncle Lucius Cæsar, Octavian bartered the life of his "father" Cicero, who was placed on the first list of seventeen names.* We leave it to the biographer to tell how the "father of his country" met his fate, in the spirit of that philosophy which had been his chief solace during these troubled times, and how Antony and Fulvia glutted their revenge by the exposure of his head and outstretched hands on the rostra, which had so often witnessed the triumph of his oratory. His brother and nephew, the elder and younger Quintus, perished at the same time. Besides the provision made for the friends of the triumvirs by the estates of the proscribed, the people of eighteen Italian cities were dispossessed of their lands to satisfy the clamorous demands of the soldiers.

While these measures were concocted in Gaul, many of the republican chiefs had returned to Rome, in the full belief that Octavian had led his army against Antony, and confiding in the protection of Pedius, a former member of their party. Their security was dispelled by the sudden appearance of the emissaries of the triumvirs and their attack on the houses of the proscribed. The fearful agitation of the city subsided, as soon as it was known that only seventeen were as yet doomed; but Pedius died, worn out by his efforts to restore tranquillity. The triumvirs entered the city on three successive days, each at the head of a legion, and the triumvirate was formally constituted by the vote of the Comitia, and proclaimed on the 27th of November, B.C. 43. Then followed the publication of list after list of the proscribed, and a "Reign of Terror," the fearful and affecting anecdotes of which may be read in the pages of Roman history. The last list published was of those whose lives were spared, but their property confiscated.

With the following year (B.C. 42), Lepidus and Plancus entered on the consulship, while Antony and Octavian prepared for the double war with Brutus and Cassius in the east, and with Sextus Pompey in the west. Left unmolested for more than a year, Sextus had become a formidable enemy. Though driven out of Spain by Pollio, he had found a refuge at Massilia, and, with a fleet collected at that port, he had seized upon Sicily, thus

* The whole number of the proscribed is said to have been 300 senators and 2000 knights, including numerous near relations and intimate friends of the triumvirs.

menacing the coasts of Italy, and cutting off the supplies of corn. A fleet was collected at Ostia and Misenum, under Salvidienus, while Octavian marched to Rhegium. But the light vessels of Pompey, and the superior seamanship of his piratical crews, gave him the command of the Straits, and Octavian embarked from Brundisium to join Antony in Greece.

It is superfluous to trace the movements by which Brutus and Cassius had wasted the time when a descent on Italy might have been decisive. Stopping short of so bold a measure, their plan, like Pompey's, was to take possession of northern Greece, and hinder the landing of the Italian army on the Illyrian coast. But they were still engaged in plundering Asia,* when they were recalled by the news that the triumvirs were in Epirus. The two armies met at PHILIPPI, a city on the borders of Macedonia and Thrace, between Amphipolis and the river Nestus, in the plain which stretches from the bay of Neapolis to the foot of Mt. Pangæus, and commanding the pass by which the high road from Europe to Asia pierces this range.† The republican chiefs rested with their rear upon the mountains, Brutus and Cassius occupying separate camps on the summits of two hills which flanked the pass, and a line of fortification at once connected their camps and closed the road. Brutus held the right and Cassius the left, his flank reaching to the sea. They had nineteen legions, numbering about 80,000 men, with 20,000 cavalry, and a number of oriental auxiliaries. They were at first opposed only to Antony; but Octavian, fearing that his colleague would win the victory alone, while he kept his bed through sickness, caused himself to be carried on a litter, and joined Antony between Amphipolis and Philippi. Their united forces numbered also nineteen legions, but much stronger than those of the republicans. On the other hand, they had but 13,000 horse, and their position in the plain, besides leaving the enemy the choice of the attack, was exposed to inundation by the river Nestus. Like their opponents, the triumvirs held two separate camps, Octavian on the left and Antony on the right. The position of the hostile armies led to two distinct battles, each with a different result, though with a common final issue.

* It was at this time that the Xanthians, attacked by Brutus, repeated the self-immolation of their ancestors in the time of Cyrus (See Vol. I. pp. 278-9)

† The old colony of Crenides, founded by the Thasians for the sake of the neighbouring gold-mines, received its new name from its second founder, Philip the Great. After the battle, it was colonized under the name of Colonia Augusta Julia Philippensis, and hence its importance as "the chief city of Macedonia in those parts and a

The conflict, on which the destruction or revival of the republic hung, was anticipated by the republican leaders with very different feelings. The veteran soldier Cassius viewed it as a critical passage of arms, and rather than descend from the present vantage-ground, he proposed to retreat behind the Hellespont, and prolong the conflict in Asia. The moody enthusiast Brutus—with those forebodings which are expressed in the well-known legend of the evil genius which kept the appointment to meet him again at Philippi—was resolved not to shrink from the decisive hour which he knew had come; and he even imputed the caution of Cassius to fear. On the morning of the battle, it is said that Cassius was still meditating a retreat, when the impetuous legions of Brutus poured down from the hill, and routed the troops of Octavian with such speed, that the litter from which he was compelled to rise and fly was pierced by their swords. On the right, the skilful soldiership of Antony had prevailed over the hesitating movements of Cassius, when a troop of cavalry approached with the news of the victory of Brutus. Cassius, who was near-sighted, mistook them for a body of the enemy, and the movement with which they surrounded his legate Titinius, for his seizure. Thinking all lost, he retired to his tent, and commanded his freedman Pindarus to despatch him. It is doubtful whether the partial fondness of Brutus or of a later admirer pronounced him "the last of the Romans." His death put an end to the first battle of Philippi.

The rout of the defeated wing on each side had been so speedy, that neither had suffered any great loss, and both rallied during the night. But with Cassius the republican army had lost its head; and Brutus was unable to maintain discipline. While the enemy were suffering from famine and sickness, and their reinforcements were cut off at sea, he only needed to hold his strong position and see them melt away at his feet. But his troops had not the patience to await this result. Deserters fell off day by day, and the rest were clamorous for battle. Twenty days after the first engagement, Brutus led them out to a fight which was decided by the steady hand-to-hand struggle of legion with legion, and man with man. At length the republicans gave way, some fleeing to the camp, which Octavian surrounded, and others to the mountains and the sea, pursued by Antony. Brutus retreated with four legions to the hills behind his camp, which he proposed on the next day to make an effort to reach. But his soldiers refused

colony," when it became the first scene of the preaching of Christianity in Europe (Acts xvi. 12).

to follow, and he fled with a few attendants into a wood, and there fell upon his own sword. As he had not been one of Antony's personal enemies, and had even saved his life on the Ides of March, we may believe the story that the triumvir sent his body to his mother Servilia. It is said, too, that his wife Porcia, whose brother Cato had also fallen on the field, evaded the watchfulness of her relations by filling her mouth with live charcoal from a brazier. Several of the more resolute republicans shared the fate of Brutus; but several submitted to the victors, especially the younger members of the party, who saw that the cause in which youthful enthusiasm had led them to embark was finally lost. Among these, Horace and the young Marcus Cicero had left their studies at Athens to follow Brutus. Both lived to enjoy the favour of Cæsar; and the poet could afterwards draw a light-hearted contrast between the flight, for which he had the example of Alcæus and Demosthenes, and the broken valour and boastful ardour that bit the dust together.* His companion, the young Marcus Cicero, scorning to submit so easily to his father's murderers, joined a band who made their escape by sea, and rallied under Sextus Pompey. The successes of the republican fleet had become more alarming, as Lepidus was reported to be intriguing with Sextus; and before the triumvirs parted, they deprived him of his command in Italy, and made a new arrangement of the provinces, which confined him to Africa, leaving the west to Octavian and the east to Antony.

The Republic perished finally on the field of Philippi: and the interval of thirteen years to the battle of Actium is filled up by a complicated series of wars, intrigues, and hollow reconciliations, the minor incidents of the great question, which of the two rivals should be the master of the world; for a partition could not have been a lasting settlement. The great military abilities of Antony might have enabled him, with the commonest prudence, to bring all the resources of the East to the repetition of the enterprize of Antiochus, with a far different result; but he cast away the empire of the world, to play the despot and the lover. While Octavian returned to Italy, to satisfy the clamour of the victorious soldiers for lands, Antony marched into Asia, ostensibly to collect money for the common cause. The states of Asia Minor and Syria, already shorn by Brutus and Cassius, were flayed by new exactions,

* Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, *relictâ non bene parmulâ*,
Cum fracta virtus et minaces
Turpe solum tetigêre mento."
Horat. *Carm.* II. 7.

the measure of which may be judged by the demand on the Pergamenes, whose payment of ten years' tribute to the republicans in the last two years was made the ground for again exacting the same amount in one. The money collected melted away in passing through the hands of Antony's creatures, and the remnant that reached him was squandered in debauchery. The soil and climate of Asia seemed at once to have called out into full bloom his taste for splendid profligacy. He made his entrance into Ephesus in the character of Dionysus, with a wild troop of Satyrs and Pans, and female Bacchanals; but he was soon to succumb to a more fascinating luxury. Among the princes between whose rival claims he arbitrated, or who came to excuse their conduct in the civil war, was Cleopatra, now sole queen of Egypt, through the murder (in B.C. 43) of Ptolemy XIII., her younger brother, the last male of the line of Lagus,—a mere boy, whom Cæsar had proclaimed her colleague and consort. Her visit was paid to Antony at Tarsus in the summer of B.C. 41. She came sailing up the Cydnus in a galley with purple sails, rowed by silver oars that kept time to entrancing music. On a couch spread upon the gilded poop, beneath an awning spangled with golden stars, the queen reclined in the attire of Venus, attended by the Graces and fanned by Cupids, with Nereids disporting around, while both banks of the river were fragrant with the perfumes burnt upon the deck. Antony received her as the goddess she personated, supped on board her galley, and became the slave of her caprices, and the minister of her revenge upon her enemies. He followed her to Alexandria, adopted the Greek costume, and divided his time between the gymnasia and museums, where he affected the character of a student of philosophy, and the luxurious dalliance of the palace.

His conduct might well provoke that scorn which Shakspere ascribes to Octavian, who had meanwhile to struggle with the disorders of Italy, and the remnant of the civil war, amidst the sickness which almost cut him off on his way back to Rome. The demands of the soldiery became the more pressing as no money arrived from Antony; and, after cities had been stripped of their lands in every part of Italy, on every possible pretext, the spoliation extended to the public and private property of communities the most faithful to the cause of Cæsar. Mantua was thus robbed for no other fault than its neighbourhood to Cremona,* and the

* "Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ." For the bearing of these confiscations upon Virgil's history—his protection by Pollio, his pilgrimage to Rome, and

confiscation involved its dependent community of Andes, the native place of Virgil. The powerful protection of Pollio, the governor of Gaul beyond the Po, saved the young poet's estate and placed him in the path to fame and fortune, while Tibullus, Propertius, and Horace lost their patrimony; and the last has described with keen sympathy the condition of those doomed to work for a master on the land that was once their own. The discontent created by such sufferings was taken advantage of by the family and friends of the absent triumvir.

His brother, Lucius Antonius, and his wife, the intriguing Fulvia, began tampering with the veterans, and lavishing sympathy and promises on the complainants who flocked to Rome, while Lucius availed himself of his authority as consul to levy troops. For a moment he obtained the mastery of Rome, but the skilful tactics of Agrippa, combined with treachery in his own camp, compelled him to retreat to the strong city of Perusia (*Perugia*), in Etruria, where he was besieged by Octavian. In the hope that Mark Antony would seize the opportunity that had been made for his use, resistance was protracted through the winter, till famine became insupportable, and Lucius capitulated in the spring. Octavian deemed it impolitic to provoke his brother by his punishment, but the chief citizens of Perusia were put to death, and the town burnt to the ground (B.C. 40).

Had Antony hastened to Italy at the outbreak of the insurrection, he would have found Ventidius, Plancus, and Pollio ready to espouse his cause; but he wasted the whole winter at Alexandria: and it required a double danger to rouse him. The diversion from Parthia, to which Pompey had fondly looked, had now been invoked by Brutus and Cassius through Q. Labienus, the son of Cæsar's old legate, and in B.C. 40, Orodes sent an army into Syria under his son Pacorus, who took Antioch and Apamea, overran the province as far as Palestine, and, as we have seen, set Antigonus on the throne of Jerusalem.* Leaving Ventidius, who had now fled to him from Italy, to oppose the Parthians, Antony went by way of Tyre to Cyprus, Rhodes, and Athens, where he met Lucius and Fulvia. Meanwhile he had been concerting measures with Sextus Pompey, who appeared with his fleet upon the coast of Apulia, while Antony landed an army and laid siege to Brundisium. But the veterans of Cæsar in the two camps came to a mutual understanding, and refused to engage in another civil war; and the death of

introduction to Mæcenas and Octavian, the reader is referred to the biographies of the poet.

* See p. 180.

Fulvia at Sicyon removed the chief incentive to Antony's ambition. A new treaty between the triumvirs was negociated by Mæcenas, Pollio, and Cocceius. The whole Roman world, except Africa, which Lepidus was condescendingly permitted to retain, was divided at the Adriatic into an eastern and western empire.* Antony undertook the Parthian War, and Octavian the reduction of Sextus Pompey, whom his late ally sacrificed without a scruple. The consuls were to be chosen alternately from the friends of each triumvir. Their reconciliation was cemented by the union of Antony to Octavia, the sister of Octavius, and the widow of Caius Marcellus. The triumvirs returned to Rome to celebrate the marriage; and the combined charms of a wisdom and virtue worthy of the mother of the Gracchi, with a beauty which confessedly eclipsed that of Cleopatra, seemed to have rescued even Antony from the Egyptian wanton.

The Treaty of Brundisium marked the end of the Civil Wars in Italy, and it was accepted as the restoration of peace to the whole world. These hopes found utterance in one of the most remarkable productions of ancient literature, the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil. After all that has been written respecting the wondrous child, under whose auspices the poet anticipates another and a better golden age, we deem the inscription of the poem to Pollio decisive proof of its occasion. The recent or expected birth† of a son to his early patron in his consulship,‡ was seized by the poet as the occasion for a noble *Genethliacon*, or *Birth Song*, which, with the poetic licence suited to such an occasion, gives utterance to fervid aspirations that the child may live to see another and a better Golden Age of universal peace all over the world:—

> "All crimes shall cease, and ancient fraud shall fail;
> Returning Justice lift aloft her scale;
> Peace o'er the world her olive wand extend,
> And white-robed Innocence from heaven descend."§

The error into which the commentators have generally fallen consists in the literal identification of the child, whose birth is hailed as the *sign* of these blessings, with the "beloved offspring of the

* The boundary was at the town of Scodra, in Illyricum.

† *Nascenti* seems rather to imply the former, v. 9.

‡ See v. 3. Surely if the occasion had been the expected birth of M. Marcellus from Octavia, the poem would have been dedicated rather to Octavian than to Pollio. Besides, if Propertius is correct, M. Marcellus was twenty years old at his death in B.C. 23, and therefore three years old in B.C. 40.

§ The quotation is from Pope's *Messiah, a Sacred Eclogue, in Imitation of Virgil's Pollio.* In this beautiful piece, the spirit of Virgil's poem is blended, with consummate skill, with the sacred predictions of the reign of the Messiah.

gods,"* under whose reign they were to be fulfilled; and the most exquisite beauty of the poem consists in the *symbolism*, by which the child's infancy, and youth, and manhood, and final apotheosis, suggest their parallels in the advent, the gradual perfection, the stability, and the completed glory of the coming age. Nor does it seem a less narrow mistake to seek, in a positive knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures,† the explanation of those aspirations which may have had a deeper source.‡ No fact is more certain, as we approach the epoch of the advent of the Messiah, than the universal expectation, the "groaning and travailing together of humanity," which waited for a new and better age; and what is there strange in the belief that it should have been given to the poet to utter such a feeling at a crisis that seemed to promise its satisfaction? In this sense it seems to us to be true that "Virgil interpreted the common feelings of his countrymen, and darkly shadowed forth the character of the coming age itself, under the image of an offspring of the gods, a mighty emanation from Jove."

The Roman people, however, were unable to enjoy this restored tranquillity so long as Sextus Pompey remained master of the sea, and cut off their supplies of corn; and their demand that he should be treated with was enforced by riots, in which Octavian and Antony were pelted with stones. Sextus listened to the first overtures, and met the triumvirs at the promontory of Misenum. The conferences and the subsequent festivities were held on board of vessels moored to the quay; and it is said that when the triumvirs were feasting with Sextus Pompey, his admiral, Menodorus, called him aside and asked, "Shall I cut the moorings, and make you master of the Roman world?" To which Pompey replied, "Would that Menodorus could do this without my order: such treachery might well befit him, but not a Pompey." The terms agreed upon were that Sextus should receive Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and some say Achaia, with a compensation for his father's confiscated property; an amnesty for his followers, excepting only the murderers of Cæsar; and the reward of his soldiers, the slave with freedom,

* "Cara deûm soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum."

† The theory that such a knowledge could be obtained from the Sibylline books is not only unsupported, but utterly inconsistent with all we know of that farrago of imposture.

‡ Arguments based on plausible coincidences are best tested by extreme cases. Would those who assume Virgil's knowledge of the prophecies of Isaiah infer from the "new wars" (*altera bella*, &c., vv. 31—36) which are to break for a time the peace of the golden age, his acquaintance with the as yet unuttered prediction of the post-millennian war (Rev. xx. 2, 7-9)?

and the free with lands. In return he undertook to supply Rome with corn; and the agreement was cemented by the betrothal of the infant son of Marcellus and Octavia (the Marcus Marcellus whose premature death so bitterly grieved Augustus) to the daughter of Sextus. The new confederates parted, to take up arms again within a year; and while Pompey sailed for Sicily, the triumvirs were greeted with acclamations all along the road to Rome, as if they brought back peace and plenty to Italy. They spent the autumn in rewarding their adherents with offices and seats in the Senate; and the practice, already begun by Cæsar, now became habitual, of conferring the nominal dignity of the consulship on occupant after occupant for a few months at a time.

Before the end of the year, the triumvirs parted, Octavian to quell some disturbances in Gaul, and Antony to conduct the war against the Parthians. He spent the winter with Octavia at Athens, and neither his frequent revels, nor his affectation of the society of the philosophers, prevented his attending to military affairs with the spirit of Cæsar's old legate. These preparations seemed to be made for conquest, and no longer for defence; for the war against Labienus and the Parthians had been brought to a brilliant decision by Ventidius. Labienus, who had invaded Asia Minor, while the Parthians overran Syria, and had shamelessly proclaimed his league with the common enemy, assuming the surname of Parthicus, with the title of Imperator, was defeated in Cilicia, taken prisoner, and put to death; and Ventidius, advancing into Syria, drove back Pacorus beyond the Euphrates (B.C. 39). The Parthian prince re-crossed the river in the following spring, only to suffer defeat and death on the very anniversary (it was said) of the overthrow of Crassus at Charrhæ. When Antony arrived, all that was left for him to do was to receive the submission of Antiochus, the king of Commagene, who, having aided the Parthian invaders, was now besieged by Ventidius at Samosata. While Ventidius, who had risen from a low station by his own ability, proceeded to the capital to enjoy the first triumph ever claimed over the Parthians, Antony returned to Athens, and there spent the winter (B.C. 38).

He had good reason for keeping an eye upon the West; for the naval war had already broken out afresh, and Octavian was hard pressed by Sextus Pompey. Both evidently regarded the treaty of Misenum as a hollow truce. Sextus had declined giving up the places he held on the coast of Italy till Antony should evacuate Achaia; and Octavian, in return, had refused to surrender Menodorus, who had deserted to him with a division of Pompey's navy.

Sextus renewed his descents upon the Italian coast, and intercepted the Roman corn-ships, while Octavian was preparing a navy at Ostia and Ravenna. Two battles were fought on the shores of Italy. The Pompeian, Menecrates, attacked Calvisius in the bay of Cumæ, and won an advantage at the cost of his own life. Octavian, who from Rhegium designed to assault Pompey at Messana, was sailing through the straits to rally the squadron of Calvisius, when he was forced to fight Sextus at a disadvantage, and sustained a complete defeat, only saving his life by leaping ashore on a reef (B.C. 38). But while Pompey only improved his victory by vaunting his lordship of the seas and continuing his piratical incursions, Octavian was aided by the skill of Agrippa in organizing new maritime resources. To supply the want of a harbour on the Campanian coast, Agrippa undertook the great work of cutting a canal from the land-locked lake of Avernus to the Lucrine Lake, and of converting the bank of shingle, which divided the latter from the sea, into a breakwater, faced with solid masonry, and pierced with an entrance for large ships. The double port thus formed was called the Julian Harbour (B.C. 37).

At the beginning of this struggle, Octavian had summoned his colleague to his aid, and Antony had sailed from Athens to Brundisium. Not finding Octavian there to meet him, he departed, and wrote to insist on an observance of the treaty of Misenum. Now, however, he appeared off Brundisium uninvited, with a fleet of 300 sail; and Octavian was so distrustful of his intentions as to forbid his landing. He sailed round to Tarentum, whither Mæcenas hastened to meet him, accompanied by Horace, who has left a lively account of the journey as far as Brundisium in his well-known Satire. The mediation of Mæcenas, Octavia, and other friends, effected a second reconciliation, which was embodied in the "Treaty of Tarentum." The triumvirate, which had expired at the end of B.C. 38, was renewed for another five years: Antony lent Octavian 130 ships to use against Pompey, and received 20,000 soldiers for the Parthian War. Octavia remained with her brother, as a pledge of Antony's good faith; but this separation broke the only real link between them.

It is needless to pursue the details of the war which was resumed against Sextus Pompey in the summer of B.C. 36. Fortune seemed to deny Octavian the naval honours which she reserved for his chief lieutenant. Once his fleet was shattered by a storm, and at another time he was disgracefully defeated. But Agrippa gained a victory over one of Pompey's squadrons, and at last destroyed

his whole fleet in the straits of Messana, and then received the submission of his army. Sextus fled to the East, in the hope of obtaining the protection of Antony, while his legate, Plennius, arriving with eight legions from Lilybæum, threw himself into Messana. Then followed one of the strangest of those turns of fortune which make this period so complicated. Lepidus, who had joined Agrippa in the siege, accepted the offer of Plennius to surrender the city and divide its treasures with him. The gates were no sooner opened than the Pompeian troops saluted Lepidus as Imperator; and he resolved to hold the island for himself. But when Octavian arrived, and boldly threw himself among the soldiers, they deserted Lepidus as lightly as they had joined him. With contemptuous clemency, Octavian was satisfied with deposing him from the triumvirate, and confining him to the island of Circeii. He was still allowed to bear the title of Chief Pontiff, to which Augustus succeeded on his death in B.C. 13.

Sextus Pompey, after some wild adventures in Asia, which it is needless to follow, fell into the hands of one of Antony's lieutenants, and was put to death, whether by Antony's own order is uncertain (B.C. 35). He was the last, not only of the Pompeys surnamed the Great, but also of the old party of the Senate, and the absence of Antony left Octavian the undisputed head of Cæsar's party. But he had now attained to that far higher position, as the impersonation of law and order, which reconciles even good and wise men to a successful usurpation. The reverses he had suffered in the field had not eclipsed his many proofs of courage and of conduct; of his profound statecraft no doubt could be entertained: and his recent clemency in victory went far to redeem his early acts of cold-blooded perfidy. The substantial fruit of his victory was felt in the secure supply of food to Rome, and the populace joined with the Senate to welcome him as having proved his worthiness to be the heir of Julius. A festive procession greeted his return to Rome, where he addressed the people assembled outside the walls, assuring them that the civil wars were over, and that peace should be his study for the future. His goodwill was ratified by a large remission of taxation. Content with the modest honour of an ovation for his Sicilian victory, he entered the city on the 13th of November, B.C. 36. The Senate decreed the erection of a rostral column in the Forum,* sur-

* The *Columna Rostrata*, so called from its being adorned with the beaks of captured ships, was the proper monument of a naval victory. The earliest example is that erected for the victory of Duilius in the First Punic War.

mounted with a golden statue of Octavian; and the people voted him a public residence on the Palatine. He now entered on the great policy of granting all the liberty that was not fatal to his safety, and governing under the forms of the constitution. Not only was nothing said about the dictatorship or a perpetual consulship, but he pledged himself to lay down the triumvirate, if Antony, on his return from Parthia, would join in the renunciation. Lastly, he gave a pledge of perfect amnesty, by burning all the documents that could implicate his enemies. Rome returned to habits of order under a vigilant police, and measures were taken to put down brigandage throughout Italy and Sicily.

In the narrative of Octavian's rise to his present greatness we have often met with the names of Agrippa and Mæcenas. We have seen the origin of the former, his early connection with the friend to whom he remained ever faithful, and the military services which so well earned the eulogy of Horace.* Besides what he had done at Perusia and against Pompey, he had made a campaign in Gaul and crossed the Rhine (B.C. 37). Of the splendid works with which, as ædile, he adorned and improved the capital, we shall have presently to speak. But it was the good fortune of Octavian to be supported by a minister as able as his great general. CAIUS CILNIUS MÆCENAS was descended from two great Etruscan families, one of them at least of royal origin, and his ancestors on both sides had commanded the armies of their states.† The Cilnii are said to have been driven out by a revolution provoked by their tyranny, and the united house of Cilnius-Mæcenas held only equestrian rank at Rome, but with a fortune sufficient for splendour. How the "brilliant knight" ‡ first became the adviser of Octavian, of whom (unlike Agrippa) he was probably the senior, we are not informed. His most distinguished services up to this time had been in reconciling the triumvirs by the treaties of Brundisium and Tarentum, and keeping the distressed populace of Rome in good temper. "During the doubtful progress of the Sicilian War, the centre of Octavian's power was repeatedly shaken by disturbances at Rome. Twice was Mæcenas deputed to appease the dis-

* "Scriberis Vario, fortis et hostium
Victor, Mæonii carminis alite,
Quam rem cunque ferox navibus aut equis
Miles te duce gesserit."
Horat. *Carm.* I. 6.

† Horat. *Sat.* I. 6. The names *Cilnius* and *Mæcenas* both occur on Etruscan urns, but never together. The *Cilnii* were the royal house of Arretium.

‡ "Clarus Mæcenas eques."—Horat.

affection and to supply the pressing wants of the people. For this delicate task his temper and talents were so admirably adapted, that at a later period his master retained him permanently at the head of the civil administration of Rome and Italy, and left him, during his own frequent absences from the centre of affairs, the virtual sovereign of the empire. Mæcenas seems to have possessed a genuine taste for the polite arts, and to have enjoyed the society of men of letters, even before he could perceive how important an instrument literature might be for reconciling the public mind to the loss of liberty. His connection with Virgil dates from the year 714 (B.C. 40), and was prior to that with Horace, to whom indeed the elder poet is supposed to have introduced him. He was instrumental in restoring to both their forfeited estates, and recommending them to the favour of Octavian. Varius (the epic poet), who was senior to either of the great masters of Roman song, may have already enjoyed his intimacy at a still earlier period."*

Antony seemed resolved to supply the only confirmation which the power of Octavian still needed, by proving his unworthiness to dispute or share it. No sooner had he set foot in Asia, than he invited Cleopatra to meet him, and publicly acknowledged her twin sons, giving them the titles of the Sun and Moon. But still the neighbourhood of the Parthian foe roused his soldier-spirit, and the accession of Phraates, who murdered his father Orodes, seemed to invite Antony to improve the success of Ventidius, whose honours had overshadowed his own fame. Avoiding the mistakes of Crassus, he marched under the guidance of the Armenian king into the northern province of Media, and had formed the siege of the capital, Praaspa, when he was deserted by his treacherous ally. The arrival of the Parthian main army forced him to a disastrous retreat, not, like Crassus, through a hot and sandy desert, but amidst the winter storms of snow in the mountains of Kurdistan. It was twenty-seven days before the army, reduced by one-third, found a shelter which the Armenians dared not refuse; and the haste with which Antony pressed homewards through Syria still cost the lives of eight thousand of his soldiers (B.C. 36). But such sufferings weighed as nothing in his mind against the pleasures to which he returned at Alexandria.

* Merivale, Vol. III. pp. 273—4. The writings of Horace, whose eulogy is far more independent and discriminating than Virgil's, supply many delicate touches and shades to aid us in forming a true idea of Mæcenas, in that character of a patron of letters which has made his name a proverb.

It was not till the spring of B.C. 34 that he again took the field, ostensibly against Parthia, but really to take vengeance on the Armenian king, whom the suddenness of his invasion enabled him to shut up in his capital of Artaxata. Artavasdes ventured into his presence, and was detained a prisoner, while Antony overran the kingdom. Its conquest was merely nominal; but he returned with an immense booty, and a train of noble captives, to celebrate at Alexandria a triumph after the Roman model. He now assumed the full state, insignia, and dress of an oriental monarch, and Cleopatra sat beside him as his queen; they even ventured to appear in public with the attributes of Isis and Osiris. He proclaimed the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Cyprus, with the whole of Libya, added to her kingdom of Egypt, in which he named Cæsarion her colleague. His twin sons, Alexander and Ptolemy were made titular kings, the one of Parthia, Media, and Armenia; the other of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia; and his daughter Cleopatra was declared queen of Cyrene. Content with these displays of imperial sovereignty, he plunged into dissipation, the details of which would be simply disgusting to recount, unless redeemed by the master-strokes of the poet's hand; and Cleopatra daily invented new pleasures to bind her lover in an influence which she still purposed to use for higher aims.

The indignation which these excesses provoked at Rome was only mitigated by contempt, a feeling which Octavian could the more venture to indulge, since he had strengthened the military reputation which had hitherto contrasted so unfavourably with his rival's. While Antony was retreating before the Parthians, and triumphing for a mere raid upon Armenia, Cæsar secured the dangerous frontier on the Alps and towards the Danube by three successive campaigns, which he made in person. He chastised the Alpine tribes of the Salassi and Taurisci, subdued the Dalmatians of Illyria, and then, crossing the Julian Alps into the valley of the Save, added to the empire the province of Pannonia (B.C. 35—33). The plenty, security, and order procured by his domestic administration added daily to his popularity, which he took care to maintain by the spectacles and public works, which the Romans were always ready to accept as a large measure of compensation for the loss of freedom; and not perhaps unjustly, for they could enjoy the one, but had not known how to keep the other. The celebrated boast of Augustus, that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble, is described by our modern Cicero as "a part of the glare in which the perfidies of his earlier years were lost." The great

epoch of this transformation was the ædileship of Agrippa, whose appointment to the inferior office added dignity to his work. Highways, sewers, aqueducts, fountains, baths, gymnasia, the circus, temples, and other public buildings were formed or restored at a lavish cost, which did not preclude the addition of largesses in money and an unlimited supply of oil and salt, and, that the people might enjoy their public pleasures with decency and comfort, the services of the barbers were made free to all. The expense of these works was supplied, in part at least, by the spoil of the Illyrian campaigns, which are also said to have defrayed the cost of the public library which Pollio opened to the citizens, while another was founded by Octavian himself out of the spoils of the Dalmatian war, and named in honour of his sister Octavia. But these sources alone must have been inadequate without the splendid munificence of the prince and statesmen, who felt that their generosity would be well rewarded by immortal fame,—an example of the use of wealth from which our own age has still much to learn. Nor must the chief share of the honour be grudged to Octavian himself. "If the coffers of the generous ædile were drained, we may surmise that the triumvir freely opened his own hoards to supply the deficiency. For, grateful as the Romans might be to the agent through whom these bounties were dispensed, it was to Octavian himself that they attributed the principal merit of the design; and it may be presumed, when a rough soldier like Agrippa proposed that the innumerable works of art concealed in the villas of the wealthy should be amassed in museums for the gratification of the public, that he obeyed the master impulse of another hand, only slightly veiled from general observation."*

All this time it was the policy of Octavian to preserve friendly relations with Antony, in spite of provocations of the grossest nature both to the state, himself, and his family. Octavia, who continued to watch from Rome over the reputation of her unworthy husband, saw in the Parthian War the means of reviving that nobler flame which never seems utterly extinct in the breast of the brave warrior. In the spring succeeding the retreat from

* Merivale, vol. iii. p. 298. The historian justly points to the edict passed in Agrippa's ædileship for the banishment of astrologers and soothsayers, (of whose corrupting immoralities, as well as gross impostures, we learn much from Horace,) as promoting the morals and even the tranquillity of the city. Even the freest states may be provoked into bringing similar proceedings within the compass of their police law.

Parthia (B.C. 35), when Antony was in Syria, preparing for a new campaign, she went as far as Athens on the way to meet him, with costly presents, arms, and money for his troops, and a chosen band of 2000 men, splendidly equipped, to form his body-guard. The reward of this devotion was a letter from Antony, commanding her to stay at Athens. The sympathy which all Rome felt for the noble-minded lady, whose generosity was thus insulted, was succeeded by religious abhorrence of Antony, when the triumphal rites, sacred to the deities of the Capitol—the one spot of all the world divinely appointed as the seat of empire—were paraded in solemn mockery amidst the temples of subjugated gods, and before the eyes of the despised Egyptians and Oriental Greeks. While the sovereign people saw their provinces added to a tottering kingdom, which only existed by the sufferance of their own generals, Octavian felt a personal wrong, amounting to a defiance, in the recognition of Cæsarion, for it seemed to challenge his own rights as Cæsar's heir. Nor can we doubt that he was well informed of the vast projects of dominion which Cleopatra did not scruple to avow. For, amidst all her voluptuous pleasures, the Egyptian queen was possessed by an ambition worthy of the last descendant of Alexander's famous general. It was to preserve her kingdom that she had fascinated first Cæsar and then Antony. Her connection with her present lover seems to have grown into a real passion; but those outrageous excesses, which have astounded every succeeding age, were deliberate inventions for maintaining the bond which she trusted would lift her to the throne of all the world. She pledged her oath to her favourites by the decrees she would dictate from the Capitol.

At length, in B.C. 33, the rivals began to exchange not only complaints, which negociation might possibly have removed, but sarcasms, which gave the final provocation to war. Antony was the first to collect his forces, on the pretext of another Parthian campaign; but, after securing an ally on that side in the King of Media, he marched from Syria into Asia Minor. At Ephesus he was met by Cleopatra, and they advanced together to Samos, the rendezvous of the army and splendid fleet of Egypt. The Ionian island, where, five hundred years before, the praises of wine and love had been sung by Anacreon, while Polycrates feasted a former King of Egypt, witnessed orgies amidst which there was no Amasis to lift the voice of warning.* At the close of winter they moved on to Athens, where Antony again assumed the character

* See Vol. I, p. 137.

of the patron god of a gorgeous Dionysiac festival, at the very time when his friends at Rome were provoking a crisis. The consuls of B.C. 32, who—in accordance with the agreement between the triumvirs—were partisans of Antony, began their year of office with a vehement harangue against Octavian in the Senate. At the moment, he was absent from Rome, pretending that his life was in danger from the new consuls. On his return, he convened the Senate, stationed guards at the door, and entered surrounded by an escort of friends with daggers beneath their cloaks. Assuming his accustomed place of honour between the consuls, he delivered a bitter invective against Antony and his partisans, and promised to make a formal accusation at a future meeting of the Senate. The consuls fled to Antony, who gladly availed himself of the likeness to Cæsar's receiving the fugitive tribunes, and, assembling the senators in his train, he made his formal reply to the charges of Octavian. But most of his Roman followers deserted to his rival; among these were Plancus, whose repeated tergiversations had generally been ominous of the turns of fortune, and Titius, who had been the instrument of an act of which Octavian specially complained, the murder of Sextus Pompey. Both these officers had been among Antony's most trusted confidants, and were privy to the contents of his will. Titius informed Octavian that the document was in the custody of the Vestal Virgins. He had left to Cleopatra and her children the inheritance of what belonged to the Republic as well as to himself, and directed his body to be buried with hers at Alexandria. Octavian had now only to watch, while affecting to moderate, the tide of public indignation. It was loudly demanded that Antony should be declared a public enemy; but Octavian was too wise to drive the friends of his rival to despair, and to bring on himself the odium of a new civil war. He preferred to appear as the champion of the Republic against an insolent potentate and her leader in the conquest of the last of the ancient kingdoms of the East, and to make Antony the confederate of a foreign enemy. Attired in the antique garb of a Fetial herald, he took his stand at the gate of Bellona's temple, surrounded by the people in their military dress, and declared war against the Queen of Egypt (B.C. 32). Antony received the declaration of war at Athens, where Cleopatra was sharing his warlike counsels as well as his pleasures in spite of the remonstrances of his Roman friends, and her jealousy had been inflamed by the praises which her rival had so lately earned from the Athenians. The final proof of Antony's subjection to her yoke was now given

by the divorce of Octavia; and the insult, not to Cæsar only, but to the moral sense of all Rome, was aggravated by the harsh execution of the act. Driven from her husband's house by officers sent to Rome for the purpose, the noble woman took under her care the children left behind by Antony, Fulvia's as well as her own, while the fickle Athenians transferred their public honours to Cleopatra.

The triumvirate expired at the close of this year; and Octavian, without any attempt to renew it, entered upon his third consulship on the 1st of January, B.C. 31.* It was in the guise of the constitutional first magistrate, that he left Rome, to lead the forces of the Republic against Cleopatra and the traitor who abetted her in the war. Antony had already stationed his forces along the western shore of Greece, with his head-quarters at Patræ in Achæa. Octavian's first act, in imitation of Cæsar's bearing towards Pompey, was to send a letter to Antony, proposing that his troops should be withdrawn from the coast, that they might meet to confer in safety; but Antony rejected the proposal with the significant allusion to the loss of the third member of the old triumvirate:—"Who then shall stand umpire between us, if either breaks the agreement?" He knew that negociation was only named in order that he might have the odium of its rejection; and his mind was now made up to stake the empire he now held against that which he hoped to win. His armaments seemed to justify his resolution. His general on land, Canidius Crassus, commanded a hundred thousand legionaries and 12,000 cavalry, besides the immense hosts of Asia under their own princes. But they were not concentrated on any chosen field of battle; for Antony had determined to risk the decisive engagement on the sea. His magnificent fleet consisted of 500 ships, many with no less than ten banks of oars; but so imperfectly manned, that landsmen of all occupations had been suddenly pressed into the service. Few attempts were made to train these motley and sea-sick crews, which were decimated through famine in the crowded ports; but it is hard to believe that Antony had so far forgotten the Roman general in the Oriental despot as to declare that, "while the oars were sound, there should be no want of oarsmen, as long as there was a population in Greece" (Orosius). On the other hand, Octavian had collected the light Liburnian galleys, so famous for ages past in the hands of the bold mariners of the Adriatic;

* His election was an act of hostility to Antony, to whom he had promised the consulship for this year.

his crews had been trained in repeated encounters with the fleets of Sextus Pompey, and Agrippa was at their head. Under such a chief, these handy ships and dexterous crews were a match for the unwieldy strength and twofold numbers of the enemy.. The land forces of Octavian consisted of 80,000 legionaries, and a cavalry about equal to that of Antony; and the absence of a motley host of auxiliaries was no element of weakness.

Though Antony had resolved to fight at sea, he permitted Cæsar's navy to gain the command of the Adriatic and Ionian waters, and even to annoy his coasts. Octavian transported his army unhindered to Toryne on the coast of Epirus, a station opposite the islet of Paxus, south-east of Corcyra. This island, the key of the Adriatic, was taken without a blow, and became his naval head-quarters. The chief citizens of Rome were gathered round their consul, at once adding prestige to his cause and giving security for the tranquillity of the capital; and he had reason to expect a large defection from those who were still with Antony. Having completed his preparations, Octavian sailed from Corcyra to "Freshwater Bay" (Glykys Limen), at the mouth of the river Acheron; and his army and fleet met at Port Comarus, about ten miles north of the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf.

This land-locked basin, which, with the Maliac Gulf on the eastern coast, forms a broad isthmus in the midst of Northern

1. Ruins of *Prevesa.*
2. *C. La Scara.*
3. Prom. Actium. *La Punta.*
4. *C. Madonna.*
5. Temple of Apollo. *Fort La Punta.*
6. *Azio.*
7. Anactorium.
8. *Vonitza.*
P. *Bay of Prevesa.*

Plan of Actium.

Greece, lies on the 39th parallel of north latitude. Its true mouth is formed by a break in the chain of mountains running parallel to the coast, between the lofty headlands of *La Scara* in Epirus and *Madonna** in Acarnania (see the Plan). But the lower ground outside of these capes forms a bay on the Epirot shore, interpene-

* From the ruins on this cape, which now bear the name of *Azio*, D'Anville supposed that it was the true Actium, but this opinion is satisfactorily refuted by Colonel Leake.

trated by a long spit running out from Acarnania, thus making a second strait of a sleeve-like shape. The space between the two straits forms a sort of "propontis" to the gulf, now called the *Bay of Prevesa*, which furnished a secure anchorage for the fleet of Antony and Cleopatra. Upon the long low spit on its western side (which the Greeks called by the generic name of *Acté*) there stood a famous temple of Apollo: this was the true Actium, though the name is also applied to the promontory itself. Antony's army was encamped on this spit, and towers were built on both sides of the strait, which was entirely commanded by his fleet. The position on the low marshy site, without shelter from the sea-winds, had caused great sickness among his troops, both during the winter storms and the summer heats. It was not till August that Octavian established his camp on the opposite promontory, at the spot where he afterwards built the city of Nicopolis, in honour of the victory; and he united it by an entrenchment with the station of his fleet at Comarus. The strait which divided the two armies is but 700 yards wide at its narrowest part. Antony hastened from Patræ, which was immediately occupied by Agrippa, whose fleet also took the island of Leucas and gained a victory over an Antonian squadron, while the desertions from Antony's camp began with his trusted legate Domitius, and the kings of Paphlagonia, Pisidia, and Galatia.

It was needful to bring on a decisive conflict before the defections became more serious; and Antony crossed the strait with a part of his forces and encamped near Octavian. But, being worsted in more than one skirmish, he retired to his former position. Jealousy had now reached its height between the Queen of Egypt and the Roman officers; and Antony, not knowing whom to trust, adopted the advice of Cleopatra, to retire with the fleet to Egypt, leaving a few garrisons in the chief cities of Greece, and abandoning the rest of the army to its fate. The design could not be concealed from the soldiers; and, amidst the murmurs which Antony heard as he passed along the ranks, a veteran centurion exclaimed, with tears in his eyes,—"General, why do you distrust these wounds or this sword, and rest your hopes on miserable logs of wood? Let Egyptians and Phœnicians fight on sea, but give us land, on which we are wont to conquer and to die." Antony made no reply; but he proceeded with his preparations. The smaller vessels, which he had not sailors enough to man, were destroyed, and 20,000 chosen legionaries, with 2000 bowmen, and all the treasure, were embarked upon the best ships. The fleet

moved from the inner basin into the strait, ranged in order of battle, to conceal the design of flight.

For four days the progress of the armada was hindered by heavy gales, which at the same time prevented Octavian's fleet from closing with the enemy while they were crowded in the narrow strait. The decisive day, the 2nd of September, B.C. 31, was ushered in by a dead calm; but at noon a sea-breeze sprang up, and the Roman fleet bore down in two divisions, under Octavian and Agrippa, as if to surround the enemy, who were now in the bay outside the strait off the western shore of Actium. This movement cut off all hope of escaping an engagement. Antony led the van, and the rear was brought up by the Egyptian squadron of sixty ships, among which the galley of Cleopatra was conspicuous by its gilded bulwarks. The large ships of Antony were protected by frameworks of heavy timber against the shock of the triremes, and their decks were surmounted by wooden towers, from which huge stones were hurled and grappling-irons cast forth. But all this added to their unmanageable bulk; and the Liburnian galleys, impelled by practised rowers, shot round and past them, sweeping away their oars, and evading the dangerous grapple. Still they inflicted no decisive injury on their powerful antagonists, and the victory seemed to be hanging in suspense, when the wind shifted, and blew off the land. The well-known purple sails were spread over the galley of Cleopatra, and the whole Egyptian squadron was seen flying from the battle. It was no sudden movement of cowardice, but the execution of a deliberate plan; and Antony no sooner beheld the signal, than he leaped into a light galley, and joined the flight of Cleopatra. Many of his followers gave vent to their indignation by lightening their vessels and providing for their own safety; but few could escape from the press, and most fought with redoubled fury. Even when the huge vessels were disabled, the aid of fire was needed to destroy them. Combustibles were sent for from the camp, and hurled at them with javelins or drifted against them by fire-ships, and by nightfall the bay of Actium was lighted up with a conflagration, in which ships, crews, and treasures were consumed together. The army of Antony, which like the hostile force on the opposite shore, had been passive spectators of the grand and decisive conflict, surrendered after seven days on honourable terms; but the general clemency of the victor was stained by a few examples of vengeance on the chiefs. The bulk of the legionaries took the military oath to Octavian, who thus found himself at the

head of the whole armed force of Rome, numbering between thirty and forty legions. This capitulation, however, following upon the escape of Cleopatra and the destruction of Antony's ships, disappointed the hopes of an enormous spoil, and for a moment the victorious army was on the verge of mutiny. But Octavian sent back the veterans to their lands, and committed all else to the firmness of Agrippa, while he himself reserved a few chosen legions for the pursuit of Antony. At a later period he commemorated the battle by the foundation of Nicopolis (the City of Victory) and the institution of quinquennial games in honour of the Actian Apollo, whose little chapel on the opposite shore was replaced by a splendid temple.

The few ruins of the temple and the city form far less enduring monuments than the strains of the poets, whose very flattery could not exaggerate the importance of the victory which decided that, since the Republic was no more,* the new sovereign of the Roman world should be the heir of Cæsar and not the slave of Cleopatra. "The masters of Roman song have vied with one another in adorning with the hues of the imagination the decision of the world's debate. Horace brands the inebriate frenzy of the Egyptian, who had dared to threaten with ruin the Capitol and the empire. Propertius ascribes the triumph to Apollo, who cast aside his lyre, and grasped his bow and exhausted his quiver in defence of Rome. Virgil assumes all his strength and majesty to delineate the crowning victory of his imperial hero. The East and West have met in decisive conflict, and the rout of Actium has prostrated the world before the fathers, the people, and the gods of his country. The issue of the long struggle of the nations against the all-conquering Republic is indeed a momentous event in human annals. The laws and language, the manners and institutions of Europe, still bear witness to the catastrophe of Actium. The results it produced can never recur to our minds, without impelling us to reflect upon the results we may suppose it to have averted. It would be monstrous indeed to admit that the triumph of Antony could have permanently subjected Rome to Egypt, the West to the East. The vitality of European intellect would have thrown off the yoke of an inorganic and alien despotism; the spirit which defended Hellas from the Persian, and Christendom from the Moor, would have avenged Rome upon the Copt and the Arabian. But the genius of an Octavian could

* The ancient writers usually date the fall of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire from the battle of Actium.

hardly have been replaced; none but himself, among his own generation, could have founded a dynasty on the ruins of the Republic; in the next generation the opportunity would have passed away. The empire of Antony would have been dismembered like that of Alexander; and in the first century, instead of the fifth, the western world would have been split into petty and degenerate principalities. The Goths, let loose prematurely upon their victims, would have exterminated ideas which neither awed nor attracted them. The arts and manners of Rome would have left no deeper traces in the minds of Europe, than Hellas has impressed upon Western Asia. The language of her Curia and her Forum would have been forgotten; and the writings of Cicero would have crumbled in her dust. We might guess her grandeur from her imperishable Cloaca, and measure her power by the foundations of her walls; but her roads and camps would be a marvel and a mystery, and Cæsar a name like Ninus or Sesostris."*

Before following the fugitives to Egypt, Octavian deemed it necessary to reduce to order the provinces of Greece and Asia. Having levied contributions from the cities both of the peninsula and the Ionian coast, he spent the winter at Samos, and then returned to Brundisium to complete the arrangements for rewarding his soldiers, and to prepare for the invasion of Egypt. But the year's respite thus gained was of little use to Antony and Cleopatra. He seemed utterly prostrate with shame and disappointment, while she used her last days of power with the fury of an Oriental temper. Whatever of Roman manliness had survived in the mind of Antony seemed to have been cast away when he turned his back on his struggling fleet in the bay of Actium. The mortification of having forfeited his honour for a woman, and resentment against her for having befooled him, seem to have been mingled with doubt of his reception by his mistress. When his light bark overtook her galley, and he was lifted on deck by her command, he withdrew to the forepart of the ship, and sat there with his face buried in his hands. The close pursuit of the Liburnian galleys, which took two of Cleopatra's ships, roused him to energy; but he presently relapsed into a moody silence. It was three days before the messages which Cleopatra sent him by her women could prevail on him to come into her presence. The moment they met, her ascendancy revived; but his conduct proves that he had abandoned the hope of empire, to find such

* Merivale, vol. iii. p. 323-5.

solace as he could in love. Touching at Tænarus, he sent orders to his general Canidius to lead his army home by land; but at the very same time he dismissed his Roman friends with presents, and advised them to make their peace with the victor.

When the Alexandrians saw the fleet approach with unbroken numbers, and with the signs of victory, which the queen had assumed, they raised a shout of welcome, and the leaders who might have headed a revolt, had the truth been known, did not hesitate to accept an invitation to the royal galley. They were seized and put to death; and their confiscated property served to bribe the Egyptian soldiers. But there was a Roman force stationed at Parætonium; and these shut the gates against Antony when he summoned them to follow him to Alexandria. He felt that he was reduced from a general of Rome to the lieutenant of the queen, whom he had no longer the power to defend; and he was scarcely prevented from putting himself to death. His only vestige even of affected hope was in the army which had long since surrendered at Actium. Having persuaded Cleopatra to abandon her project of transporting her ships and treasures to the Red Sea and escaping to some unknown region, Antony shut himself up in a castle on an islet, connected with the Pharos by a mole. Cleopatra maintained before her subjects the mien of royalty, and made vigorous preparations for defence; but both were engaged in attempts to negociate with Octavian, who spurned the advances of Antony with insulting coldness, while he encouraged the queen to believe that, by sacrificing her lover, she might bring the new master of the world beneath her spell, and share the throne of Rome, to which Cæsar had nearly raised her. The winter was spent by the wretched pair—for Antony, though distrustful of Cleopatra, had again emerged from his retreat—in drowning the care of days, each of which might be their last, in vows to die together, and in experiments on the poisons by which they might find the quickest and easiest end.

The approach of Octavian and his army roused for the last time the soldier spirit in Antony; and he gained a victory in an affair of cavalry under the walls of Alexandria, soon followed by a defeat. His attempts to gain over deserters were derided by Octavian; and his challenge to decide the quarrel by single combat was treated with contempt. The tragedy that ensued is scarcely more intelligible, as to its actual facts, in the accounts of the ancient authors, than in the pages of the dramatist. It is beyond the power of historical criticism to analyse the mingled workings of despair and

disgust, jealousy and treachery; or to decide whether Antony sought, in flying from Cleopatra, a last field of enterprise or honourable death, and whether she resolved to detain him as the lover with whom she could not part, or the victim whose sacrifice was to make her peace with the conqueror. Thus much alone is certain, that he was preparing a fleet, either to fight the enemy at sea or to escape to Spain, when Cleopatra bribed the sailors to carry the ships over to the enemy. The like arts were so successful beyond her expectations with the soldiers, that she found herself also abandoned. Dreading the anger of Antony no less than the approach of Octavian, she retired with her women to a mausoleum where her treasures were already hidden,* and spread the report of her voluntary death. Antony heard the news, and felt that he had no longer her safety to defend, nor her love to live for. He stabbed himself with his sword: but the wound was not at once fatal. He revived to hear that Cleopatra was living, and caused himself to be carried to her asylum. The queen and her women drew up the dying man's litter into the upper chamber; and he expired amidst the caresses of the "beautiful mischief" who had deceived him to the last.

Thus perished the only man who had shown himself able, and whom the events of fourteen years had proved not all unworthy, to contest the prize of empire with the younger Cæsar. His character was far from being, what it is often represented, the most hideous growth of that corrupt age. The vices of his earlier career must not be judged of too literally from Cicero's invectives; but they were doubtless bad enough. They were the product of that epicurean disregard of the restraints of conscience, which marked the circle that surrounded Cæsar, acting on the coarse and self-indulgent temperament of the blunt soldier, frank alike in the indulgence of his passions and the assertion of his claims. His full subjection to the seductions of Cleopatra has in it more of human nature than the self-restrained dissimulation by which Octavian first offered himself as her lover, and then repelled her fascinations. If Antony could have steadily maintained before Cæsar's veterans the character which never quite deserted him to the last, of the bold and skilful soldier, the issue might have been different. His youthful opponent subdued him by those powers of self-command and dissimulation, of which his conduct towards Cleopatra now gave a crowning proof. His aim was to secure

* The reader should remember the structure of the Egyptian tombs, with an upper chamber, where banquets were held in honour of the deceased.

both the treasures and the person of Cleopatra, — an ornament such as had never before graced the triumph of a Roman, and the representative of the long line of Ptolemies and Pharaohs which reached back into primeval darkness. Distrustful of his designs, she had against them no defence but her powers of fascination. Fearing to alarm her into self-destruction, he sent Proculeius as the bearer of reassuring messages, and Cleopatra, after one frantic grasp at her dagger, suffered herself to be led back to her empty palace, when she had embalmed and buried Antony with the honours of an Egyptian king.

Octavian had entered Alexandria without resistance on the 1st of Sextilis (August), from which day the Egyptians dated a new epoch, as they had before dated from the era of the Ptolemies. He informed the suppliant people that he spared the city for the memory of its founder, for its own beauty, and for the sake of their townsman, the philosopher Areius. Secure in his self-mastery, he paid a visit to Cleopatra, whom he found amidst the signs of sickness and mourning, surrounded with the busts and portraits of Julius, and holding his letters to her breast. But the appeal to Octavian's filial piety was as fruitless as the passionate movement with which she threw herself weeping at his feet. With a firmness, the selfish motive of which makes it a contrast rather than a parallel to the bearing of Alexander in the tent of Darius, he kept his eyes upon the ground, called her to a stern account for the war she had dared to make with Rome, and only granted her life on the surrender of her treasures. The discovery by a slave of her attempt to keep some back convinced Octavian that he had lulled her fears, and that she meant to live. But the woman had triumphed in the conflict of deceit, and all doubt was removed by private information that she was to be sent off to Rome within three days. She made preparations for her voyage, and only asked to pay her last duties at the tomb of Antony. A banquet was spread, after the Egyptian custom, in the upper chamber; while, in the sepulchral vault below, she besought the departed to intercede with the gods to whom he had gone, that she might share his tomb. All access to the sepulchre was guarded by the Roman soldiers, but they suffered a peasant to pass with a basket of splendid figs, of which he gave them some to taste. It was commonly reported that an asp, concealed among the figs, afforded Cleopatra the means of escaping the contumely prepared for her, but the manner of her death was never certainly known.* She

* No marks, either of violence or of the action of poison, were found upon the

dismissed all her women, except two named Charmion and Iras, sending at the same time a letter to Octavian, in which she prayed to be buried with Antony. Suspecting a trick to lure him to her presence, Octavian sent messengers, who burst open the doors of the mausoleum, and found Cleopatra dead upon her golden couch, Iras expiring at her feet, and Charmion feebly replacing the diadem which had fallen from her head. In answer to the question, "Is this well?" she had just strength to reply, "It is well, and worthy of the daughter of kings," when she too fell dead. Octavian granted the dying request of Cleopatra, and laid her with royal honours by the side of Antony. The clemency which spared their children had the effect (whatever was its motive) of luring Cæsarion from his safe retreat in Ethiopia, and his pretensions to Cæsar's inheritance were extinguished by his death, after the philosopher Areius had overcome (it is said) the hesitation of Octavian by a parody of Homer's famous praise of monarchy:

"'Tis no good thing, a multitude *of Cæsars*." *

About the same time as Cæsar's reputed son, perished Cassius of Parma, the last survivor of Cæsar's murderers, and Canidius, the last of Antony's lieutenants. These executions completed the bloody roll of the victims of the war for empire, and the conqueror henceforth adopted a policy of magnanimity. "In the conspicuous clemency of Cæsar the Romans had seen only the natural kindliness of his disposition; and so in the cruelty of the young Octavian they read nothing but an inherent ferocity of temper. They could not understand the austere and passionless ambition of one who could be cruel for the preservation of his life and advancement of his fortunes, and no less merciful for the maintenance of his fame. But neither in his temper nor his acts did Octavian shift capriciously to and fro: during the early part of his career his sternness never relaxed into pity, nor, during the long period which followed, did he swerve, except once or twice in a moment of passion, from the systematic mildness he prescribed to his policy." †

Cleopatra died on the 30th of Sextilis (August), B.C. 30, in the fortieth year of her age, and the twenty-second of her reign;—the last of the long train of Pharaohs, Achæmenids, and Ptolemies,

corpse. The story of the asp, which received confirmation from the experiments above referred to, was adopted by Octavian, in whose triumph there was borne a waxen figure of Cleopatra sinking into the last sleep upon her couch, with the snake clinging to her arm.

* Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη, instead of πολυκοιρανίη, "a multitude *of rulers*."

† Merivale, vol. iii. p. 347.

who had filled the throne of Egypt for a period, which moderate computers estimate at not much short of three thousand years. The oldest monarchy of the ancient world, the last of the kingdoms established by Alexander's conquests, has succumbed to the destiny of the conquering Republic. Rome is triumphant over the two great systems which have preceded her in the dominion of the world, Oriental despotism and Hellenism. The "IRON which breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things" has "broken in pieces and bruised" the *gold*, the *silver*, and the *brass* of Assyria, Persia, and Macedonia. But little did the victor imagine, when he confirmed Herod in the sovereignty of Judæa, that the rock, upon which the capital of that petty kingdom was built, was the emblem of that eternal foundation of all power, from which a living stone was just about to be cut out without hands, to smite the image of secular despotism upon its feet of iron, already mingled with the weaker clay,—so that "the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold were broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." *

In creating Egypt a province of the Roman empire, Octavian took care to make it directly subject to himself, and not to the Senate—the type, in fact, of what were afterwards called the "Provinces of Cæsar." Its enormous fertility and wealth, its maritime strength, and its position between the Mediterranean and the East, made it far too important to be trusted out of his own hands; and he seems to have felt the importance of his authority for the continuance of that wise policy of concession to native customs, by which the Ptolemies had so long maintained their hold upon the Egyptians. Not only the religious, but the judicial system, which had been handed down from the Pharaohs, was left to be administered by the people themselves, and the province was carefully guarded from the extortions of the Roman tax-gatherers. The government was entrusted to Cornelius Gallus, a distinguished knight, the friend of Pollio, Virgil, Varus, and Ovid, and Octavian afterwards obtained a decree of the Senate, that the governor should never be of higher than equestrian rank, and that no senator should even visit the province without permission. Under the prefect was an officer of finance (*procurator*), who rendered his accounts direct to Octavian. The province was guarded by three legions,—

* Daniel ii. 35.

one being always stationed at Alexandria, to overawe the turbulent populace, besides a select body of nine pure Roman cohorts, three of which held the frontier garrison of Syene. The conduct of the first prefect soon proved that no precautions could be too strict. Though one of Octavian's most trusted friends, Cornelius Gallus began, after four years, to assume airs of independence, speaking lightly of his master, erecting many statues of himself, and inscribing his own deeds upon the pyramids. Being deprived of his government, and banished by a decree of the Senate, he fell upon his own sword (B.C. 26). He must not be confounded with his successor, Ælius Gallus, whose expedition into Arabia, though fruitless in any result of conquest, furnished his friend Strabo with information concerning the geography of the peninsula (B.C. 24).

Having founded a second Nicopolis, east of Alexandria, on the spot where he had defeated Antony, Octavian began his progress homeward through the eastern provinces before the end of the year. In Judæa, as we have seen, he confirmed the kingdom to Herod, who repaid him with a devotion more ardent even than he had shown to Antony. In Syria, his aid was sought by both the rivals who were contending for the Parthian throne, Phraates and Tiridates; but he was content for the present to see the great enemy of Rome divided against itself, and to await the time when in the language of the poet, and in that only, he should carry the thunders of war to the deep Euphrates. Octavian spent the following winter in Asia Minor, and remained beyond the Ægæan till the middle of the summer of B.C. 29, as if to give the Senate and people time to prepare due honours for his reception.

Octavian had now been absent from Rome nearly two years, and the peace of Italy had been preserved unbroken by the calm policy of Mæcenas. The only attempt at its interruption was by the abortive conspiracy of Lepidus, the son of the deposed triumvir, who was seized by Mæcenas and sent in chains to Asia. The few remnants of the aristocratic party were well described by the beautiful image which Horace borrows from Alcæus—a shipwrecked vessel, with the oars broken from its sides, its mast sprung, its yards crazy, its shrouds torn away, its sails in tatters, its leaking hull scarce able to ride on the overmastering sea, no gods even at its figure-head to pray to, and nothing left but the empty name and useless boast of the "Pontic pine" from which it claimed its origin*—what remained but to make for the port

* Pontus, whose pine-forests were famed for shipbuilding, is made the symbol of the Pompeian party, which had now but the empty name of the hero of the Pontic war.

in which the Republic itself rode safely. The popular feeling, now entirely with Octavian, added acclamations to the honours which were voted by the Senate—the constant use of the triumphal dress, a quinquennial festival to be kept in his name, the observance of his birthday with religious rites, and the addition of his name to the Senate and People of Rome in the public prayers for the state. This alteration of the style and title which had so long floated on the banners of the Republic, and had been affixed to her treaties and mandates—the *S. P. Q. R.*, at the sight of which kings and commonwealths had trembled—was the most significant sign of the change now completed. The Vestal Virgins, with the Senate and people, went out to meet the returning conqueror beyond the gates, and he entered the city in a triple triumph for his Dalmatian victories, for the battle of Actium, and for the conquest of Egypt, on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of Sextilis (August). The triumph was followed by splendid games, by the dedication of the Julian basilica in the Forum, which now became the usual Senate-house, and of the shrine for the worship of Cæsar on the spot where his body had been burnt, besides other temples built from the spoils of Egypt. The vast quantities of precious metals brought back by Octavian from the East—the plunder chiefly of the temples at Alexandria—enabled him to heap rewards upon his soldiers and pour largesses on the citizens, and completely disturbed the prices of money and commodities at Rome. All classes shared in the public wealth; and "the enhancement of prices hardly touched a populace whose subsistence and diversions were provided by the state."* The restoration of universal peace—for no account was taken of the petty wars in Gaul and Spain—was solemnly inaugurated by the closing of the temple of Janus in the Forum, for the third time in all Roman history. Its first shutting had marked the peaceful reign of Numa; its second, the end of the First Punic War.

* "Estates and commodities were doubled in nominal value, and the interest of money at the same time sank two-thirds." (Merivale, vol. iii. p. 405.)

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The Augustan Divisions: *(B.C. 27)*

Senatorial Provinces as ..... BAETICA
Imperial " as ..... Thracia
Boundaries .....

Constantine's Divisions: *(A.D. 330)*

The four Praetorian Praefectures, as PRAEF. PRAET. ITALIAE
The principal Sub Divisions: (Vicariates, &c.) *as* ..... Vic. Hispaniae
Boundaries ..... PF. Vic.

The partition of the Empire under Valentinian & Valens A.D. 364 thus ▪▪▪▪▪▪▪
■ " " " *Arcadius & Honorius A.D. 395 thus* ▪▪▪▪▪▪▪

A combination of symbols marks the coincidence of different boundaries

Stanford's Geographical Establishment London.

London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.

BOOK VIII.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN ITS GREATNESS;

OR,

THE CÆSARS AND THE ANTONINES.

FROM AUGUSTUS TO COMMODUS. B.C. 29 TO A.D 193.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE, AND THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS. B.C. 29 TO A.D. 14.

"Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo
Fama Marcelli: micat inter omnes
Julium sidus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores.

"Gentis humanæ pater atque custos,
Orte Saturno, tibi cura magni
Cæsaris fatis data: TU secundo
CÆSARE regnes.

"ILLE seu Parthos Latio imminentes
Egerit justo domitos triumpho,
Sive subjectos Orientis oræ
Seras et Indos,

"Te minor latum reget æquus orbem;
TU gravi curru quaties Olympum;
Tu parum castis inimica mittes
Fulmina lucis."—HORACE.

"No war, or battle's sound,
Was heard the world around:
The idle spear and shield were high up hung;
The hooked chariot stood
Unstain'd with hostile blood;
The trumpet spake not to the armed throng;
And kings sat still with awful eye,
As if they surely knew their SOVRAN LORD was by."*—MILTON.

OCTAVIAN THE SOLE RULER OF THE ROMAN WORLD—IMPERATOR AND CENSOR FOR LIFE—CENSUS OF THE EMPIRE—THE DIGNITY OF *PRINCEPS*—HE ACCEPTS THE *IMPERIUM* FOR TEN YEARS—THE PROVINCES OF CÆSAR, AND OF THE SENATE AND PEOPLE—THE TITLE OF *AUGUSTUS*—THE NAME OF *CÆSAR*—AUGUSTUS GOES TO SPAIN—HIS DANGEROUS ILLNESSES—QUESTION OF A SUCCESSOR—HE RECEIVES THE PERPETUAL TRIBUNITIAN AND CONSULAR POWERS—HIS LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS—THE EMPEROR NOT ABOVE THE LAWS—THE POPULAR ASSEMBLIES—STATE OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE—THE SENATE AND THE EQUITES—THE IMPERIAL CONSULS, PRÆTORS, ÆDILES, AND QUÆSTORS—THE PREFECT OF THE CITY—GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES—MILITARY ORGANIZATION—THE PRÆTORIAN COHORTS AND URBAN GUARDS—THE LEGIONS—THE FLEET—FINANCES OF THE EMPIRE—SUMMARY OF THE IMPERIAL SYSTEM—THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS—LIVIA AND HER STEP-SONS—OCTAVIA AND MARCELLUS—DEATH OF MARCELLUS—MARRIAGE OF JULIA TO AGRIPPA—CAIUS AND LUCIUS CÆSAR, AND AGRIPPA POSTUMUS—DESCENDANTS OF OCTAVIA AND ANTONY—GENEALOGY OF THE "SIX CÆSARS"—AUGUSTUS IN THE EAST—THE STANDARDS OF CRASSUS RECOVERED—THE GREAT SECULAR GAMES—AGRIPPA GOES TO THE EAST—AUGUSTUS IN GAUL—DESCRIPTION OF THE DANUBIAN REGIONS—VINDELICIA AND RHÆTIA CONQUERED BY TIBERIUS AND DRUSUS—CONSULSHIP OF TIBERIUS—

* This twofold motto is chosen to contrast the Christian view of history with the heathen faith, which is content with a Cæsar for a Messiah upon earth, while reluctantly confessing that he has a superior in heaven.

AUGUSTUS *PONTIFEX MAXIMUS*—DEATH OF AGRIPPA—MARRIAGE OF TIBERIUS TO JULIA—DRUSUS IN GAUL—ACCOUNT OF THE GERMANS AND THEIR LAND—THE FOUR CAMPAIGNS OF DRUSUS IN GERMANY—HIS DEATH AND FUNERAL—CONQUEST OF MŒSIA—TIBERIUS IN GERMANY—HIS RETIREMENT TO RHODES—BANISHMENT OF JULIA—ADVANCEMENT AND DEATHS OF CAIUS AND LUCIUS CÆSAR—ADOPTION OF TIBERIUS—HIS CAMPAIGNS IN GERMANY AND ILLYRICUM—INTRIGUES AGAINST AUGUSTUS—EXILE OF OVID—CATASTROPHE OF VARUS—TIBERIUS AND GERMANICUS IN GERMANY—LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.

TACITUS observes that, when the Civil Wars were finished at Actium, it became the business of the peace to collect all power into one man's hands.* It was no longer necessary for Octavian to grasp at the prize which he had all along pursued, and which he had no intention of letting go. The people saw the only hope of tranquillity in his supreme rule, and the Senate were ready to confer any powers and dignities that it might please him to assume. If indeed we may trust tradition, there was one sturdy republican left among his councillors—the very man who had been from the first the sharer of his schemes. Dion Cassius has composed, in the style of a rhetorical exercise, a debate between Agrippa and Mæcenas, in which the former exhorts Octavian to lay down his power, and the latter argues for a monarchy far more complete than that he assumed. But Octavian made his decision with that unfailing instinct which guided his ambition. With equal prudence, he rejected the dangers of an undefined despotism, like that of the Greek tyrants; the position of a Roman Dictator, raised above the laws; and the hateful name of King. But it was only in name that he renounced the dictatorship; for he retained the military *imperium* which was the most essential attribute of that office, and kept his troops enrolled; and the Senate, to whom the generals of the Republic had always given back their *imperium* after a triumph, conferred upon Octavian the title of Imperator for life.† They also conferred upon him the censorship for life; and, with Agrippa as his colleague, he proceeded to effect an entire renovation of the Senate, as he proposed to conduct the government in the name and through the agency of that august body. More than this, he procured a decree enabling him to raise plebeians to patrician rank; and by the transfer to him of this function of the Senate, he became the fountain of honour.

In the following year (B.C. 28), Octavian was consul for the sixth time, and shared the dignities of the office with his colleague

* Postquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potestatem ad unum conferri pacis interfuit." (Tac. *Hist.* I. 1.)

† The honorary title of *Imperator* must not be confounded with the *imperium* itself, of which we have presently to speak.

Agrippa, just as in the palmy days of the Republic. He took a census this year, which showed the number of 4,164,000 Roman citizens between the ages of seventeen and sixty, representing a total of above 17,000,000 of both sexes. It was at this time, also, that Agrippa named his master "Chief of the Senate," a title which had not been borne since the death of Catulus in B.C. 60. This high dignity, under the old Republic, marked the first in rank of those who had held the censorship, and conferred the privilege of speaking first in debate. In the abbreviated form of PRINCEPS, its convenient ambiguity supplied the very title that was wanted for the first man in the state, and marked him as the leader of its whole policy and action. It is the title by which the earliest writers of the imperial period designate the emperor. At the same time, so long as men's minds are ensnared by the mere force of words in spite of their change of meaning, the proper significance of the title could be appealed to as a proof that Octavian was but the chief councillor of the Republic in the august assembly which still guided her destiny. If the welfare of the state demanded that more definite powers should be given to its prince, they must be conferred by the apparently free act of the Senate itself.*

Accordingly, in entering upon his seventh consulship, on the 1st of January, B.C. 27, he made an oration to the Senate, offering to resign the *imperium*, and exhorting them to preserve the dominion he had acquired, and the peace he had restored. The offer, if sincere, would have been a mockery, unless he could have replaced the Republic on foundations which centuries of corruption had undermined and the civil wars had finally broken up. The only consolation for the destruction which had swept over the ancient constitution was in the work of reconstruction which the genius of Julius had planned; and the only real choice lay between permitting his heir to resume his unfinished task, and beginning a new civil war for objects and leaders alike unknown. With one voice the Senators prayed him to retain the *imperium;* but he would only consent to accept it for ten years, and that under the pretext of using it for the security of those provinces in which wars still remained to be waged for the safety or extension of the empire, while the quieter and wealthier provinces were left to the government of the Senate. The renewal of the *imperium* from time to

* The title of *Princeps* is that which is commonly used by the writers of the first age of the empire, as Tacitus. It is referred to by Horace in the familiar line :—

"Hic ames dici Pater atque Princeps."

time established the reality of despotic power under the forms of the Republic.

The arrangement, which secured to the chief of the state the command of its great armies and the conduct of its foreign wars, —and for which there was a sort of precedent in the old government of settled provinces by prætors, and the allotment of those which were the seat of war to the consuls—could not but become permanent; and hence arose the distinction between the Senatorial Provinces and the Provinces of Cæsar.* Of the former, two were assigned to consulars, and the rest to Senators of prætorian rank, with the title of Proconsuls or Presidents (*præsides*), and with Quæstors under them. The governors of the imperial provinces were considered the direct lieutenants of Cæsar (*legati Cæsaris*), who reserved the proconsular power in these provinces to himself. They had other *legati* under them; and the financial administration was conducted by Procurators (*procuratores Cæsaris*), who were either of equestrian rank or freedmen of Cæsar. In all the provinces, the chief taxes were, as under the Republic, the poll-tax and the land-tax, which were assessed by a census of persons and property established by Augustus. The customs (*portoria*) and other dues were still farmed by the *Publicani*.

It was only natural that some name of personal honour should be sought for the man thus exalted, distinct from the modest title of Princeps, which indicated his rank. Some proposed *Romulus* or *Quirinus;* but, apart from the profanity of assuming the name of the deified son of Mars, it involved too near an approach to that affectation of royalty, which Octavian so carefully eschewed. "To the epithet AUGUSTUS, which was next proposed, no such objection could attach. The name was intact: it had never been borne by any man before, . . . but it had been applied to things most noble, most venerable, most divine. The rites of the gods were called *august*, the temples were *august;* the word itself

* The provinces of the one class were called more fully *propriæ Populi Romani*, those of the other *propriæ Cæsaris*. According to Dion Cassius, the provinces of the Senate and People were Africa, Numidia, Asia, Hellas or Achaia with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicily, Crete with Cyrenaïca, Bithynia with Pontus, Sardinia, and Bætica (the south of Spain): those of Cæsar were Hispania Tarraconensis, Lusitania, Gallia (in all its subdivisions), Cilicia, Syria, Cœle-Syria, Phœnice, Cyprus and Egypt. Judæa was considered a part of Syria, but was governed separately by a *procurator* with the power of a *legatus*. Augustus afterwards took Dalmatia from the Senate, and gave them Gallia Narbonensis and Cyprus; and accordingly we find the latter province under a proconsul in the time of St. Paul. Other authors give somewhat different lists, and considerable alterations were made by later emperors. (See the map of the Provinces of the Roman Empire.)

was derived from the holy *auguries* by which the divine will was revealed; it was connected with the favour and *authority* of Jove himself. And courtly poets could play still further upon it, in strains which our language cannot faithfully reecho, and pray for the Roman commander that he might *increase* in years and *increase* in power."* This title was conferred by the Senate about the middle of January, B.C. 27; but the Augustan years, by which the Romans sometimes calculated, are reckoned from the 1st of the month. The historian feels a relief in dropping the provisional name—so to speak—which has been used for the sake of accuracy, and speaking henceforth only of AUGUSTUS. But still it should be remembered that the name by which he was commonly known was that of *Cæsar*. The family name, which first became his by adoption, grew naturally, with the tacit establishment of the principle of hereditary succession, into the distinctive name of the imperial house, the princes of which first bore it as the adopted sons of Augustus. In the time of Diocletian, it was first used for one associated in the empire with a rank subordinate to the Augustus.† Still the name of Cæsar never lost its proud preeminence. It was preserved amidst the high-sounding titles with which the Greek emperors of the East gilded over the weakness of their throne; and it was revived in the West with the great fiction of the "Holy Roman Empire"—a fiction in name, but the great central fact of medieval history. Even since the line of these emperors ceased in 1806, the successor to their hereditary dominions dignifies the rank of archduke of Austria by the title of *Kaiser*, and the duke of Muscovy, in growing into the Emperor of all the Russias, has availed himself of an accidental resemblance between the title of a Tartar chief and the name of the great

* Ovid. *Fasti*, i. 609.

"Sancta vocant *augusta* Patres: *augusta* vocantur
Templa sacerdotum rite dictata manu:
Hujus et *augurium* dependet origine verbi,
Et quodcunque suâ Jupiter *auget* ope.
Augeat imperium nostri ducis, *augeat* annos."

Merivale, Vol. iii. p. 430. The Greek writers express the title *augustus* by the equivalent of σεβαστός, *venerable* or *worshipful*. The cities named in honour of an emperor, which in the western provinces were called *Augusta*, bore in the Eastern such names as *Sebaste* (*e.g.* Samaria, Cabira, and others), and *Sebastopolis* (in Pontus). The renowned *Sevastopol* in the Crimea, though within the old Greek kingdom of Bosporus, is a modern coinage, connected with the assumption of the imperial title by the Czars of Russia.

† In the latter years of Diocletian, there were two Augusti, himself and Maximian, and two Cæsars, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius.

Roman—the *Tzar*, in becoming *Czar*, has claimed to be a *Cæsar*. The permanence of the name is something more than a tribute to the greatness of him from whom it is derived. Like the title of Emperor, with which it is inseparably connected, it forms the very symbol of a perpetual claim to the power above the laws, which the Roman Imperator wielded and the Roman Cæsar won. The remaining dignities of Augustus were not conferred till after the events which we have now to mention.

Augustus now left Rome for the provinces which required the presence of the chief of the Roman armies. It was his first ambition to complete the conquest of Britain, from which Julius had retired; but more pressing affairs detained him on the continent. There were still wars with barbarian tribes in Gaul and Spain, and with the Germans and the Dacians. Augustus reopened the temple of Janus, and marched in person to attack the wild Cantabri and Astures in the mountains of north-western Spain; but, upon his return to Tarraco after some successes, he was laid up there for nearly two years with a serious illness. Meanwhile Terentius Varro subdued the barbarian tribe of the Salassi, in the Graian Alps, selling 36,000 men into slavery; and the descent into Italy by both the passes of *St. Bernard* was secured by the foundation of the military colony of Augusta Prætoria, the fine ruins of which remain at *Aosta*. The secure basis on which Cæsar's power had been founded was now proved by the tranquillity of Rome under the government of Agrippa, who employed this interval in erecting the splendid temple to the tutelary deities of Rome, which still forms, under the somewhat inaccurate name of the Pantheon, one of the most perfect monuments of the ancient city. It was not till the beginning of B.C. 24 that Augustus returned to Rome. The Senate welcomed him by a decree confirming the acts done in his proconsulship, and by a suspension of the *lex annalis* (defining the age below which the magistracy could not be held) in favour of his nephew M. Claudius Marcellus and his stepson Tiberius Claudius Nero, of whom we have presently to speak.

In the year after his return from Spain (B.C. 23), Augustus again fell sick, and his life was despaired of. The leading men of the state were summoned to his chamber, to hear—as they supposed—his appointment of a successor. But, instead of this, he professed to restore his power into the hands of the Senate, and the mute act of handing his seal-ring to Agrippa was supposed to indicate the man most worthy to be minister of the Republic. On his unexpected recovery, Augustus appealed to his testament to prove

that he had not appointed a successor; and the people marked their confidence in him by not allowing the will to be inspected. He now resigned the consulship, which he had held for nine years in succession, and no persuasion could induce him to reassume the office till a much later period of his reign, when he held it only twice more.* This renunciation of the chief dignity of the Republic was repaid by an extension of his perpetual proconsular authority over all the provinces. This extension "gave him throughout the domains of the Republic the control of the revenues, the disposal of the armies, the execution of the laws, the administration of internal reforms, and the adjustment of foreign relations. The Senate indeed still retained the appointment of officers in its own division of the empire; but these officers found themselves accountable in every public act to the Imperator himself." The commanders of the scanty forces required to keep order in the senatorial provinces were watched with jealousy and seldom permitted to enjoy a triumph; and the last instance in which such a general was saluted *imperator* by his army occurred in Africa under Tiberius. In virtue of his proconsular *imperium*, the emperor was the generalissimo of all the armies of Rome; and the military oath of obedience (*sacramentum*) was now taken to him alone.†

The surrender to Augustus of the powers and privileges of the plebeian tribunes‡ for his life completed the edifice of his power by making him the acknowledged chief of the people, as he already was of the Senate and the army. It invested his person with sacred inviolability; and while it preoccupied the vantage-ground from which some democratic tribune might have dared to assail him, it gave him the right to interpose his veto upon any attempt of the Senate at independent legislation. It centred in him all that remained of the popular element in the state, and seemed to unite all the orders of the ancient commonwealth in the foundation of the empire. So far, however, from affecting to make that foundation exclusively democratic, Augustus discouraged and all but suppressed the meetings of the people. He never assumed to be the champion of the people against the nobles, and never condescended to the jugglery of the ballot-box. The constitutional

* This was his eleventh consulship. His first was in B.C. 43, his second in B.C. 33, and his third in B.C. 31. His twelfth and thirteenth consulships were in B.C. 5 and B.C. 2.

† The phrase was *jurare in nomen* or *in verba Augusti, Tiberii,* &c.

‡ The "potestas tribunitia," not the tribunate itself; for a patrician could not be tribune.

instrument of his rule was not the popular assembly, but the venerable Senate; the forms which he scrupulously retained were those of the aristocratic republic; and, so far as he can be classed with either of the old parties, it was the aristocracy rather than the democracy. Besides his personal predilections, there is an obvious reason for this difference between his position and that of Julius. The one had to do the work of destroying the power of a corrupt aristocracy; the other had to reconstruct the state, and he was too good a politician not to know that a throne needs the support of an aristocracy. It was this necessity that led Napoleon to create anew the order that the revolution had destroyed; but Augustus had only to avail himself of the venerable institution which had survived the civil wars. But the tribunitian power added the apparent sanction of the popular will, and the importance which the emperors attached to it was proved by their dating the years of their reign from the time of its being conferred. The privileges always assumed by the tribunes, of punishing even the highest magistrates for resistance to the popular will, and of protecting the people from unjust sentences, were easily transferred to the emperor in such a manner as to make him the fountain both of justice and of mercy; and the inviolability of the office formed an additional reason, besides the necessity of sovereign power, for extending the law of treason (*majestas*) against the state to the person of the emperor.

The consular power was still left in the hands of the people; and it remained for accident, or the profound policy of Augustus, to convince them that even this must go with all the rest. In the year B.C. 22 he visited the eastern provinces, leaving Rome to the government of the consuls, though under the watchful eye of Agrippa. The scenes of confusion, and even bloodshed, that ensued, proved that the revival of a real and free consulship was impossible; and, though the office was still retained as an empty honour at the emperor's disposal, its powers were conferred for life upon Augustus, as soon as he returned to Rome (B.C. 19). The last of the supreme honours of the state, the chief pontificate, was added, when it became vacant seven years later by the death of Lepidus (B.C. 12); and in this capacity Augustus completed the reform of the calendar, appointed a new religious ritual, repaired the temples of the gods, and erected fresh monuments to the national heroes.

It was impossible for all these official dignities and administrative powers to be concentrated in the emperor, without the trans-

ference to him of most of the legislative and judicial prerogatives, which the Roman people had made so hard a struggle to preserve. The functions of legislation, indeed, were left nominally to the Senate and the popular assembly; but the emperor claimed the initiative by right of his consular and tribunitian power. The same power enabled him to issue those manifestoes, by which the magistrates had been accustomed to declare the principles which would guide them in new and doubtful cases; and these *Edicts* (*edicta*, *i.e.*, *utterances*) had a very different force when they expressed no longer the varying, and perhaps conflicting, views of a number of co-ordinate and temporary authorities, but the decisions of the one permanent ruler, who had the power to make his will respected. Supplementary to these edicts were the *Rescripts* or replies (*rescripta*, *i.e.*, *written answers*) given to the cases perpetually submitted for decision to the emperor; and both gradually grew into a body of law under the title of the *Imperial Constitutions*. But to suppose that the enactment of the laws was formally abandoned to the emperor is an error only greater than the idea, derived from a mistaken interpretation of certain passages in the ancient authors, that he was released from obedience to them.* The very foundation of his sovereign power was a *law*, which conferred the imperium and other prerogatives at the beginning of each reign. This law, passed in the assembly of the Curiæ, affected to connect the imperial power, by an unbroken tradition, with that conferred by the same assembly upon the kings. Its title of *Lex Regia* was the solitary instance in the imperial constitution of an approach to the detested name of King.†

* This point is admirably explained by Mr. Merivale, who shows that the phrase "legibus solutus," instead of implying exemption from the obligation of the laws, is an ancient constitutional formula, describing the privilege by which persons were not unfrequently released from particular laws. Such privileges were largely granted to the emperors; and as each new prince succeeded to the immunities of his predecessor, he was said to be, in these respects, *legibus solutus*.

† Mr. Merivale remarks that "the imperial medals struck in the metropolitan mint abstained from this hateful title. It was only in the provinces, and under the decent veil of a foreign language, that the idea could be suggested to the public mind by the term *Basileus* inscribed on the coins which passed from hand to hand. The Greek writers indeed in the second and third centuries ascribe the royal title to the emperor without reserve; but in Latin it is only to be found, I believe, thus applied among the solecisms of the African Tertullian, and in the metaphors of a poetaster such as Claudian. It is the more remarkable that the emperors should have refrained so carefully from appropriating it, since the very mansion which the chief pontiff inhabited was technically called the *regia*. The same name was applied to a state pavilion in the theatres, and to any public hall or *curia* of peculiar magnificence. Hence, I conceive, rather than from any supposed convertibility of the

Such were the dignities and functions of the new head of the Roman state: it remains to show briefly what place was left to the other orders which had made up the old Republic. We have seen how, by the side of the Curiæ of the original Roman citizens, there grew up first the more popular constitution of the Centuries, and then the plebeian Tribes: how the *Comitia Curiata* had subsided into what we may almost call an antiquarian curiosity, retaining certain dignified functions connected with the old patrician constitution, but exercising scarcely any influence on the policy of the state: how the *Comitia Centuriata* had gradually yielded the legislative powers to the *Comitia Tributa*, while preserving the election of magistrates and the jurisdiction arising out of the right of appeal. Neither of these assemblies was formally abolished under the emperors, who professed, as we have just seen, to derive the very source of their authority from a *Lex Curiata;* but all those functions, in which consisted the free life of the Republic, gradually ceased or were absorbed. The Senate took the place of the assembly of the *Curiæ*, as the representative of the original *Populus* of Romulus. The emperor, who by his tribunitian power had the sole right to convene the tribes, simply omitted to summon them. The confirmation of the decrees of the Senate by the Centuries became a mere matter of form, and after the reign of Tiberius they were not called together to ratify a law. Their appellate jurisdiction was absorbed in the judicial functions of the emperor; and though the merciful provision, which suffered an accused person to prevent condemnation by retiring to one of the allied cities, was nominally retained, the arm of the chief ruler was long enough to reach all the old places of refuge, and the exile was shut up on some barren rock, or driven to remote and inhospitable regions, like Ovid on the shores of the Euxine. The election of magistrates became a farce, when Augustus publicly recommended his own candidates for the offices, the estimation of which he had diminished by their increased number; and his successor abolished the right altogether. But, though thus straitening by bond after bond the political rights which he had nominally left, Augustus desired to maintain the dignity of the Roman citizens, as a population worthy of the capital of the empire:—

"Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam."

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terms *imperator* and βασιλεύς, the imperial halls of justice were denominated βασιλικαί." It was the appropriation of these halls to Christian worship by Constantine that caused the name of *Basilica* to be applied to large churches in the Roman style, like St. Peter's and St. Paul's.

He made the citizenship more difficult of attainment by the provincials, and imposed restrictions on the manumission of slaves. He reduced by more than a third the number of recipients of the largesses of corn, which the necessity of guarding against those food riots which we have seen disturbing the triumvirate led him to continue. But all his care could not avert periods of scarcity, which proved the system to be as inefficient as it was demoralizing; and the people had still to be kept in good humour by public amusements. The foundation had already been laid, during the decline of the commonwealth, for that social degradation, which summed up all the objects of life in the cry "Bread and Games" (*panem et Circenses*).

Between the populace thus sinking into disrepute, and the imperial throne, the Senatorial and equestrian orders formed a barrier of rank and wealth, which it was the policy of Augustus to strengthen. It was easier to maintain the dignity of the Senate than the respectability of the people. Augustus restricted its number to the final limit fixed under the Republic, of six hundred members, and he raised the property qualification to about 10,000*l*. He used the censorial power, which gave him the sole election of its members, to increase its purity and dignity; and the admission of provincials, whose character rather raised than lowered the tone of the assembly, formed a bond of union throughout the empire. The regularity of its meetings, at which the Prince voted with the other Senators; the multitude of details, with which it was easy to occupy its attention; the government of the provinces, and the administrative functions which the emperor devised for Senators to fill; and the insignia of honour with which they were invested; all gave their authority an appearance of reality. The ancient usage, which Augustus revived, of permitting the sons of Senators to sit in the house, added an element of stability. "With the disuse of the functions of the censorship, the Senate, from an elected or nominated character, became eventually changed into an hereditary peerage." Nor was there wanting, under all these constitutional dignities and outward forms, a slumbering power which necessity might quicken into life. The Senate claimed not only a share in the appointment of the emperor, but the right of calling him to account, by the very act of passing the *Lex Regia*, which ratified the acts of the late prince, while it conferred the *imperium* on his successor; and both powers were more than once asserted. That they were asserted in vain was owing to no establishment of the principle of hereditary right, but to the

usurpation of the elective power by the army. But the claim "was at least a protest against the all-engrossing power of the prætorians and the legions, and, if the people had been strong enough to control their own armies, it would have become the regular and appointed method of transmitting the imperial authority." *

The equestrian order continued under the empire to farm the revenues of the provinces, and retained their place upon the jury lists, while they obtained a new dignity as the body from whom the Senators were generally chosen. But their estimation was lowered by the practice which the emperors soon adopted, of enrolling their own freedmen in the order. To the aristocracy formed by these privileged orders we must add the greatly increased number of officials, who bore the venerable titles of the ancient magistracies. The great name of *Consul* was still given to those whom it pleased the emperor to nominate for brief periods, and they were invested with the regal insignia of the office, and presided over the Senate, with the Prince seated between them. "Augustus continued to transact the business of the Senate through their agency. They were his eyes, his voice, his hands; and the most wary of his successors (Tiberius) persisted in the same prudent and moderate policy. The Romans allowed themselves to be deceived by the mere shadow of authority which was still thrown over this cherished magistracy, the earliest birth, and as they still fondly deemed, the latest pledge of their freedom. While they acquiesced in its degradation by the process, which soon became habitual, of transferring it month by month, or even at shorter intervals, from one imperial favourite to another, that it should be absolutely vacant, for however brief a space, shocked and distressed them; and it was cited among the gravest offences of the most wanton of their tyrants (Caligula), that he deprived the state for three days of its supreme magistracy." † Meanwhile the office was disconnected from all idea of personal merit, and conferred upon parasites of the emperor of grades far less respectable than those rhetoricians whose appointment is satirized by Juvenal:—

"With Fortune should you favour find,
Your chair the consul's seat will earn;
Should she again be so inclined,
The consul will professor turn." ‡

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* Merivale, Vol. iii. p. 510. † Merivale, Vol. iii. p 512.

‡ "Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
Si volet hæc eadem, fies de consule rhetor."

The *Prætors*, twelve in number under Augustus, but sixteen under Tiberius as under the dictatorship of Julius, continued to preside over trials, and selected the *judices* from the Senators, Equites, and Tribuni Ærarii, to whom Augustus added an inferior class, the *ducenarii* (owners of 200,000 sesterces, or about 1,600*l.*) for trifling cases. The judicial functions of the *Ædiles* were transferred to the Prætors, and they controlled the *Quæstors* in the care of the public treasury.

Amongst all the magistrates thus nominally retained, there was none of sufficient real authority to govern the capital under the emperor, or to represent him in his absence. The void was filled by the revival of an office, which we have seen existing under the kings, but which had fallen into abeyance when prætors were appointed to aid the consuls,—that of Prefect of the City (*præfectus urbi*). He was invested with the police authority and with jurisdiction in certain personal cases; and in the emperor's absence he held absolute command over the city and to the distance of 100 miles round it, with authority to prohibit the entrance of all suspected persons, or to banish them to an island. The municipal business of Rome was so arranged as to give employment to as many citizens as possible. Boards were formed for the care of the public buildings, the roads, aqueducts, and sewers, the navigation of the Tiber, the distribution of corn, and other municipal functions. These services appear to have been recompensed by pecuniary payment.

In the Provinces, the remoteness of the sovereign power, the force of which was nevertheless perpetually felt, invested it with the more mysterious greatness. The settled provinces, which were nominally subjected to the government of the Senate, saw the dignity of the empire maintained by the splendid retinue of the proconsul, whose responsibility to the prince checked the rapacity which had made the name a terror under the Republic. Cities which would formerly have dreaded the proconsul's visit now claimed to be included in his route, that they might have the benefit of the profuse expenditure which was provided for from the imperial treasury. The chief functions of the proconsul were to administer justice, and to enforce the payment of the revenue. But those cities which had attained to the rank of Roman colonies enjoyed their own municipal government. The presidents of the imperial provinces, as became the military lieu-

* On the whole subject of official remuneration, by salaries and otherwise, see Merivale, Vol. iii. pp. 520, foll.

tenants of Cæsar, displayed less pomp, and held a lower rank, though wielding greater power. Besides the government of their own provinces, and the defence of the frontiers, they had to watch over the dependent and tributary princes, such as those who were still allowed to reign in Asia Minor and Judæa.

The supreme command of the army in all the provinces was vested in the one Imperator. He often appointed a legate even in the provinces of the Senate; and it was not long before he assumed the nomination also of the civil officers in these provinces. The new system of government involved the necessity of a standing army in the provinces; and at Rome also Augustus, as perpetual Imperator, established a permanent military force in imitation of the cohort which used to keep watch and ward round the *prætorium* or general's tent. The *Prætorian Guards*,* as they were called from this analogy, were recruited exclusively from Italy, received double pay, and were entitled to their discharge at the end of twelve years, instead of sixteen; and each soldier was then rewarded with a gratuity of 20,000 sesterces. To use modern language, the privates ranked as gentlemen; for every soldier carried the wand which was the mark of a centurion in the legions. The number of Prætorian Cohorts was at first nine or ten, each having a complement of 1000 men, horse and foot. Augustus stationed three only in the city, the rest being distributed through the adjacent towns. Nor did he trust his safety and the city's solely to these troops, whose privileges had a sure tendency to make them insolent. He surrounded his person with a few hundred picked veterans from the legions, a battalion of German foot-guards, and a squadron of Batavian horse, who had been first enrolled and specially trusted by Julius. All experience shows that two such favoured bodies keep one another in check by their mutual jealousy. Besides these troops, which were to be always about the emperor's person, the city had its regular garrison of three or four *Urban Cohorts;* and there was a *Watch* of seven cohorts,† two to each Region of the city, to do the duty of police and firemen. The total number of troops in the city might amount to twelve or fifteen thousand, under the command of the *Præfectus Urbi.* Augustus, adhering to his policy of avoiding the appearance of military constraint, established no permanent camp, but billeted the soldiers on the citizens, or lodged them in the public buildings. The more suspicious policy of Tiberius collected the whole of the Prætorian cohorts into a permanent

* *Cohortes Prætoriæ* or *Prætoriani* (*sc.* milites).

† *Cohortes Vigiles.*

fortified camp; and thus laid the foundation of that power, which soon placed the imperial purple at the disposal of an insolent soldiery.

The general military establishment of the empire consisted of 25 legions, each having a full complement of 6100 foot and 726 horse, divided into ten cohorts, the first of which, double the strength of the others, had the care of the eagle and the emperor's image. They were recruited from the provinces beyond Italy; and the qualification for service, of being a Roman citizen, was soon relaxed. Besides their numbers, the legions were distinguished by titles of honour, such as *Martia*, *Victrix*, and the like; and the same legions were stationed in the same provinces for a long series of years. These arrangements created a strong *esprit de corps* in the different divisions of the army, and prepared them, in later contests for the empire, to throw the whole weight of one or more provinces into the scale of their favourite candidates, as in the contest between Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian. To the legions we must add an auxiliary force, not inferior to them in number, making a grand total of 340,000 men, besides the prætorian cohorts and the garrison of Rome. To this military force Augustus added for the first time a regular navy; for all the maritime efforts of the Republic had been as temporary as the emergencies which they were designed to meet. Three fleets, numbering in all above 600 galleys, were stationed at Ravenna on the Adriatic, at Misenum on the Tyrrhene Sea, and at Forum Julii on the Ligurian Gulf, besides a smaller force on the Euxine; and flotillas of boats were maintained on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. The chief duties of the squadrons was to protect the commerce of the Mediterranean from piracy; but Augustus doubtless remembered that there were provinces, such as Egypt, Phœnicia, and Asia, where a pretender might speedily equip a formidable fleet, and that there were distant shores waiting to be explored and conquered, the Serians and Indians on the great Eastern Ocean, and beyond the Pillars of Hercules the island which Julius had twice invaded, and of whose people the present ruler was reminded by his favourite poet:—

"Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."

The maintenance of these great civil and military establishments, with the constant expenditure on public works,—the buildings, aqueducts, roads, and bridges, in every part of the empire, the stupendous remains of which form the most durable monu-

ments of Roman power—demanded a far ampler and more elaborate system of finance than had sufficed under the Republic. The state domain had been exhausted by successive agrarian laws, under the last of which Cæsar himself had divided what remained of the public land in Campania. In the later conquests of the Republic, as for example in Gaul, the conquered lands were redeemed by a land-tax, and the same system was continued under the Empire. But the chief direct impost was the *capitation tax*, which comprehended both a *land* and a *poll-tax*, and of which the following lucid account is given by Mr. Merivale:—"Throughout the provinces every subject who possessed land was assessed thereupon at the rate generally of ten per cent. on the annual produce in grain, and at five per cent. on that of wine, oil, and fruits. For the purposes of revenue the whole soil of the province was divided into portions designated as *capita* (heads) of the estimated value of 1000 *solidi*,* and in one such fiscal unit several small properties might be combined. On the other hand, a single property might of course be divided into several *capita*. The classes which possessed no landed property paid upon their personal effects. In the case of mere labourers, and even slaves, who had no property of any kind, the capitation assumed the form of a direct poll-tax, which was paid for them by their employers or masters, who were supposed to indemnify themselves by a deduction from their wages, or the use of their manual service. Under the Republic, the capitation-tax was paid partly in produce and partly in money; and, to redress the grievances of which the provincials complained from illegal exactions, Augustus endeavoured to establish the general principle of a money payment, except in the provinces, on which the capital depended for its supply of corn." It is a very interesting fact, that the fertile land of Egypt, instead of paying a tithe of its harvests, like Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, was assessed at *one-fifth*, or a double-tithe, the very composition for which the land was redeemed when forfeited to Pharaoh under Joseph. The mines, quarries, salt-works, fisheries, and forests, throughout the provinces, had been regarded by the conquering Republic as state property, and were either farmed by speculators or let out at a fixed rent. To these sources of revenue must be added the customs' duties of cities and ports, the tolls of roads and bridges, the rates levied for the use of fountains, aque-

* The *solidus* or *aureus* was the chief gold coin of the Empire, worth—in the time of Augustus—about a penny more than a guinea. Though of so different a value, the word was the original of the French *sol* or *sou*.

ducts, and baths, and a multitude of imposts on the doors, windows, and columns of houses, on furniture and dress, on every conceivable article of luxury, and on some very strange objects of taxation. Lastly there was a "succession duty" of five per cent., and a tax of the same amount on the manumission of slaves. The produce of these taxes in the senatorial provinces, vastly diminished by the expensive mode of collection and by the delays and difficulties of communication, was brought into the public treasury at Rome, and administered by officers appointed by the Senate. The revenues of the imperial provinces were considered as belonging to the emperor alone, and were applied to the expenses of government in each province.*

Such are the mere outlines of the imperial constitution, the original spirit of which is summed up by Gibbon in the following terms:—"To resume, in a few words, the system of the imperial government, as it was instituted by Augustus, and maintained by those princes who understood their own interest and that of the people, it may be defined as an absolute monarchy, disguised by the forms of a commonwealth. The masters of the Roman world surrounded their throne with darkness, concealed their irresistible strength, and humbly professed themselves the accountable ministers of the Senate, whose supreme decrees they dictated and obeyed." The monarchy, which the course of events had long since proved to be the only cure for the evils that the Gracchi had tried to mitigate,—which was foreshadowed by the despotic fury of Marius and by the temporary usurpation of Sulla,—which the restraints laid upon Pompey as the head of the aristocratic party had forbidden him to seize,—which victory over that party had left as the prize of Cæsar,—and which was only proved to be the more inevitable by the anarchy that followed Cæsar's death,—was now established under the forms of an aristocratic Republic. The illusion was maintained, and one great source of odium avoided, by the moderation of the emperor's personal habits, and the firmness with which he rejected flattering forms of address and demeanour towards himself.

It remained to consolidate the foundations of the Cæsarian empire by providing for its hereditary transmission. The prin-

* The distinction was kept up by the names used for the public treasury (*ærarium*), and for the imperial chest (*fiscus*, a term which denotes private property). In process of time, as the functions allotted to the Senate were absorbed by the imperial government, the treasury came to be called *fiscus*, and to be considered as at the disposal of the emperor.

ciple itself,—involved from the first to some extent in the claims of Octavian as Cæsar's heir,—had now been tacitly accepted. The Roman system of adoption removed the anxiety which new sovereigns have so often felt about the failure of issue, though at the risk of intrigues and disputes for the succession. Augustus had no son and but one daughter. He was married three times. His first wife was CLODIA, the daughter of the notorious Clodius. In B.C. 40, as we have seen, he married SCRIBONIA, the sister-in-law of Sextus Pompey, but divorced her in the following year, in order to marry LIVIA DRUSILLA, the daughter of Livius Drusus Claudianus, and wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero,* who was compelled by Augustus to divorce her (B.C. 38). Livia, a woman of high intellect and fascinating manners, retained the affections of Augustus till his death, but she bore him no children. Though still very young when she was married to him, she had some years earlier borne her first husband a son, TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO; and three months after her second marriage she gave birth to another son, who was acknowledged by her first husband, and received the name of Nero Claudius Drusus.† The latter was the father of the famous Germanicus, and the grandfather of the emperor CAIUS CÆSAR (nicknamed Caligula). But, besides these two stepsons, Augustus had descendants by his daughter JULIA, to whom his second wife Scribonia gave birth on the very day of her divorce; and there was another branch of his family, descended from his sister OCTAVIA, whose marriage to and divorce by Antony we have already had occasion to relate. By her first husband, C. Marcellus (consul in B.C. 50), she had a son MARCUS MARCELLUS, who was married to the emperor's daughter Julia, when the one was but seventeen, and the other fourteen years old (B.C. 25). Augustus hastened the marriage from a sense of his own weak health; and the popular feeling willingly saw in Marcellus his mother's virtues. But in the very year when Augustus recovered from his second dangerous illness, Marcellus, who was now ædile, fell a victim to the malaria of Rome (B.C. 23). Amidst the pomp of a public funeral, his remains were deposited in the mausoleum of Augustus, in the Campus Martius, beside the Tiber. The funeral oration was pronounced by the emperor, who built a theatre in honour of Marcellus in the Campus Martius; but the lasting monument of the hopes that were buried with him

* He was a Claudius by birth, and adopted into the Livian Gens.

† The *prænomen* of Drusus is unknown: *Nero* became a prænomen in the Claudian gens.

survives in the pathetic lines which Virgil interpolated in his Æneid, and at the recital of which Octavia is said to have fainted.*

The conspiracy of Murena against the emperor's life, though speedily detected and punished, followed so speedily upon the death of Marcellus, as to make Augustus doubly sensitive to the dangers of the future. Nor could he be blind to the fact, that his most trusted friend might prove, by the people's will, if not by his own, his destined successor. Preferring the safety of the state to the gratification of Livia's hopes for her sons, Augustus gave Julia in marriage to Agrippa, at the same time that he committed to him the government of Rome, while he himself departed for the East (B.C. 22). The issue of this marriage were three sons and two daughters. The two eldest sons, Caius and Lucius, born in B.C. 20 and B.C. 17, were adopted by Augustus in the latter year, and, after exciting the fears of the Romans by their arrogant dispositions, both died early, Lucius at Massilia (A.D. 2), and Caius of a wound treacherously inflicted in Armenia (A.D. 4). The third son, Agrippa Postumus, born after his father's death in B.C. 12, was adopted, together with Tiberius, in A.D. 4; but his fierce temper soon caused his banishment to an islet on the coast of Corsica, where he was murdered on the accession of Tiberius; but the guilt of the deed is imputed to Livia, whose son became undisputed heir by the extinction of the male line of Julia and Agrippa. But the blood of Augustus and the name of his great minister were perpetuated in Agrippina, the younger daughter,† whose marriage to Germanicus united the lines of Julia and Livia not only with each other, but with that of Octavia and Antony; for, by a sort of irony of fate, while the four successors of Augustus were all, in the male line, sprung from Livia's first husband, all of them (except Tiberius) traced their descent from the defeated triumvir. It is a curious coincidence that the dynasty of Napoleon should have been continued in a collateral line, united with that of his divorced wife Josephine by her former husband, General Beauharnais. The children of Octavia and Antony were two daughters, both named Antonia. The younger was married to Drusus, the younger son of Livia, and bore two sons, the celebrated GERMANICUS, and the emperor CLAUDIUS. Germanicus married Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia, and became the father of three sons and three daughters, of whom

* Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 860-885.

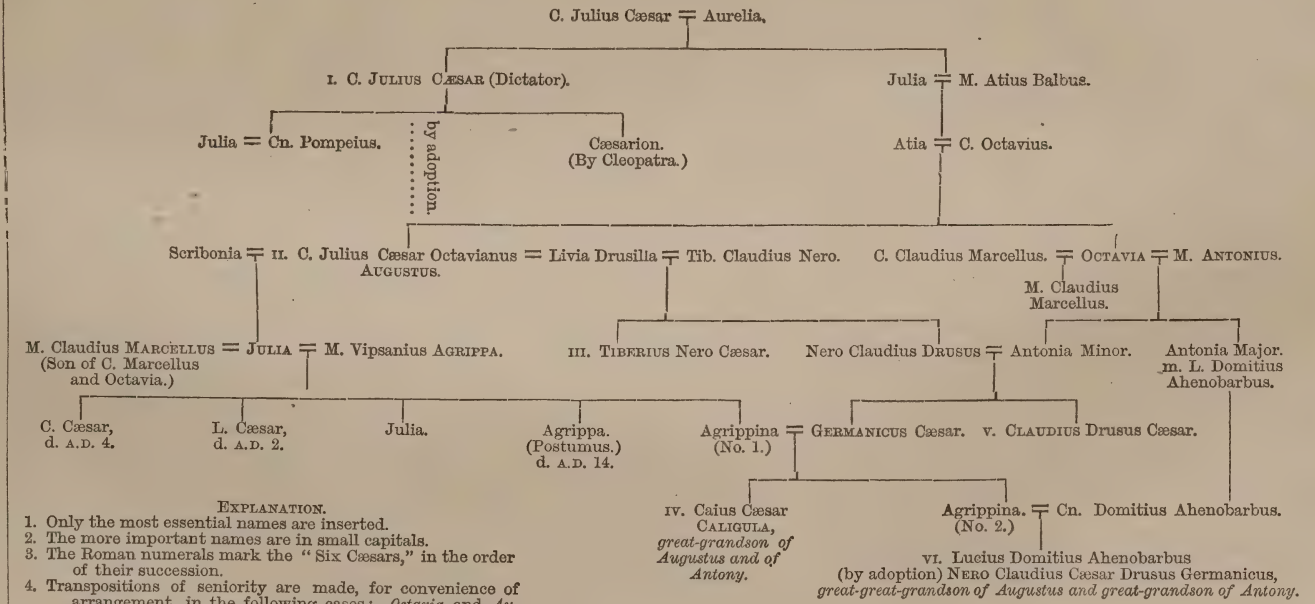
† Julia, the elder daughter, was married to L. Æmilius Paulus, and most of their descendants became the victims of Caligula and Nero.

we need only mention the third son, Caius (nicknamed CALIGULA), and his sister, the younger Agrippina, who became as notorious for her vices as her mother was celebrated for her virtue. The elder Antonia, by her marriage with L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, became the mother of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who married the younger Agrippina. Their son, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, better known by his adoptive name as the emperor NERO, was the last of the imperial descendants of Augustus. The relationships, an explanation of which seemed essential to the comprehension of the ensuing history, will be more clearly perceived from the Table on the opposite page. The last six of the "Twelve Cæsars" had no relationship to the Julian house.

This review of the Empire as founded by Augustus has naturally claimed our attention at the epoch of the emperor's return to Rome from the East (B.C. 19).* He brought back the standards taken from Crassus by the Parthians, which Phraates had surrendered to him, as the price of the restoration of his youngest son, whom his rival Tiridates had carried off to Augustus in Syria. Moreover, by giving up four of his sons with their wives and children as hostages, the king of Parthia seemed to confess himself the vassal of Rome. The recovered standards were received with unbounded joy, and Augustus was welcomed home from his bloodless victory with more than the enthusiasm of a triumph, though, as usual, he avoided a public demonstration by entering the city in the night. He afterwards led in his army with the forms of an ovation, and suspended the recovered standards in the temple of Mars the Avenger. The festival of the *Augustalia* was appointed for the 12th of October in every year, to commemorate his return to Rome. Of the renewed offers of extraordinary prerogatives, he contented himself, as we have seen, with accepting the consular power, and he shared his tribunitian privileges with Agrippa, who returned in the same year victorious over the Cantabri in Spain. The birth of Caius Cæsar, the son of Agrippa and Julia (B.C. 20), appeared to cement the alliance between the emperor and his minister, and to secure the succession. With the year B.C. 19 expired the decennial period for which Augustus had accepted the *imperium*, which he caused to be renewed by the Senate for five

* This year is also marked as an epoch in the literary history of the Augustan age by the death of Virgil, who had left Rome, on his journey to Asia. At Athens he met Augustus, and being taken ill, returned with him to Brundisium, and there died at the age of 51. Tibullus died in the following year.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE "SIX CÆSARS."


C. Julius Cæsar = Aurelia.
I. C. Julius Cæsar (Dictator).
Julia = M. Atius Balbus.
Julia = Cn. Pompeius.
by adoption.
Cæsarion. (By Cleopatra.)
Atia = C. Octavius.
Scribonia = II. C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus. = Livia Drusilla = Tib. Claudius Nero.
C. Claudius Marcellus. = Octavia = M. Antonius.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
M. Claudius Marcellus (Son of C. Marcellus and Octavia.) = Julia = M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
III. Tiberius Nero Cæsar.
Nero Claudius Drusus = Antonia Minor.
Antonia Major. m. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
C. Cæsar, d. A.D. 4.
L. Cæsar, d. A.D. 2.
Julia.
Agrippa. (Postumus.) d. A.D. 14.
Agrippina (No. 1.) = Germanicus Cæsar.
V. Claudius Drusus Cæsar.
IV. Caius Cæsar Caligula, great-grandson of Augustus and of Antony.
Agrippina. (No. 2.) = Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
VI. Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (by adoption) Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus, great-great-grandson of Augustus and great-grandson of Antony.

EXPLANATION.

1. Only the most essential names are inserted.
2. The more important names are in small capitals.
3. The Roman numerals mark the "Six Cæsars," in the order of their succession.
4. Transpositions of seniority are made, for convenience of arrangement, in the following cases:—*Octavia* and *Augustus*; *Antonia Major* and *Antonia Minor*; *Agrippina* (No. 1) and *Agrippa Postumus*.

years only; for he was still careful to disguise his monarchy under the appearance of temporary power (B.C. 18). He celebrated the epoch of his confirmed sovereignty by the great *Secular Games* which marked a new birth-year of the state; and it was for this occasion that Horace composed the noblest work of his lyric muse, the *Carmen Seculare*, which was sung in the atrium of Apollo on the Palatine by a double chorus of noble youths and maidens (B.C. 17).* The good omens of this year were crowned by the birth of a second son, Lucius, to Julia and Agrippa; and the child was adopted, with his elder brother, by Augustus.†

The foundations of his power being thus laid afresh, Augustus was perhaps not sorry once more to invest its working with the mystery of his personal absence; and the state of the frontiers did not yet permit the policy of peaceful contentment with the limits of the empire. The position of Mæcenas was now fully established as the minister of Augustus for civil affairs;‡ and under him the capital could be left to the nominal government of the consuls. Agrippa, with all jealousy removed by the honours conferred upon his infant sons, departed for the East to keep watch over Parthia and the dependent kingdoms; and he formed that friendship with Herod, which led to the close connection between the imperial house and the family of the Jewish king (B.C. 17). The disturbed frontier of the Eastern Alps offered a field of prowess to the youthful sons of Livia. For himself Augustus chose the post of the most imminent danger in Transalpine Gaul.

* In this ode Horace almost attains, after the imperfect efforts of his earlier odes, to the majestic rhythm of the Sapphic Hymn, which is as unlike as possible to the jingle of Canning's celebrated parody. See the article *Sappho* in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*.

† In speaking of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, Mr. Merivale has a note (vol. iv. p. 195), which we gladly quote for the information it gives about those *prænomina*, which have occurred so constantly in our pages:—"*Caius*, *Lucius*, and occasionally *Sextus*, are the only prænomens of the Julian family that occur in the Fasti. Every Gens had its proper prænomens, which it repeated from one generation to another, and abstained not less carefully from others. Thus the CORNELII were mostly *Caii*, *Lucii*, and *Publii*; they have no *Titus* or *Quintus*. The CLAUDII have no *Titus* or *Quintus*; the ÆMILII no *Titus*. It may be interesting to remark how these prænomens bore reference originally to nobility of birth. Thus CAIUS and CNÆUS = *gnavus*, 'well-born;' *Titus* and *Lucius* are the Sabine and Etruscan words for 'noble' (compare *Titius* and *Tatius* on the one hand; and on the other, *Lucumo*, *Luceres*). *Marcus* = 'warrior' (compare *Mamercus*, *Martius*). SPURIUS = 'high-born.' *Aulus* is cognate with *Augustus*, &c. = 'noble.' From *Marcus*, *Lucius*, and *Publius*, we have the gentile names, MARCIUS, LUCILIUS, and PUBLILIUS; as from *Quintus*, *Sextus*, and *Decimus* are formed QUINCTIUS, SEXTIUS, and perhaps DECIUS."

‡ On the present position of Mæcenas in politics and literature, see the excellent remarks of Mr. Merivale, vol. iv. p. 190.

The Germans had crossed the Lower Rhine; and Lollius, the imperial legate, had been defeated by them, with the disgrace of losing an eagle, though he had driven the invaders back again. The provincials themselves were disaffected by the exactions of the procurator, Licinius. Augustus, arriving at Lyon, with the intention of redressing their wrongs, was not ashamed to accept the splendid bribe offered him by Licinius (B.C. 16). The emperor spent two full years in Gaul (B.C. 15, 14), engaged in restoring order to the province, and in maturing a great scheme for connecting, by a series of forts, the frontier of the Rhine with that which he designed to fix permanently on the Danube.

That mighty river—the Ister of the Greeks—rising in the Black Forest, within the angle formed by the Rhine where it turns, at Basel, from its western to its northern course, flows eastward as far as its confluence with the *Inn*, along the northern foot of the great Alpine mass of Eastern Switzerland * and the Tyrol, corresponding to the ancient Rhætia and Vindelicia.† But, while the chain of the Carnic and Julian Alps bends to the S.E. along the margin of the Adriatic, forming the mountainous coast of Illyricum and Dalmatia, and then turning eastward again is prolonged in the chain of Hæmus (the *Balkan*) to the Black Sea, along the north of Macedonia and Thrace,—the river pursues its eastern course past Vienna, in obedience to the direction given it by the great northern chain of the Noric Alps, till it reaches the centre of Hungary at Waitzen above Pesth, where it again turns to the south; and, after receiving the waters of the *Drau* (Dravus) and *Sau* (Savus), which have flowed more nearly parallel to the Alps, and of the *Theiss* (Tibiscus), which has flowed from the north, parallel to the southern course of the Danube itself, through the plain of Hungary, the river pursues its majestic course, in an easterly direction, but with a great sweep to the south, from Belgrade to the Euxine, which it enters by several mouths opposite the Crimea.‡ The region between the Carnic and Julian Alps and

* All Switzerland, except the eastern portion of the *Grisons*, falls within the boundary of the Rhine. The valley of the Rhine from Coire (Curia Rhætorum) upwards belonged to Rhætia, which extended along the chain of the Alps from M. St. Gothard to the sources of the Drave.

† Vindelicia was the more level country to the north of Rhætia, sloping down to the Danube, in southern Bavaria and Wurtemburg, from the Lake of Constance to the Inn. Its name includes the Celtic root *Vind*.

‡ This is on the parallel of 45° N. latitude, the same which cuts through the mouths of the Po and the Garonne. This parallel may be regarded as the dividing line between the great mass of central Europe and its southern peninsulas, as that of 55° may be considered the boundary between central and northern Europe.

the great bend of the Danube, including *Styria*, *Illyria*, *Croatia*, and *Bosnia*, formed the ancient Noricum and Pannonia. Noricum was divided on the west from Rhætia and Vindelicia by the Inn, and on the east from Pannonia by M. Cetius (*Kahlenberg*), the spur of the Noric Alps which strikes the Danube west of Vienna. Pannonia formed two divisions, the Upper and Lower, on the upper and lower courses of the Drave and Save. The lower eastern boundary of Pannonia was a southern tributary of the Danube, called the Drinus (*Drina*), which divided it from Mœsia, the region between the Lower Danube and the chain of Scardus, Scomius, and Hæmus. A cross chain (the *Kodia Balkan*) cut this land into two parts, Upper Mœsia, corresponding to Servia, and Lower Mœsia, to Bulgaria.* To the north of the Lower Danube, the warlike Dacians, whom the Greeks called Getae (a tribe apparently, like the Mœsians, of Thracian origin) occupied the vast forests of Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and eastern Hungary, as far north as the Carpathian range, by which they were divided from the Sarmatians—the Slavonic inhabitants of Southern Russia and Poland.† West of the Western Carpathians and of the Vistula, those various Teutonic tribes, whom the Romans knew under the general name of Germans, "were divided from the Dacians and Sarmatians" (says Tacitus) "by mountains and mutual mistrust." ‡ Their extensive territory may be described as an irregular quadrangle, bounded by the Vistula on the east, the Danube on the south, the Rhine on the west, and the German Ocean and Baltic § on the east. Such is the general outline of the principal European peoples that still lay beyond the Roman Empire.

The region between the Danube and the Alps had been overrun more or less completely by the Celtic tribes, whose irruptions into Italy had first threatened the existence of Rome, and afterwards

* The name of the Mœsians is etymologically identical with the Mysians of Asia Minor, who were probably of the same Thracian stock. The Greeks called both countries Mysia, distinguishing that on the Danube by the epithet of European.

† The proper western boundary of Dacia, as constituted a Roman province by Trajan, was the *Theiss;* the region between that river and the Danube having been occupied in the reign of Claudius by a Sarmatian tribe, whose migration from the Palus Mæotis (*Sea of Azov*) gave them the name of the *removed* Jazyges (Jazyges Metanastæ). When the invasion of Dacia by the Goths compelled Aurelian to be again content with the frontier of the Danube, he removed the Roman inhabitants of Dacia into Mœsia, and gave the part in which he settled them the name of Dacia Aureliani.

‡ "Montibus et mutuo metu."

§ The Romans called the Baltic *Mare Suevicum*, from one of the greatest of the German tribes.

furnished frequent occupation for her arms. But, except when a crisis of danger had called forth a Camillus or a Marius, the Alpine wars of the Republic had usually been but the fitful efforts of generals in search of a triumph; and it was reserved for the concentrated might of the empire at once to secure the frontier of the Alps, to extend it to the Danube, and to stay for many a year the tide of barbaric migration at the line marked out by that river and the Rhine. The subjugation of Vindelicia and Rhætia was effected in one campaign by the emperor's stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, now in the twenty-seventh and twenty-third years of their age. The former, advancing from Gaul through Helvetia, up the course of the Rhine, crossed the lake of Constance by a flotilla into the heart of Vindelicia; while the younger brother penetrated in every direction those stupendous passes which strike awe even into those who traverse them for pleasure. That the mountain fortresses in which freedom defied the cumbrous warfare of the middle ages,* should have been so quickly stormed by the Roman legions, will scarcely astonish those who remember the achievements of modern armies in the Alps; and the permanence of the conquest may be accounted for by the unsparing severity with which the inhabitants were sold into slavery. "The free states of the Eastern Alps appear then for the first time in history, only to disappear again for a thousand years; of most of them the only memorial was perpetuated in the monument of his victory which Augustus erected, on which he enumerated the names of four and forty conquered nations."† While Drusus was transferred to the command upon the Rhine, Tiberius was called home as consul for B.C. 13, the year in which Augustus himself returned to Rome, having settled the affairs of Gaul, and made a final expedition against the Cantabrians in Spain. In the same year, Agrippa also returned from the East, and, having declined the triumph voted to him by the Senate, he set out again to quell some disturbances in Pannonia. A rapid winter campaign sufficed to restore order, and he had reached Campania on his way home, when he fell sick and died, towards the end of March, B.C. 12. The emperor pronounced his funeral oration, and laid his ashes in his own mausoleum. Shortly before this (March 6th), Augustus had been raised, on the death of Lepidus, to the chief

* It is often forgotten that the decisive victories of the Swiss over the chivalry of Austria and Burgundy were gained in the more level country beyond the Alps.

† Merivale, Vol. iv. p. 203. One permanent fruit of this war was the foundation of *Augsburg* (Augusta Vindelicorum), the capital of the province of Rhætia.

pontificate, which completed the union of the honours of the state in the person of its prince.

The death of Agrippa, just at the time when Tiberius and Drusus had given proof of their abilities, encouraged Livia to new intrigues; and Augustus, who felt the want of some one to replace the associate for thirty-seven years in all his cares, gave Julia to Tiberius, who reluctantly divorced Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa, in order to marry his widow, who had not yet borne Agrippa Postumus. The betrothal only was completed; and Tiberius departed for a new war in Pannonia. He returned to betray his affection for his divorced wife and his disgust for the levities of Julia (B.C. 11).

His younger brother, meanwhile, left behind in Gaul when the emperor returned to Rome, began his administration by dedicating at Lugdunum an altar to Rome and Augustus; and sixty of the Celtic tribes pledged their faith to the emperor by joining in the work and inscribing their names upon the altar, of which a noble Æduan became the chief priest. Of the tribes assembled for this ceremony he demanded reinforcements and supplies for an enterprise against Germany, in which his youthful ardour impelled him beyond the limits of the policy of Augustus. Cæsar and Agrippa had crossed the Rhine in order to check the incursions of the nearer German tribes upon Gaul by chastising them within their own borders; and the latter had transported one of their tribes, the Ubii, to the left bank, at their own request, that they might escape from their powerful enemies, the Suevi (B.C. 37).* But the constant pressure of this greatest of the German nations to the west, impelled probably by the great wave that was already in motion from the distant East, and driving before it the peoples nearest to the Rhine, placed this frontier in constant peril. The urgent necessity of defence might well afford Drusus a pretext for meditating the extension of the Roman dominion over the Teutonic nations. The young stepson of the emperor no doubt regarded this movement as a simple onward step in the fulfilment of the

* The region occupied by the Ubii is marked by their chief city, which was raised to a Roman colony by Claudius (A.D. 51), and named in honour of his wife Agrippina, who was born here, *Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensis*, now *Köln* or *Cologne*. Others of their cities were Bonna (*Bonn*) and Ara Ubiorum (perhaps *Godesberg*). This migration, following upon the repeated pressure of German tribes across the Rhine, and followed by other similar movements, established on the left bank that Germanic population which already, in the time of Augustus, caused the north-eastern part of Gallia Belgica to be sub-divided into the two new provinces of *Germania Inferior* and *Germania Superior*.

destiny of Rome; but we have learned to see in it the opening of the momentous question, whether one race should be preserved, great in its freedom while still uncivilized, and endowed with all the possibilities of the highest culture, to fulfil a far nobler mission when Rome herself should fall. That question was not only opened, but decided, in the reign of Augustus.

With an almost prophetic consciousness of that destiny, the historian Tacitus chose the German nation as an ideal model of primitive simplicity, to shame the deep degeneracy of the Romans under Domitian. But his essay on their manners and customs adds little to the scanty information obtained by Cæsar more than a century before. The very name by which the Romans know the people, GERMANI,* is of uncertain origin, and the proper names of the tribes were often concealed under the appellations assumed by the great confederacies which they formed for the purposes of war, such as the Suevi, the Alemanni, and the Franks; two of which ultimately gave to Germany and France the names by which those countries are known in the language of the latter.† Nor do the Romans seem to have had much knowledge of that noble language, which has proved itself a more powerful vehicle of human thought than their own, and which is the surest mark of the unity of the nation. But the historian describes with admiration their physical character, and their simple, hardy manners, in which coarseness was redeemed by manly courage and female virtue. He argues the unity of the race, and its freedom from corruption by intermarriage with other nations, from the universal prevalence of the keen light-blue eyes, the ruddy hair, the large bodies possessing vast strength, but wanting in power of endurance. A rude climate, and a land covered in one part with woods, in another with marshes, trained them to bear cold and hunger, but heat and thirst they were unable to endure. They were a pastoral people, whose sole wealth consisted in the number of their flocks and herds, but the cattle were only of small size. Money was little used among them, and only those bordering upon Gaul carried on commerce. Their abodes were low huts, built of rough-hewn logs and

* The most probable derivation is from the native root signifying *war*, which is seen in the forms *ger*, *groer*, *Heer*, *Wehr*; so that *Germani* would be the latinised form of *Wehrmann*, pl. *Wehrmänner*, i.e., *warriors*. There is no evidence that *Teutones* (like *Teutsch* or *Deutch*) was the collective name of the whole nation. See p. 69.

† It was natural that, when the Franks settled in Gaul, they should call the neighbouring land by the name of the great rival tribe which had firmly established its power there, and thus Germany became *Allemagne*.

thatched with straw: these were grouped in villages, none of which could be dignified with the name of towns. Their clothing was scanty, in spite of the severity of the climate. The warriors were equipped with a light cloak, a shield whose variegated colours gave a foretaste of the national love for heraldry, and a javelin with a short, sharp, narrow head, used either for thrusting or hurling.* Swords and long spears were rare among them. The cavalry were mounted on small but swift horses, well trained to charge in a compact body, but unused to the varied evolutions of the Thracian and Oriental horsemen. Their strength lay chiefly in their infantry; the band furnished by each village bore the name of a *hundred*, an appellation at first doubtless of number, but afterwards cherished as an honour. Their usual order of battle was the wedge. They esteemed it no disgrace to retire, in order to press on again; but the man who left his shield on the field of battle was excluded from the religious rites and councils of his tribe; and many hanged themselves rather than endure the disgrace.

The several troops were formed of men connected by family and neighbourhood; nor did they fight only beside those who knew them well and on whom they could depend, but within hearing of the cries of their children and the wild screams with which their wives, mothers, and sisters inflamed their valour. In these women, who brought them food and cheering words during the combat, and then counted and tended their hurts, we see the prototype of those ladies of chivalry who shrunk not from examining the wounds which they delighted to see received in their honour. Cases were on record in which women had stopped the tide of flight by throwing themselves before the fugitives, and imploring them to pierce their hearts rather than leave them to captivity. This reverence for the female sex was seen in the power exerted by priestesses, such as Veleda under Vespasian, who is said to have been venerated as a goddess.† In that intuitive sagacity of the female mind, which transcends the slow processes of reasoning, they recognized a sort of divine foresight; and would neither despise their counsels nor neglect their answers. Of the deities themselves, Tacitus can only tell us the names of the Latin

* Tacitus calls this weapon *framea:* in modern German *frieme* is an *awl.* Its use furnishes a marked contrast to the Celtic broadsword, and reminds us of the boar-spears of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.

† Under the name of *Aurinia*, Tacitus is supposed to indicate the appellation which the Germans gave to these inspired women, *Alrune*, i.e., *omniscient*, from *all* and *runen* (know).

gods to whom they were supposed to correspond. His Mercury, Hercules, Mars, and Isis seem to correspond to the Woden, Thor, Tyr or Tuisco, and Freya of our ancestors; but they had an elemental worship of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and of the Earth, which seems to be symbolized in Nerthus (also called Herthus or Hertha), the mother of the gods. The dark recesses of their woods afforded shrines which made walls as needless as the Germans deemed them unworthy of the divine habitation; and the islands of the Baltic and the North Sea were the seats of their most sacred mysteries.* Among the arts of divination, to which the people were strongly addicted—such as the flights of birds, and others common to other nations—Tacitus makes special mention of the augury by picking up sticks scattered at random with particular marks upon them, and the neighing of the sacred horses, which were supposed to be inspired by the gods. The issue of an intended war was divined from that of a single combat between a captive of the enemy and one of their own people, each fighting with the arms of his country.

All matters not referred to the sole decision of the gods were discussed and determined in the assembly of the whole tribe, or in the council of the nobles; the latter deciding only upon lesser matters. There were four classes of the people—nobles, freemen, freedmen or vassals, and slaves: the last of course formed no part of the state; the first two alone had the right of deliberation. A king was elected from among the nobles by the popular assembly; but his power was extremely limited, and in war he had to give way to a leader chosen for his valour and martial fame. The assembly also elected chieftains, to administer justice through the cantons† and villages; each being attended and watched by a hundred "companions"‡ chosen from the people. Capital and other important cases were brought before the popular assembly, where every one had the right of accusation. The rare punishment of death was rather a sign of indignation than of the greatness of the crime. Traitors and deserters were hung; cowards

* The particular "island of the Ocean," with its sacred grove, mentioned by Tacitus as the place of the sacred car of the mother of the gods, is supposed by some to be *Heligoland*, the very name of which (like the Holy Islands, and the Holy-head of Anglesey, on our own shores), proves its ancient sanctity; but the island is more probably *Rügen* in the Baltic, where "Hertha's rock" is still shown.

† This division of the land into cantons was used also by the Helvetians, who had four. It was introduced by the Anglo-Saxons into England, and formed the origin of our shires.

‡ *Comites*, the word of which *count* is but another form.

and the infamously obscene were drowned in the mud of a marsh; the form of punishment being governed by this principle, that flagrant crimes should be exposed, but disgraceful wickedness kept out of sight.* Private wrongs, even to murder, were compensated by fines of horses and cattle, paid partly to the king or state, partly to the injured person or his relatives. The rude sense of freedom was shown in the very mode in which the people assembled and deliberated. The meetings were generally held at the new or full moon; and two or three days were wasted in the gathering. They sat down armed in whatever order each chose. The priests only had authority enough to obtain silence. Precedence in speaking was granted to the king or chieftains, according to age, nobility, fame in war, or eloquence; and power of persuasion prevailed over authority in commanding. The dissent of the assembly was expressed by a loud murmur: approval by the clash of their javelins. The political state of each nation of the Germans has been well described as a democratical family or clan government, in which the original patriarchal constitution had received a very different development from the monarchies and aristocracies of other states. The age of manhood and of freedom was marked by the youth's investment with shield and javelin in the full assembly.

War was the great occupation of the German tribes; the delight of their chiefs, and the means of supporting their profuse hospitality to their followers. They deemed it sluggish to earn by sweat what you may obtain by blood. When not at war among themselves, they sought fame and plunder abroad; and Germans fought under Mithridates in Asia, and at Pharsalia under Cæsar. Their leisure was spent partly in hunting, but still more in sluggish indolence. The men divided their time between sleep and feasting, leaving fields as well as houses to the care of the women. Their deep gaming, over "potations pottle deep" of beer, often ended in bloody brawls. But their domestic life had the one great redeeming feature of reverence for the women, in whose inviolate chastity we may see the source of the noblest principles of medieval chivalry.

Like so many ancient nations, the Germans claimed to be indigenous; and the most philosophical of Roman historians betrays the low state of ethnical knowledge by arguing that they were unlikely to have migrated into a land and climate

* Tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi."

so unfavourable.* Germany was divided between the wood-clad Highlands, which were usually called *Forests* rather than *Mountains*,† in the South, and the marshy Lowlands, which sloped down to the German Ocean and the Baltic, in the North; a distinction which has given names to the two great dialects of the language, the High German (*Hoch-deutsch*) and the Low German (*Platt-deutsch*). The mountains of the south belong to a great system which, like that of the Alps, sweeps round from West to East, but in a much larger arch, and of much less height. This arch rests at one extremity on the Pyrenees, at the other on the Balkan, and encloses between itself and the Alps the basin of the Rhone, and the greater parts of those of the Rhine and Danube. Beginning on the west side of the Rhone in the Cevennes, it is prolonged by the chain of the Vosges to the Rhine, which cuts right through it by the magnificent gorge from Bingen to Coblenz. Beyond the Rhine it forms various chains, which divide the basins of the eastern tributaries of the river,—such as the Main, the Lahn, and the Sieg,—and proceeding through central Germany, it forms the water-shed between the tributaries of the Danube and the rivers which flow northward,—as the Ems, the Weser, the Elbe, and the Oder,—on the banks of which lies the vast slope of Lower Germany; and, having enclosed the great plains of Bohemia and Moravia, it merges in the Carpathian range. The south-western part of Germany, between the Rhine and the western Bohemian range (the Böhmerwald), is covered with other mountain masses, of which the Black Forest connects itself with the system of the Jura on the other side of the Rhine. At this point began the great Hercynian Forest, which Cæsar describes as nine days' journey in breadth, and sixty days' in length, and as extending parallel to the Danube into Dacia. He seems to include under this name the whole mountain system of southern and central Germany from the Black Forest and the Odenwald, as far as the Carpathians; but later writers, as Tacitus and Pliny, confine it to the range along the north of Bohemia, between the Thüringerwald and the Carpathians, where the Harz and Erzgebirge retain the name which may be traced in the Roman form.

It were a vain attempt to fix the exact limits of the fifty tribes whom Tacitus enumerates as the inhabitants of these wide regions,

* On the probable migration of the Celtic and Teutonic nations from the East, see Vol. II. pp. 260, 261.

† Like the great *Hercynia Silva*, and, in the present day, the *Odenwald*, *Thüringerwald*, *Schwarzwald* (*Black Forest*), &c.

and who, whether highlanders or lowlanders, in the forests of the south or the marshes of the north, from the banks of the Rhine and Danube to the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic, spoke one language and were evidently of one race. The unsettled states of the people, fixed in no towns, not addicted to agriculture, and prone to go upon warlike adventures, encouraged migratory habits; but there is reason to believe that far more of the tribes are to be found in their ancient seats than most writers have supposed. Tacitus makes three great divisions, the Ingævones upon the ocean, the Hermiones in the central parts, and the Istævones in the east and south: to which Pliny adds the Vindili (Vandals) on the north-east coast, between the Oder and the Vistula, and the Peucini and Bastarnæ on the borders of Dacia. The most powerful nation, in the time of the Cæsars, was the great confederacy of the Suevi,—a name which is said to have been adopted to express their migratory habits, in contrast to the more settled life of the Ingævones. Tacitus describes them as occupying the eastern half, or more, of Germany, from the Danube to the Baltic; and Cæsar was misled by their celebrity into giving their name to another great nation, which occupied the modern states of Saxony, Hesse, and Nassau, and extended westward nearly to the Rhine.* The proper name of this people was the Catti, or Chatti, a name still preserved in that of *Hesse;* and they extended from the Main to the sources of the Weser, between the Westerwald on the west, and the river Saale on the east. To the north-east of them were the Cherusci, between the Weser and the Elbe, as far north as Mount Melibocus (the *Brocken*), the northernmost of the German highlands. These Cherusci formed another great confederacy, like that of the Suevi, from whom they were divided by the western chain of the Thuringian Forest. The great marshy plain which slopes down northwards from the line of the Siebengebirge and the Brocken, watered by the Lower Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, was the abode of tribes which have for us a peculiar interest. The greatest people of this region, in the time of Augustus, were the Cauci, or Chauci, who occupied the whole country between the lower courses of the Ems and the Elbe, on both banks of the Weser. Tacitus describes them as the noblest of all the Germans, and distinguished for their love of justice. Secure in their remote position from the constant conflicts of

* The Suevi of the 3rd century were a body of adventurers from various parts of Germany, who settled in the region on the Rhine between the Main and the Black Forest, which district received from them the name of *Swabia.*

the southern migratory tribes, they were lovers of peace, but conspicuous for their courage in case of war. Their marshy country yielded them only a precarious subsistence; and those on the sea-shore, exposed to the inundations against which no dykes were as yet erected, lived in villages on the summits of their low hills, and fed chiefly upon fish. But the sea laid open to them a boundless field of enterprize, and in the piratical excursions which they carried on as far as Gaul, we trace the beginning of that naval power of the northern Germans, which was destined to be the chief element in the great revolution that transferred the centre of civilization from the basin of the Mediterranean to the shores of the Atlantic. The names of some of the nations which were to effect this revolution already appear on the page of Tacitus, in close connection with the Chauci. Thus, on the middle course of the Weser, in Hanover, dwelt the Angrivarii, or *people of the Angles.** The Saxons—the origin of whose name is still such a vexed question of etymology—were unknown to Tacitus; but Ptolemy (in the second century) places them beyond the Elbe (in Holstein), on the neck of the peninsula which the earlier writers still call by the name of the Cimbric Chersonese. The great confederacy which they formed gradually embraced not only the Chauci, whose name disappears from history in the third century, but the Frisii, between the Ems and the Rhine (in Holland), whose descendants to this day speak a language which of all the Low German dialects has the closest affinity to English. The list of the most important nations along the north-western coast is completed when we have

* *Angrivarii,* or *Anglevarii=Angleware,* the termination being the same which we see in *Cant-ware,* i.e., *the people of Kent,* with their capital *Cant-ware-burgh* (Canterbury). It comes from *werian,* to *defend.* Their name is still preserved in the form *Engern,* the princes of Anhalt calling themselves Dukes of *Sachsen, Engern,* and *Westfalen,* that is, of the three branches of the old Saxon confederacy, who were called in the time of Charlemagne by the names of *Ostfalai* (East-folk), *Westfalai* (West-folk) and *Angrarii.* The name of the *Westfalai* survives in Westphalia; the *Ostfalai,* in Holstein and Schleswig, were known in England as the *Easterlings*; and, preserving in their commercial dealings the same high character for integrity which Tacitus gives to the Chauci, and which still marks their descendants, their proverbially pure money originated the term *sterling.* The *Anglii,* or *Angli,* whom Tacitus mentions among the remoter nations on the shores of the Baltic, appear to have been a detached part of the great people of the Angrivarii, who had crossed the Elbe into that part of Schleswig which still bears the name of *Angeln.* Ptolemy makes the Angli one of the most powerful tribes of Northern Germany, extending all along the left bank of the Elbe. These testimonies to the wide diffusion of the race help to clear up many difficulties and crude notions connected with their settlement in Britain. (See an article by Professor Max Müller, *On the Language and Poetry of Schleswig-Holstein,* in *Macmillan's Magazine* for Sept. 1864; vol. x. p. 353.)

named the Batavians,—a branch of the Chatti, driven out, it is said, by intestine wars—who had displaced the Celtic population of the marshy delta between the Rhine and the Maas (Mosa), which was called the Island of the Batavians.* Above the Chauci, between the Elbe and Brunswick, was the chief seat of the Langobardi (the *Longbeards*), celebrated in the days of Tacitus for the courage which enabled so small a nation to hold its ground by constant war, and destined to earn far wider distinction under the name of *Lombards;* and on the shores of the Baltic, between the Oder and the Vistula, were the still more famous GOTHS. Beyond that sea, Tacitus only knew the peoples of the Sitones and Suiones, the latter of which names is still seen in that of Sweden. The Romans had not yet learnt the distinction between the Scandinavian and German branches of the great Teutonic race, which has been asserted with such strange animosity in modern times.

Such was the country, and such the people, over which Drusus now meditated the extension of the sway of Rome. The arms of Cæsar and Agrippa had as yet been felt only by the smaller tribes on the right bank of the Rhine, in the valleys of the Lahn, the Sieg, and the Lippe,—the Sigambri, the Usipetes, and the Tenchtheri. These were again assailed by Drusus, but only in order to secure his flank during the greater enterprize of sailing down the rapid current of the Rhine to the attack of the people of the maritime plain. While a flotilla was prepared at various points on the river, its course was facilitated by the cutting of a channel which, under the name of the Canal of Drusus, united the Rhine with the Vidrus (*Vecht*), a stream flowing into the lake Flevo. The effect of this work was to give a shorter and directer course to the waters of the Rhine, a large portion of which accordingly rushed down the new channel, which is now that of the river *Yssel*, and gradually converted what was then a much smaller inland lake, communicating with the sea, into the great gulf of the *Zuider Zee*. The islands of Texel, Vlieland, Ter Schelling, and Ameland mark the line of the ancient coast. Aided by the maritime skill of the Frisians, Drusus sailed round to the mouth of the Ems, not without considerable loss, only to find the season too advanced for securing more than a safe retreat. In the following spring, Drusus

* *Insula Batavorum.* Cæsar distinctly extends Gaul as far north as the mouth of the Rhine, which was not yet drained off by the Yssel; and the Celtic population of the Batavian delta is attested by the capital Lugdunum (*Leyden*), identical in name with the Gallic Lugdunum (*Lyon*), which is said to mean the *Crow's-hill.* The termination at all events is the Celtic *dun*, a *hill.*

renewed his enterprise according to the more usual tactics of a Roman general. Crossing the Rhine without any opposition from the Usipetes and the Tenchtheri, he advanced into the country of the Cherusci as far as the Weser. The tactics of the Germans, who constantly retreated without risking an engagement, rendered the position of Drusus increasingly difficult; and when the approach of winter again compelled him to a retreat, the necessity for which was excused by the auspices, the enemy closed in from every side. The imperial legions proved that they had not degenerated from the calm valour which, under the Republic, had prevailed against the like dangers in the wilds of Gaul and the sandy plains of Africa; and the undisciplined attack of the Germans being once repelled, they did not venture on more than harassing the Roman retreat. Before Drusus retired across the Rhine, he built the fortress of Aliso (perhaps *Hamm*), near the sources of the Lippe (B.C. 11). The following year was consumed in war with the Sigambri, and their neighbours the Bructeri; and the attempt to subdue Germany seemed to have been abandoned when Drusus was recalled to Rome to enjoy the honour of an ovation, at the same time that his brother Tiberius returned victorious from Pannonia (B.C. 10).* But in the following year, Drusus, now invested with the consulship, prevailed on Augustus to try one more expedition beyond the Rhine. Having subdued the Chatti, he passed through the territory of the Cherusci, and advanced as far as the Elbe. The difficulty of his position once more counselled a retreat, which is said to have been hastened by a portentous vision. A woman of more than mortal stature appeared to the consul, and predicted his speedy death. Having erected on the shore of the Elbe a trophy, which only mocked the attempt to push forward the Roman frontier, Drusus led back his army; and before he reached the Rhine, he was mortally injured by a fall from his horse. He lingered for a month, and Tiberius reached the "accursed camp"†—as it was called from the accident—just in time to receive his brother's last breath. By the command of Augustus, he conveyed the corpse to Rome, where the ashes of Drusus were buried in the imperial mausoleum. The funeral orations were pronounced by Augustus and by Tiberius, whose subsequent career added to his brother's memory the charm of a contrast, which it is in vain to speculate whether Drusus would have realized had he lived. "The youthful hero, baffled in his enterprizes, and cut off so prematurely in his

* The preceding winter was marked, in the annals of the imperial family, by the death of Octavia, and this year by the birth of Claudius.

† *Castra Scelerata.*

career, was more than ordinarily fortunate in the honours accorded to his memory. The regrets of his countrymen were both loud and enduring; alone of all Roman warriors he received a posthumous title to commemorate his successes; the appellation of *Germanicus*, which his son rendered afterwards still more illustrious, became the dearest, as it was the last, of the cherished hero-names of Rome. The Senate decreed him a triumphal arch, which still exists, for a triumph scarcely earned and never consummated; and the elegant though feeble verses of a courtly poet continue still to attest his virtues, or at least the popular belief in them."* His campaigns were not, however, fruitless; for they so effectually checked the inroads of the Germans as to secure the empire from invasion on that side.

During a part of the time when Drusus was engaged upon the Rhine and Tiberius in Pannonia, the Lower Danube was also the theatre of war. Vologesus, a priest of the Thracian Dionysus, raised a rebellion in Mœsia, and drove back the Thracian king, who was friendly to the Romans, into the Chersonese. Lucius Piso, the proconsul of Pamphylia, crossed over from Asia, and carried on the war for three years with such success as to subdue the whole country south of the Danube, from Illyria to the Euxine, and to obtain honours almost as great as those conferred upon Tiberius and Drusus (B.C. 13—11). The frontiers both of the Rhine and Danube were thus secured; and provision was made for their defence by lines of forts which afterwards grew into important cities. Such was the origin of most of the picturesque old towns which stud the left bank of the Rhine, from Cologne to Strasburg. At one point the frontier was permanently advanced beyond the two rivers. The angle between the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Upper Danube was invaded by predatory incursions of Gauls and Roman adventurers, before whom the Marcomanni (*men of the marches*, or *frontier*) retired, as we shall soon see. The invaders held the lands thus obtained, under the protection of Rome, in consideration of a tribute, whence the district obtained the name of the Tithed Lands (*Agri Decumates*). About the end of the first century they were defended by a rampart drawn from the Main to the Danube.

* "See the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, ascribed to Pedo Albinovanus." Merivale, vol. iv. p. 238. In another passage, Mr. Merivale observes, in reference to the rumour that Drusus was the son of Augustus, that "if we could accept as authentic the representations we possess of the character of Drusus, we might fancy him heir by blood to the gallant disposition of a Julius, while Tiberius displayed in every feature the harsher lineaments of the Claudian house." The History of Livy ended with the death of Drusus.

Just at the time when the frontier was secured on the two great rivers, the second decennial period for which Augustus had accepted the imperium, expired;* and his power appears to have been renewed as a matter of course (B.C. 8). It was at this time that the month Sextilis received the name of Augustus. The year was further marked by the death of Mæcenas, and the introduction of the young Caius Cæsar (the eldest son of Agrippa and Julia) to public life. Meanwhile the emperor repaired in person to Lugdunum, in order to secure the tranquillity of Gaul and the Rhenish frontier. Tiberius was sent to chastise the Germans, whose resistance seems to have been revived by the death of Drusus. The tribes on the right bank made their submission as soon as he crossed the Rhine, except the warlike Sigambri. Augustus, who received their envoys at Lugdunum, refused to grant them terms till this people also should send ambassadors, and the point was no sooner yielded than all the envoys were seized as hostages, and many of them put themselves to death. The momentary quiet of the Germans seemed to have crowned this treachery with success, and Augustus granted Tiberius a triumph, with the title of Imperator, and a second consulship. But he had scarcely assumed this dignity, when a fresh rising of the Sigambri recalled him to the Rhine (B.C. 7). A great victory was followed by the removal of 40,000 of the Sigambri and Chatti to the left bank; but the very exhaustion of the country by these repeated invasions seems to have been a sufficient reason for his penetrating no further. On his return to Rome, he was associated by Augustus in the tribunitian power for five years. But at this very crisis, when, at the age of forty, he seemed raised almost to a share in the imperial sovereignty, Tiberius asked permission to retire to Rhodes, in order to improve his mind by the study of philosophy, instead of accepting the mission to defend Armenia against the Parthians. The motive which he himself assigned for this strange step was unwillingness to stand in the way of his stepsons, Caius and Lucius Cæsar, whom Augustus was now bringing forward into public life. Historians ascribe his conduct to real jealousy of the young princes, to disgust at the continued levities of Julia, or even simply to "the dark humour of his race," which gained such complete ascendancy over him in later years. It was not till Tiberius had threatened to starve himself to death, that Augustus suffered him

* He had accepted it, as already stated, for five years, which seems to have been prolonged to ten during his absence in Gaul, in B.C. 15-14.

to depart for Rhodes, where he remained for seven years, living as a private citizen in very moderate style. He went without attendants to the schools, and joined freely in the discussions; but, like Frederick the Great in the society of Voltaire, he could reassume the Cæsar upon provocation, as a professor who had dared to contradict him too plainly learned from the rods of his lictors.

Augustus had now passed the middle of his reign, which still lasted for another twenty years. During that period, as Mr. Merivale observes, the history of Rome assumes the character of a domestic drama. Deprived of the wise counsels and pleasant society of Mæcenas, bereft of one of his stepsons and deserted by the other, Augustus was thrown back upon his fondness for his daughter, and his hopes from her sons. But all the high accomplishments and fascinating qualities of Julia could not make Augustus insensible to her levities; and he was wont to say that he had two troublesome daughters, Julia and the Republic. Four years after the retirement of Tiberius, the full conviction of her disgraceful conduct caused Augustus to banish her to the island of Pantellaria, on the Campanian coast, whence she was removed five years afterwards to Rhegium. The anger of Augustus was shown to the last in her exclusion from any inheritance under his will, and the direction that her ashes should not repose in his mausoleum. She died, in almost extreme want, in the same year as her father (A.D. 14).

Nor was Augustus much more fortunate in his two adopted sons, who had been brought up with great care under his own eye, and kept constantly near his person. The retirement of Tiberius hastened their public advancement, and in the following year Augustus again took the consulship, after an interval of seventeen years, in order to preside over the assumption of the manly robe (*toga virilis*) by Caius Cæsar, who was now in his sixteenth year (B.C. 5). Three years later, the emperor became consul for the thirteenth and last time, to confer the like honour upon Lucius Cæsar (B.C. 2). The two brothers received the title of Princes of the Roman youth, and the Senate would at once have raised them to the consulship. But when Lucius, intoxicated with the favours heaped upon them, ventured to solicit the high dignity for his brother, quoting as a precedent the age at which his grandfather had held it, he was repulsed with the weighty rebuke,—"May the gods grant that no such emergency may again occur as that which made me consul before the age of

twenty!" The title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY (*Pater Patriæ*) was conferred upon Augustus on this occasion (B.C. 2).

New disturbances on the eastern frontier now presented a field for that active employment, which might perhaps check the too evident arrogance of the young princes. The death of Tigranes had led to an interference of the Parthians in Armenia; that of Herod the Great required a settlement of the affairs of Judæa, and the power of the Nabathæan Arabs created a new danger on the Syrian frontier. Caius was despatched to the East, with large powers, under the tutelage of the veteran Lollius (B.C. 1); and he was invested with the consulship in the following year (A.D. 1).* The next year, his brother Lucius was sent on a mission to Spain; and Augustus recalled Tiberius, on the condition that he should abstain from meddling with public affairs. But Lucius Cæsar had only gone as far as Massilia, when he fell sick and died (A.D. 2). Caius, after regulating the affairs of Judæa, and coming to an agreement with the Parthian king, who met him on an island in the Euphrates, advanced into Armenia, he had laid siege to the city of Artagira, when Addon, the governor, obtaining admission to the young Cæsar on pretence of a capitulation, inflicted upon him a wound, from which he never recovered. Having solicited relief from his command, he died on his way home, at Limyra in Lycia (A.D. 4).

The loss of his two grandsons, following so close upon their mother's disgrace, was the severest blow that could have fallen upon Augustus. But the statesman did not hesitate to take the only course by which its effect upon the empire could be repaired. All hopes of a peaceful and worthy succession were now centred in Tiberius, and the emperor raised him to the position formerly occupied by Agrippa, by associating him with himself in the tribunitian power for five years.† At the same time he adopted him, with Agrippa Postumus,‡ into the Julian house, and required him, in his turn, to adopt Germanicus, the son of his brother

* Reserving for a later period the notice of that great central event in the history of the world, the proximity of which is implied in the very dates that now occur, we feel it necessary to remind the reader that the common chronology places the Christian era three years later than the actual birth of Jesus Christ, which occurred in the year designated, in consequence of this error, B.C. 4. (See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, sub anno.) It should be observed that the nominal epoch from which we compute is the *dividing point* between Dec. 31 of the year A.U.C. 753 or B.C. 1 and Jan. 1st of A.U.C. 754 or A.D. 1; and that, in place of the formula A.U.C. + A.D. = 754, we have now to use the following A.U.C. — A.D. = 753.

† Augustus had accepted the *imperium* for a fourth decennial period in A.D. 3.

‡ The subsequent fate of Agrippa Postumus has already been related. See p. 325.

Drusus. The order of succession thus indicated was virtually observed, Tiberius being succeeded by Caius (Caligula), the son of the deceased Germanicus.*

While Augustus occupied himself with those details of civil government, of which the whole burthen had fallen upon him since the death of Mæcenas, and made the conspiracy of Cinna—a son of Faustus Sulla—an occasion for a conspicuous display of clemency,† Tiberius, raised suddenly from the morose despondency which had come over him as his exile at Rhodes was prolonged, found a congenial field for action on the Rhine. The war with the Germans had been renewed, in the first year of the Christian era, by L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (the son-in-law of Octavia and Antony, and grandfather of Nero),‡ whose prudent generalship had carried him to the Elbe, which he was the first Roman general to cross and to erect on its further bank an altar to Augustus. He had made a military road through the valley of the Lippe, and created for the time a Roman province beyond the Rhine. Tiberius took the command in A.D. 4, and, after subduing all the country between the lower Rhine and Weser, returned late in the winter to Rome. The next year was signalized by the grandest of all the expeditions that carried the Roman arms into Germany.§ Following the plan of his brother Drusus, he sent a flotilla down the Rhine, with orders to ascend the Elbe, and to meet his army at an appointed rendezvous. The literal execution of this plan of campaign, with such a sea and such a country intervening, is one of the most remarkable events in the history of war, and could only have been executed by an army full of that enthusiasm with which Velleius tells us that the legions received their old leader in Armenia and Rhætia, in Vindelicia and Pannonia. The impression produced upon the Germans is recorded in the speech of an aged chieftain who paddled across the Elbe in a canoe, to behold the Roman general:—"What madness is this of ours, to contend against the unseen divinities, instead of humbly seeking their presence, and making submission to their benign authority! But I, by the grace of Cæsar, have this day seen a god, a privilege I never before attained nor hoped to attain." But for all this,

* Caligula was born in A.D. 12: Germanicus died in A.D. 19.

† For the details of this romantic story, and a full discussion of its improbabilities, see Merivale, vol. iv. p. 287-291.

‡ See the table on p. 327.

§ An account of it is given by the historian Velleius Paterculus, who served in the campaign.

Tiberius, like his brother before him, was content with a safe retreat at the approach of winter, after securing the country gained between the Rhine and the Weser by stationary camps.

One striking characteristic of the wars of Rome against the Germans is the appearance of native leaders, whose rise one after the other affords a striking proof of the noble character of the nation. Such a man was Maroboduus (Marbod), the chief of the Marcomanni (Marchmen), in whom the Romans of that age beheld an enemy not less formidable than a Pyrrhus or an Antiochus. Born about B.C. 18, he was sent at an early age as a hostage to Rome, where he at once obtained an acquaintance with the state of the empire, and conceived the ambition of replacing by the likeness of imperial sovereignty the limited power which the customs of the Germans assigned to their king. On his return to the homes of his tribe in the Black Forest, he found them exposed, as we have seen, to the constant inroads of adventurers from Gaul. They gladly submitted, in this strait, to the ascendancy of their bold young king, who led them eastward into the great lozenge-shaped valley of the Upper Elbe and Moldau. This region is enclosed on every side by mountains, the Erz and Riesengebirge (Mineral and Giant Mountains) on the north, and the Böhmerwald (Bohemian Forest) on the south. It still retains the name of the great Celtic tribe, whose wanderings we have had more than once to notice—Boiohemum (the home of the Boii).*

Here Maroboduus established a powerful kingdom, on a pattern hitherto unknown to the Germans. His force of 70,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry, armed and disciplined on the Roman pattern, extended his power over the neighbouring tribes, including the Narisci and Quadi between the southern mountains of Bohemia and the Danube. Bordering now, along the course of the river, upon the Roman conquests in Vindelicia and Noricum, Maroboduus offered an asylum to fugitives from those provinces; and the remonstrances of the Roman governors were answered in a tone which united concession with the bold assertion of independence, nay equality. Augustus, with all that desire to fix the boundaries of the empire, which led him to hesitate in following up the conquest of Lower Germany, could not suffer a rival empire to grow up among the barbarians, and Tiberius was transferred to the command upon the Danube. "The chief military station of the Romans in this quarter was fixed at Carnuntum,† the gates of Western

* Now *Böhmen* and *Bohemia*.

† The ruins of this old Celtic town exist between Deutsch-Altenburg and Petro-

Europe, where her great central river issues from the hills of the Celt and Teuton into the plains of the Scythians and Sarmatians." From this point Tiberius advanced at the head of six legions, while Saturninus, at the head of another army, cut his way from the Rhine through the primeval thickets of the Hercynian forest. But this splendidly combined operation was suspended by a general revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, in consequence of the levy made among them by the legate Messalinus. With an armed force of 200,000 foot and 8000 horse in his rear, threatening an irruption upon Italy, Tiberius hastened to offer terms of peace which, strange to say, Maroboduus accepted (A.D. 6). That chieftain afterwards suffered for his assumption of despotic power. Having fallen into general suspicion among the Germans, he was expelled from his kingdom by Catualda, a chief of the Goths, who thus early began the southward movement which brought them, within four centuries, to Rome (A.D. 19). He fled to Italy, and Tiberius granted him an asylum at Ravenna, where he died in A.D. 35.

The task of reconquering the wide region from the Adriatic to the Danube, which was now included under the general name of Illyricum, occupied Tiberius for three years (A.D. 7—9). The Italians, once more alarmed for their very safety, came forward at the emperor's call, and a powerful army was sent to the support of Tiberius, under his nephew GERMANICUS, who now began in his twenty-first year that brief but brilliant course which revived all the hopes that had been centered in his father. The young chief signalized his first campaign by a victory in Dalmatia, while Tiberius re-occupied Pannonia. Meanwhile the insurgents marched in full force into Mœsia, in the hope of overwhelming the legate Severus; but they failed in an attempt to storm his camp. Thus enclosed between three powerful armies, they sued for peace; and after some renewed attempts at resistance, the war dwindled into the chase of the resolute Dalmatian chief, Bato, in the mountain fastnesses where he still held out. The pacification of Illyricum was at last effected by Germanicus in A.D. 9.

The pride which Augustus felt in the proved merits of a new generation of the imperial family was clouded by new troubles at home. The elder of Agrippa's two daughters, Julia, proved herself to have inherited the vices, as well as the name of her mother, and was sent into banishment to an island; while her husband,

nell, east of Vienna. It was the station of the Roman fleet on the Danube, and of the 14th legion.

L. Æmilius Paulus, was detected in a conspiracy against the emperor. Other plots were formed by slaves and freedmen about the palace for the liberation of the elder Julia and Agrippa Postumus. Wearied with the cares of state and worn down by old age, Augustus began to grow morose, and to relax both his punctual attention to public business and his regard for the semblance of constitutional forms. He was often absent from his place in the senate, and from the Comitia for the elections: indeed, from the year A.D. 7, he assumed the direct nomination of the consuls. The administration of justice became a mere caprice; and the banishment of Ovid remains an example of the practice of ordering obnoxious persons into exile without even the form of a trial (A.D. 8). While the somewhat prurient curiosity both of ancient and modern times has sought the poet's writings for the unknown ground of his offence, Suetonius has preserved the lampoons of less eminent writers, which prove that Augustus was now paying that penalty of popular discontent which is sure to overtake the ruler whose authority rests only on his personal merits, when they begin to fail, or his subjects grow weary of believing in him.

As if to show that the Nemesis of despotism, which was to track the path of his successors for four centuries, had already begun its work of humiliation abroad as well as at home, the career of military success was checked by a disaster, which placed a final barrier between the empire of Augustus and the tribes who were reserved, after effecting its conquest, to people "regions Cæsar never knew." In the words of a Roman historian,—the empire which had not stopped at the shore of the ocean, was stayed on the bank of the river Rhine. The catastrophe that we have now to relate formed the turning-point between the course of that ancient civilisation, which had its seat in the basin of the Mediterranean, and that freer development of modern energy which has extended from the shores of the Atlantic over the habitable globe.

The campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius had apparently secured a Roman province between the Rhine and Weser, which a general such as the young Germanicus might easily extend beyond the Elbe. The country was held not only by forts and military roads, but by the friendship of some of the leading tribes. The Frisii and Chauci had become the allies of Rome, and the Batavians furnished a splendid cavalry to her armies. Colonists and commercial adventurers were beginning, as usual, to Romanize the

new province, and the Cæsars had set that example of clemency after conquest which had succeeded so perfectly in Gaul. But the virgin soil of freedom in Germany had not been first turned up over its whole surface by so unsparing a ploughshare as the sword of Julius; and the tribes who had neither submitted nor been crushed, but had retired before each successive invasion, had preserved their national life unharmed. It remained for the folly of a headstrong governor, and the constancy of a noble chieftain, to unite the whole nation in a successful stroke for liberty. When Saturninus, who had carried on the policy of the Cæsars, led his army to join Tiberius in Bohemia, he was succeeded as legate in Germany by L. Quintilius Varus (A.D. 6). The new governor brought with him from his former province of Syria the profligate practices of a proconsul of the old Republic, combined with the official pedantry of an imperial officer. The simple-minded pride of the Germans was perplexed by the intricacies of the Roman law, irritated by the governor's exactions, and outraged by being subjected to the lictors' rods and axes. The patriots, who were only waiting their opportunity, found a leader in a young Cheruscan chief, whose name of HERMANN (Heermann, *i.e.*, general) is thinly disguised in the Latinized form of Arminius. With the other members of his family, he had been subjected to the policy by which Rome endeavoured to gain over the native chiefs, and he had received the Roman citizenship with equestrian rank. His brother, who shared the same privileges, had adopted the name of Flavius, and became a devoted adherent of Rome; but Arminius was still more firmly devoted in secret to the German cause.

The arbitrary conduct of Varus may have alarmed Arminius for his own safety, as he had a personal quarrel with his uncle Segestes, who was in the confidence of the legate. His noble spirit inspired enthusiasm into all who came under its influence, and he soon organised a general conspiracy against the Romans. While Varus was traversing the province with his three legions, numbering with the auxiliaries about 30,000 men, he was attended by the chiefs of the German tribes, many of whom were parties to the plot. Their reports of risings in various quarters induced Varus to detach bodies which were cut off in detail. Meanwhile the conspiracy became known to Segestes, who in vain warned the legate of the snares laid for him, and Varus marched with his whole force to quell a supposed outbreak in the south of the province, between the upper part of the Lippe and the sources of the Ems. An emi-

nent geographer thus describes the ground where Arminius had prepared his ambuscade for the Roman legions. The *Forest of Teutoberg* (Teutobergiensis saltus), at the part about Detmoldt, the present capital of the principality of Lippe, is "a table-land intersected by numerous deep and narrow valleys, which in some places form small plains, surrounded by steep mountains and rocks, and only accessible by narrow defiles. All the valleys are traversed by narrow streams, shallow in the dry season, but subject to sudden swellings in autumn and winter. The vast forests which cover the summits and slopes of the hills consist chiefly of oak; there is little underwood, and both men and horse would move with ease in the forests, if the ground were not broken by gulleys, or rendered impracticable by fallen trees. The names of several localities on and near that spot seem to indicate that a great battle had once been fought there. We find the names 'die Winnefeld' (the *Field of Victory*), 'die Knochenbahn' (the *Bone Lane*), 'die Knochenleke' (the *Bone-Brook*), 'der Mordkessel' (the *Kettle of Slaughter*), and others." The Roman soldiers, familiar to such work, had to cut their way through the pathless forest, rendered doubly impracticable by the autumn rains. At the first signal of hostility, Arminius, with his chief confederates, asked permission to leave the camp in order to bring up reinforcements, and Varus, in his fatal security, suffered them to depart. The Germans now began to press upon the rear and flank of the Romans, and the legions were deserted by the native auxiliaries. Amidst harassing attacks, they entrenched their camp for the night with their usual order, and in the morning they resumed their march, hoping to meet the enemy face to face. But Arminius knew the force of the legions too well to risk such an encounter, and he suffered the Romans to exhaust their strength in constant skirmishes over the broken forest ground, and beneath torrents of rain. The train of women and children, camp followers and baggage, with which Varus had suffered his march to be encumbered, were soon cut off; and the legate saw that his only hope of safety lay in reaching the fortress of Aliso, which lay a few days' march to his right, but where, in his reckless advance, he had not even left a reserve. The Germans, who had foreseen this movement, now closed in on every side; while the rain soaked through the leathern armour and swelled the wooden shields of the Romans, who could scarcely keep a footing on the slippery ground. The cavalry rode off in a body to seek safety at Aliso; but, entangled and scattered in the forest, they were cut off in detail.

Thus deserted, the legionaries preserved the instinct of Roman discipline; but on the third day, they staggered on more like an exhausted troop of wanderers than an army. When at last they emerged from the forest, the open ground only exposed the defenceless columns to the countless hosts of their enemies. All confidence between the soldiers and their general was lost, and no quarter was asked or expected from the enemy. Varus threw himself in despair upon his own sword, and many of the officers followed the example of his cowardice. One small body of veterans stood at bay till evening upon a little hill, where "the traces of a feeble attempt at forming a ditch and mound attested in after years the spot where the last of the Romans passed the night in suffering and despair. But on the morrow, this remnant also, worn out with hunger, wounds, and toil, was charged by the victorious Germans, and either massacred on the spot, or offered up in fearful rites at the altars of the deities of the North. A gorge in the mountain ridge, through which runs the modern road between Paderborn and Pyrmont, leads from the spot where the heat of the battle raged, to the Extersteine, a cluster of bold and grotesque rocks of sandstone, near which is a small sheet of water, overshadowed by a grove of aged trees. According to local tradition, this was one of the sacred groves of the ancient Germans, and it was here that the Roman captives were slain in sacrifice by the victorious warriors of Arminius."* The eagles of the three legions remained with the Germans as trophies of the victory. The body of Varus was found on the field of battle; and his head was sent to Maroboduus, to animate his zeal in the common cause. The victorious host laid siege to Aliso; and the little garrison, pressed with hunger, seemed doomed to perish, when a stratagem diverted the attention of the enemy, and this scanty remnant of the Roman armies and garrisons in Germany was all that succeeded in re-crossing the Rhine. That river now became again and finally the boundary of the Empire.

The vigour with which Asprenas, the imperial legate in Gaul, hastened to the frontier with his two legions, to receive the fugitives and to check their pursuers, alone prevented the flame from extending to the German tribes on the left bank, whose rising would probably have involved an insurrection throughout Gaul. The Germans relapsed into their ordinary sluggishness after a great success; Arminius found occupation in rooting out the Roman garrisons; and Maroboduus seems to have forgotten

* Creasy, *Fifteen Decisive Battles*, p. 195.

the common cause in his own aggrandizement. The time thus gained was vigorously used by Augustus and Tiberius. At the first news of the disaster, indeed, the emperor gave way to a transport of fury, and the fear inspired by the barbarians was shown by the dismissal of all the German and Gallic auxiliaries from the prætorian and urban guard. Nor was the emperor insensible to the moral danger of so rude a shock to the whole fabric of his power. The city was guarded by patrols against disturbance, and the imperium of the provincial governors was prolonged. Augustus vowed games to Jupiter if the security of the state should be restored, and made examples by fines, and even death, to overcome the apathy of the citizens, "who had ceased to feel either for the successes or the disasters of the chiefs, who had taken to themselves all the pleasures as well as the pains of sovereignty." The new levies were despatched to the Rhine as fast as they could be raised; and early in the spring of A.D. 10, Tiberius, accompanied by Germanicus, joined the army. He was at first engaged in quelling some disturbances which had broken out in Gaul, and as the Germans did not venture across the Rhine, the year passed away without a collision. In the following year Tiberius invaded Germany; but such was the caution observed on both sides, that not a collision took place between the armies, and the operations were confined to plunder (A.D. 11). The campaign had the advantage of teaching Germanicus how to temper his youthful ardour with that prudence which was so conspicuous in his uncle's conduct of war; and it enabled the Romans to console themselves, if they chose, with the belief that a province through which their armies could march unresisted, was not lost to their empire. But the emperor himself knew the truth too well. Though his policy of moderation might be content with the frontier of the Rhine, the blot upon his career of success was an incurable mortification; and, in the moody humours which now frequently overcame his self-possession, he would often dash his head against the wall, and cry—"Oh! Varus! Varus! give me back my legions." The princes returned to Rome, leaving the army on the Rhine under the command of legates; and at the beginning of A.D. 12, Tiberius celebrated a triumph for his victories in Pannonia, and Germanicus, invested with the consulship, was displayed to Rome as the second heir of the empire, while the birth of his son Caius seemed to give a pledge of the stability of the imperial house. What more striking example could be given of the irony which pervades the history of man, than the fulfil-

ment of these hopes twenty-five years later in the reign of Caligula?

In the following year, Augustus, now in his seventy-fifth year, accepted the *imperium* for a fifth decennial period. At the same time Tiberius was finally assured of the succession by the renewal of his tribunitian power, with a share of the emperor's proconsular authority in the provinces. Augustus now withdrew almost entirely from public life, and even excused himself from the entertainments of the Senators and Knights, his assiduous presence at which had indicated his desire to maintain social equality. All state affairs were discussed in private with his councillors, whose number was raised from fifteen to twenty; and the Senate, at which his attendance altogether ceased, was only asked to confirm those measures which were likely to be unpopular. It seemed as if the astute policy of the emperor were using the changes, for which he could plead the infirmities of age, as the means of preparing a more despotic power for his successor. The one object of his public life, next to his own aggrandizement,—the peace and security of the empire,—he doubtless thought would be best promoted by such a course; but his keen insight into the morose determination of Tiberius is said to have drawn from him the reflection—"Alas for my people! to be ground between jaws that move so slowly and relentlessly!" To the very last, it was thought that he might give a share of the succession to Germanicus or Agrippa Postumus, and the affection which he was said to have exhibited on the occasion of a visit to his banished grandson roused the jealousy of Livia, and sealed Agrippa's fate.

Augustus was one of those men whose rare fortune it is to have a plan of life which they are able to carry out consistently to the end. With the same calm resolution with which the youth of nineteen had set out from Illyria to avenge his adoptive father's murder and to claim his inheritance, the old man of threescore and sixteen prepared to close his long career of dominion over the world. His last public act was to hold a census of the empire, the third since his accession to power, which showed him to be the master of 4,197,000 Roman citizens. The time that still remained to him was occupied in compiling a record of his whole career of fifty-eight years, which was engraved on bronze tablets and laid up in the Roman archives. Copies appear to have been set up after his death in various cities of the empire; and the document has been preserved for us by such a copy, engraved on marble, in parallel columns, in the porch of a temple of Augustus

and Rome at Ancyra (now *Angora*), in Galatia.* "Commencing with his nineteenth year, it bears witness to his filial piety in doing justice on his father's murderers; it touches lightly upon the proscriptions, and vaunts the unanimity of all good citizens in his favour, when 500,000 Romans arrayed themselves under the banner of the triumvir. It records his assignment of lands to the veterans, and the triumphs and ovations decreed him by the Senate. It signalizes his prudence in civil affairs, in revising the Senate, in multiplying the Patricians, and in three times holding a lustrum of the people. It enumerates the magistracies and priesthoods conferred upon him, and boasts of his thrice closing the temple of Janus. His liberality is commemorated in his various largesses both of corn and money, and the vast contributions he made from his private treasures to relieve the burdens of his subjects. His magnificence is made to appear in the temples and public structures he built or caused to be built; in his halls and forums, his colonnades and aqueducts; nor less in the glorious spectacles he exhibited, and the multitude of beasts he hunted in the amphitheatre. The patriotism of Octavian shone conspicuous in his overthrow of the pirate Sextus, with his crew of fugitive slaves. Italy, it is added, swore allegiance to him of her own accord, and every province in succession followed her example. Under his auspices the empire had reached the Elbe, a Roman fleet had navigated the Northern Ocean, the Pannonians and Illyrians had been reduced, the Cimbric Chersonese had sought his friendship and alliance. *No nation had been attacked by him without provocation.* He had added Egypt to the dominions of Rome; Armenia, with dignified moderation, he had refrained from adding. He had planted Roman colonies in every province. Finally, he had received back from the Parthians the captured standards of Crassus. For all these merits, and others more particularly enumerated, he had been honoured with the laurel wreath and the civil crown; he had received from the Senate the title of AUGUSTUS, and had been hailed by popular acclamation as the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.—Such are the most interesting

* From the place of its discovery, it is known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum;* but some fragments of a Greek copy have also been found at Apollonia in Pisidia. Its title is "Rerum gestarum divi Augusti . . . . . exemplar subjectum;' and it is composed in the first person, beginning, "Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi." It is not uninteresting to compare the style and contents of the document with the "Behistun Inscription" containing the record, also in the first person, of the acts of the second founder of the Persian Empire. (See Vol. I. p. 298.)

statements of this extraordinary document; but to judge of the marvellous sobriety and dignity of its tone, the suppressed anticipation of immortal glory which it discovers, the reader must refer to the work itself. Certainly, whatever we may think of the merits of Augustus, no deed of his life became him so well as the preparation he made for quitting it."*

The still unsettled state of the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers shared the latest thoughts of Augustus with this retrospect of his life. Germanicus had already returned to his command upon the Rhine; and Tiberius set out for Illyricum, where there was disaffection among the legions, as well as danger from the barbarians. It was the middle of summer, the season when the emperor usually left Rome for Campania, and he accompanied Tiberius as far as Beneventum. The journey had, however, been broken in consequence of an attack of dysentery, which Augustus had contracted through exposure to the night air at Astura; and on his arrival at Nola in Campania, he was seized with a fatal relapse. Messengers were instantly sent after Tiberius, who had already set sail from Brundisium, and it is uncertain whether he found the emperor still alive, or whether Livia kept the event secret till her son's arrival.

With a full consciousness of his approaching end, the last concern of Augustus was to know whether it caused any popular excitement. He then collected himself to meet death with the self-possession which had governed all his life. He asked for a mirror, and saw that his grey hair and beard were so arranged as to give decent composure to his faded features. Then, looking round upon his friends, he uttered his farewell to the world in the words with which the actors were wont to claim applause for a well-played drama just before the curtain fell. He asked them if he had played his part well in the comedy of life, and added a quotation from the epilogue of a Greek play:—

> "If all is well, withhold not your applause,
> But all with cheerful pleasure clap your hands."

After an enquiry concerning a sick grandchild of Tiberius, he fell back into the arms of Livia, and spent his last breath in words of affection for the wife, who had played her part in the comedy so well, that the Romans believed her capable of hastening her husband's end to ensure the succession of her son. The ancient biographer of the Cæsars tells us that whenever Augustus heard

* Merivale, Vol. iv. pp. 374-5.

that a man had had a swift and painless death, he prayed for himself and his friends the like *euthanasia;* and in this too he followed the opinion of Julius, that the best death is that which is least expected. "He obtained"—the modern historian observes —"the euthanasia he had always desired, very different, but not less in harmony with his character, from that of his predecessor." It would be a profanation of the noblest instincts of our nature and of the pure teaching of a self-denying faith, to compare the calmness of such an end with the deaths of a Cato or a Washington. It sufficed for him and for those who believe that the Cæsars are the true Messiahs. But morality refuses to be debarred from investigating the authority by which they set themselves above their fellow-men, and history tries their work, not by its immediate success, but by its permanent results,—results which now remain to be described in the dark annals of the emperors who succeeded to the power of Augustus over the world, without inheriting his ability to command themselves. The judgment to be passed upon his deeds is perfectly distinct from the acknowledgment of those great ends of which he was the unconscious minister; and the despots who claim to be honoured as if such ends were their merit, may be answered in the words of the prophet to Cyrus, which solve the whole mystery of their career—"I guided thee, *though thou hast not known Me.*"

Augustus died on the 19th of August, A.D. 14, within thirty-five days of his seventy-seventh birthday (Sept. 23), after a reign of nearly forty-four years from the battle of Actium, or fifty-six from the triumvirate.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE DEGENERACY OF THE CÆSARS; AND THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY. A.D. 14 TO A.D. 96.

"Rome shall perish—write that word
In the blood that she has spilt;
Perish, hopeless and abhorred,
Deep in ruin as in guilt."—COWPER.

TACITUS AND THE HISTORY OF THE CÆSARS—ACCESSION, CHARACTER, AND FIRST ACTS OF TIBERIUS—OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TAKEN BY THE SENATE—TESTAMENT, FUNERAL, AND APOTHEOSIS OF AUGUSTUS—SCENE BETWEEN TIBERIUS AND THE SENATE—ASINIUS GALLUS—ELECTION OF MAGISTRATES TRANSFERRED FROM THE COMITIA TO THE SENATE—MUTINIES OF THE LEGIONS IN PANNONIA AND ON THE RHINE—NOBLE CONDUCT OF GERMANICUS—HIS CAMPAIGNS IN GERMANY—BURIAL OF THE REMAINS OF THE LEGIONS OF VARUS—RETREAT OF CÆCINA AND GERMANICUS—ARMINIUS AND HIS BROTHER—VICTORY OF THE ROMANS—THEIR FINAL RETREAT BEYOND THE RHINE—RECAL OF GERMANICUS—DRUSUS IN ILLYRICUM—WAR BETWEEN THE CHERUSCI AND MARCOMANNI—FATE OF MAROBODUUS AND ARMINIUS—ARMINIUS WORSHIPPED AS A HERO—GERMANICUS IN THE EAST—INTRIGUES OF PISO AND PLANCINA—DEATH OF GERMANICUS—TRIAL AND DEATH OF PISO—TACFARINAS IN AFRICA, AND OTHER WARS—GOVERNMENT OF TIBERIUS—LAW OF TREASON, INFORMERS AND EXECUTIONS—VARIOUS INTERNAL MEASURES—EARLIER PROMISE OF TIBERIUS—MARKED CHANGE IN HIS CHARACTER—RISE AND INFLUENCE OF SEJANUS—DRUSUS DESIGNATED AS HEIR, AND MURDERED BY SEJANUS—THE PRÆTORIAN CAMP FORMED AT ROME—NEW VICTIMS OF THE INFORMERS—TIBERIUS QUARRELS WITH AGRIPPINA—WITHDRAWS TO CAPREÆ—HIS OCCUPATIONS, AND ALLEGED ORGIES—DEATH OF LIVIA—CONDEMNATION OF AGRIPPINA AND HER SONS—ELEVATION AND FALL OF SEJANUS—STARVATION OF DRUSUS AND AGRIPPINA—DEATH OF TIBERIUS—ACCESSION OF CAIUS CÆSAR (CALIGULA)—HIS TYRANNY, MADNESS, AND DEATH—REIGN OF CLAUDIUS—MAURETANIA AND BRITAIN—SENECA—REIGN OF NERO—HIS CHARACTER, TYRANNY, AND DEATH—THE JEWISH WAR—GALBA, OTHO, AND VITELLIUS—VICTORY OF VESPASIAN—THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY—CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM—CIVILIS AND THE BATAVIANS—AFFAIRS OF THE EAST—REIGN OF TITUS—ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS—FIRE AT ROME—THE COLOSSEUM—REIGN AND TYRANNY OF DOMITIAN—DACIAN AND SARMATIAN WARS—CAMPAIGNS OF AGRICOLA IN BRITAIN—PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS—DEATH OF DOMITIAN.

THE space of fourscore years from the accession of Tiberius to the fall of Domitian includes the accomplishment of the mission of the Saviour of the world, and the end of the Jewish dispensation by the destruction of Jerusalem. In all other aspects, it is one of the most repulsive in the annals of the human race. A few brilliant deeds of arms, and a few noble characters—like Germanicus, Drusus, and Agricola—relieve the story of the degradation of the Roman world under rulers in whom the monstrous growth of vice and cruelty engendered by irresponsible power culminates in an insanity which might excite our pity, did it not aggravate the sufferings of the people:

"Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

There is a curiosity of horror, for which the repulsive biogra-

phies of Suetonius may provide a morbid gratification; * and feelings far deeper and more wholesome are roused by the spectacle of Tacitus, recording the ruin of his country in a spirit which recals the forebodings of Scipio amidst the flames of Carthage, and adorning with a poetic spirit the details over which his sententious brevity throws a veil.† But, in pursuing the general course of the history of the world, those details need not detain us longer than the time sufficient to trace the workings of human nature when suffered to exercise uncontrolled dominion, the retribution which the system of despotism brings upon itself, and the course by which Rome was destroyed when her work was done. The change which came over the first successor of Augustus during his reign of twenty-three years is a type of the degeneracy of the whole imperial system.

Tiberius succeeded to the empire of the world, from the mouth of the Rhine to the borders of Ethiopia, and from the Pillars of Hercules to the Euphrates, at the mature age of fifty-six. He had well earned the character of a most skilful and prudent general, and had the benefit of long experience in the administrative system of Augustus. The Roman people were prepared to accept him for their legitimate ruler, unsuspicious as yet of those deep-seated defects of character which Augustus had detected, and the consciousness of which left Tiberius no confidence in himself or those about him. Destitute of "that generous reliance on his personal merits, which nerved the arm of his great predecessor, and imbued him with so lofty a sense of his political mission"—without the power of "kindling the imagination of the soldiers, like Julius, nor of the citizens, like Augustus," Tiberius led, from his accession, that life of mistrust which made him, in the words of Pliny, "the saddest of mankind," and which at last reduced the hero of the Rhine and Danube to the cruel and sensual monster

* The spirit in which Suetonius gloats upon the horrors he relates raises more than a suspicion of wilful exaggeration.

† The profound admiration inspired by Tacitus must not blind us to one drawback upon his authority. That very unity of purpose which guides the indignant pen of the patriot and moralist, seems sometimes to betray him into following his own conceptions of characters and events, without a sufficient basis of ascertained facts. In such cases, however, the penetration of genius sometimes gives us a deeper truth than we could have learned from a more literal record. The imagination by which Tacitus, divining the hidden motives of such a man as Tiberius, fills up the picture with traits in perfect keeping with his character, must be distinguished from that more lively and treacherous fancy which can construct a whole picture of events out of the vague hints contained in a few words of an authority who may or may not be trustworthy.

of Capreæ. These few words almost tell the story of his reign; but its chief events remain to be recorded.

Beside the death-bed of the late emperor, Tiberius assumed the insignia of the *imperium*, and issued orders to the troops. The care of Livia had guarded the doors of the house and the road from Nola to the capital: none but favourable reports were allowed to go abroad; and the same messengers brought to Rome the news that Augustus was dead, and that Nero * had succeeded to his power. Tiberius summoned the Senate, in virtue of his tribunitian privilege; and that august order were by this time so well trained in the arts of servitude, as to exhibit a just mixture of tears and joy, mourning and compliment, so as not to seem glad of the death of their prince, or sorrowful at the new reign. The consuls were the first to take the oath of obedience to Tiberius Cæsar, followed by the prefects of the prætorian cohorts and of the provisioning of the city, then by the Senate, the soldiery, and the people. All this was done through the consuls; for to that part of the policy of Augustus Tiberius scrupulously adhered; while he declared that he would not leave his father's corpse, and that he would take upon himself no public office except his funeral honours. This promptness in securing the army and hesitation to appear in the Senate are ascribed by Tacitus to fear of Germanicus, and in part also to the design of treasuring up for future vengeance any reluctance that any of the Senators might show in giving that invitation which would base his power on the choice of the Republic, and not merely on the adoption of an uxorious old man.

But first the Senate occupied itself with the memory and the testament of Augustus, who had left the bulk of his property to Tiberius and Livia, whom he adopted into the Julian house, with the title of Augusta. Legacies were left to the public treasury and the citizens, to the prætorian guards and the soldiers of the legions. Amidst other counsels of moderation, he left his successors the memorable injunction, to be content with the present boundaries of the empire. His splendid funeral pageant involved the honours of an apotheosis; and a Senator declared that he had seen the soul of the deified Augustus ascend to heaven from the funeral pyre.

The spirit which had thus winged its flight to the kindred gods left none upon earth great enough to govern the empire he had

* So Tacitus now designates the new emperor, whose full name was Tiberius Claudius Nero Cæsar; but thenceforth he calls him Tiberius.

founded. So at least Tiberius declared, in answer to the offer of the Imperium by the Senate, adding that in a state so rich in illustrious men, the whole power ought not to be committed to one alone. The Fathers, who knew the danger of seeming to take him at his word, descended to prayers and tears and vows of fidelity; and Tiberius at length declared that, unequal as he felt himself to the whole burthen, he would undertake whatever part of it the Senate might impose. The time had not yet come when exile and judicial murder had crushed the last remnant of the old Roman spirit; and Asinius Gallus, the distinguished son of the illustrious Asinius Pollio, broke in upon the well-acted farce with the plain question, "I ask you, Cæsar, which part of the public affairs you wish to be committed to you?" Recovering from his momentary surprise, Tiberius replied, that it was not for him to choose a part, when he preferred to be exempt from all; and Gallus, who had caught the hasty glance of anger, protested that his only motive had been to elicit the confession which proved that the one body of the Republic must be governed by one mind. The panegyrics which he added on the reign of Augustus and the victories of Tiberius were of no avail; for Tiberius already hated him as the husband of his divorced wife Vipsania, and suspected that the heir to the spirit of his father Pollio might have inherited the claims of his father-in-law Agrippa. It was not, however, till sixteen years later that Tiberius obtained from the Senate a capital sentence against Gallus, whom he almost starved to death during an imprisonment of three years (A.D. 30).

It was not till other Senators had given him mortal offence, that the debate ended with the understanding that Tiberius would assume the imperial functions. The proposal to confer new honours upon his mother enabled him to display a moderation which cost him nothing; and he assumed a politic show of generosity in asking the proconsular imperium for Germanicus, and not for his own son Drusus, who was already the consul-elect for the ensuing year.* For the prætorship he himself named twelve candidates; and, though the Senate prayed him to appoint more, he took an oath not to exceed the number that had been fixed by

* Drusus was the son of Tiberius by his first wife Vipsania, and the husband of Livia, the sister of Germanicus. He is commonly distinguished from his celebrated uncle by the epithet of Drusus Junior. As his early death, of which we have presently to speak, prevented his succession to the empire, his name is among those omitted in the table on p. 327 to avoid confusion. The same remark applies to Nero and another Drusus, the sons of Germanicus and elder brothers of Caligula.

Augustus. It was at this time that the last remnant of popular election was abolished, and, as Tacitus expresses the change, "the Comitia were transferred from the Campus Martius to the Senate," who elected two out of four candidates nominated by the emperor. The only signs of popular discontent were a few murmurs as empty as the lost privilege had long since become; and the magistrates who still bore the name of Tribunes of the Plebs were only concerned to maintain their own dignity in the celebration of the annual games in honour of Augustus, an office soon transferred to the Prætors. The emperor assumed an appearance of moderation surpassing even the policy of Augustus, rejecting all adulation, and permitting the Senators to make motions of their own, and to discuss those proposed by himself with as much freedom as was possible to those who knew that every word was treasured up for future recompense. He was fond of reserving his opinion to the last; and he uttered it in that "artificial style, equally remarkable for the weight of his sentiments, and for his studied ambiguity of expression," for which he was rallied by Augustus, who was himself a master of easy and flowing eloquence.

The smooth current on which the new reign seemed launched was soon disturbed by rumours from the Danube and the Rhine. The three legions stationed in Pannonia mutinied, not against the transfer of their allegiance to Tiberius, but for an increase of pay and a limit to the term of service. The emperor despatched his son Drusus to the camp with a few prætorian cohorts. An opportune eclipse of the moon won from the superstitious soldiers the submission which they refused to the authority of the prince; and, in return for vague assurances of redress, they gave up their ringleaders to the extreme severities of martial law.

Far greater was the danger from the Rhine, where eight legions not only broke out into mutiny for the like objects, but invoked Germanicus to lead them on to Rome. The young prince flew from Lyon, where he was faithfully administering the oath of allegiance to the provincials, only to find his popularity with the soldiers a stimulus to their purpose of rebellion. After in vain exhausting his own purse and his officers', as well as the military chest, in satisfying their demands, he was compelled to abandon the eagles to their keeping; and he was preparing for the worst by sending away his wife, the noble-minded Agrippina, and his infant son Caius, the playmate of the soldiers, when a last appeal to their affection for the family of Drusus brought them to their knees, and like the legions of Pannonia, the insurgents became as eager

to denounce their ringleaders as they had been furious in following them. Germanicus at once led them across the Rhine, that they might retrieve their own character and avenge the legions of Varus. The lateness of the season made his first campaign a mere raid into the territory of the Marsi (in Westphalia), the Bructeri, and the Usipetes, and it was not without danger that he made good his retreat from the enemy who had retired before his advance (A.D. 14).

In such a temper as that of Tiberius, the jealousy inflamed by the danger more than overpowered the gratitude due to the loyalty of Germanicus. He had borne himself with consummate policy throughout the mutiny, refusing to commit himself by definite promises or by a personal visit to either camp. Though secretly mortified, both by the concessions made to the legions and by the honour won by Germanicus, he confirmed the promises made by his son and nephew; and while Drusus returned to assume the consulate, a triumph was awarded to Germanicus. With the wise resolution of finding employment for the discontented legions, and for himself the honour of retrieving the one great disaster of the late reign, Tiberius sent Germanicus again across the Rhine. The Chatti were first defeated, and the Cherusci were found divided against themselves. Segestes, besieged by his nephew Arminius, invited the aid of Germanicus, to whom he surrendered a part of the spoils of Varus, with many noble hostages. Among these, Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius, was sent to Ravenna, where she bore her lost husband a son, who was brought up in Roman customs, and whose unfortunate fate is involved in mystery.* Exasperated by this treachery, Arminius and his partisans assumed an attitude which rendered all accommodation hopeless; and Germanicus, whom his troops had saluted *Imperator* for his relief of Segestes, prepared to subdue the Cherusci by main force. His most experienced legate, Cæcina, led four legions through the territory of the Bructeri; a body of cavalry was sent round through the Frisian lowlands; and Germanicus, with his other four legions, followed the course of Drusus and Tiberius down the Rhine, and ascended the Ems to the forest of Teutoberg. Here he was joined by Cæcina, who had cut his way from the Lippe, gaining a victory over the Bructeri, and recovering one of the lost eagles. The whole army of the Rhine was united on the field where the bones of their slaughtered countrymen had lain unburied

* The story to which Tacitus alludes in *Annal.* i. 58, seems to have been related in one of the lost portions of his work.

for six years, "and traced with mournful interest the remains of the camps of Varus, which showed by their diminished size and incomplete defences the failing strength and decreasing numbers of the flying force at each successive nightfall." Unconscious whether they paid the last rites to friend or foe, they gathered all the remains beneath a huge barrow, of which Germanicus placed the first sod. The desire of vengeance, thus inflamed, almost betrayed them into the like disaster. Arminius had prepared for their advance by another forest ambuscade, and all the skill of Germanicus could only retrieve their rash onset by an indecisive battle, which was followed by a retreat on the approach of winter. The two divisions retreated by the lines of their advance; and the army of Cæcina, surrounded by the Germans, already fancied that the slaughter of Varus was doomed to be repeated, when they were disentangled by the skill of their general and the rashness of the enemy. The Germans were defeated with great slaughter, and Arminius fled from the field of battle. The danger was not over; for the people on the left bank, hearing that the legions were destroyed, would have cut the bridge over the Rhine, but for the interference of Agrippina, who, waiting at the head of the bridge to receive the fugitives, saw the four legions march back in full strength into the "Old Camp."* It was some time before Germanicus himself returned, after suffering severe losses by the sea on the Frisian coast. The resources of Gaul, Spain, and Italy herself were taxed to recruit and equip the legions for another expedition, which Tiberius—dissatisfied with the results already gained, and having his jealousy of Germanicus inflamed by his favourite, Sejanus—would willingly have forbidden, but he dared not thwart the pride of the Roman people in the young hero who alone seemed left to recal the memory of their ancient worthies.

Meanwhile, Germanicus was collecting all his strength for a third and decisive campaign, one destined to prove the prowess of the Romans before they withdrew for ever from the enterprize of subjugating Germany. Its narrative is adorned by Tacitus with more than one romantic incident. To save his soldiers the fatiguing and dangerous march over the ground where so much had been endured, he prepared a flotilla of 1000 ships, and, collecting his forces in the island between the Rhine and the Waal, he sailed through the canal of Drusus into the Zuider Zee, and so round to the mouth of the Ems. There he left his fleet; and, after sending his legate Stertinius to chastise the Angrivarii, who had risen in

* Vetera Castra is the modern Xanten, opposite to Wesel.

his rear, he struck inland to the Weser, which separated the so-called Roman province from the territories of the Cherusci. The whole force of that gallant people was collected on the opposite bank under their great leader. On the news of Cæsar's approach, Arminius obtained permission to hold a parley across the river with his brother Flavius, who was in the Roman camp, and had lost an eye when serving under Tiberius. The brothers stood upon the opposite banks, and when the German escort and the Roman archers had retired, Arminius began to question Flavius about the loss of his eye. The place and the battle being named, Arminius asked what reward he had received. Flavius recounted with pride his increased pay, his gold chain and crown, and other gifts to the deserving soldier, all of which Arminius derided as the worthless price of slavery. Then followed a contest, in which each strove to win over the other; Flavius insisting on the greatness of Rome and the resources of Cæsar, the penalties prepared for the vanquished, the clemency ready to welcome submission, and the kindness which had been shown to Arminius's wife and son; while the other appealed to the nobler motives of holy patriotism, hereditary freedom, the gods of Germany in their mystic groves, the mother who pleaded with one son through the other's voice, that he would not choose to be the deserter and betrayer, rather than the leader, of his kindred and his nation. The argument soon rose into a passionate quarrel, and Flavius was held back by Stertinius, calling for his arms and horse, while Arminius was seen on the opposite bank denouncing with threatening gestures the approaching battle. The scene, which Tacitus depicts with terse but majestic eloquence, has inspired the verse of a poet and scholar of our own day, whose career was too soon closed,* in the noble piece beginning with the contempt of Arminius for the rewards of his brother's treason :—

"Back, back! he fears not foaming flood
Who fears not steel-clad line :—
No warrior thou of German blood,
No brother thou of mine.
Go, earn Rome's chain to load thy neck,
Her gems to deck thy hilt;
And blazon honour's hapless wreck
With all the gauds of guilt :"—

and ending with the threat of the coming fight,—

* Winthrop Mackworth Praed.

"To-night, to-night, when we shall meet
In combat face to face,
Then only would Arminius greet
The renegade's embrace.
The canker of Rome's guilt shall be
Upon his dying name;
And, as he lived in slavery,
So shall he fall in shame."

But the Romans were possessed with an equal enthusiasm of martial pride and confidence in their young imperator. At the very moment when Germanicus, in a secret nocturnal visit through the camp, overheard the vows of devotion to himself, an emissary of Arminius, riding his horse to the foot of the rampart, proclaimed aloud in the Latin tongue his leader's promise of wives, lands, and a daily largess, to all who would desert. "Let but the day break"—was the reply of the guards—"let but battle be joined, and we will seize each for himself on wives and lands and plunder."

On the morrow, Germanicus led his legions across the river, having sent forward his Batavian cavalry to cover their passage in face of the enemy. The Germans were drawn up on the slope of a hill in front of a wood sacred to the deity whom Tacitus calls Hercules. This wood, the key of their position, was occupied by a skilful movement of the Roman cavalry, who drove out the German reserves just as their front ranks gave ground before the onset of the legions. The Cherusci, who were posted in the centre, fought till they were completely surrounded, and Arminius, severely wounded, was said to have owed his life to the German auxiliaries, who suffered him to pass through their line. Though even his spirit was broken, he would not yield to despair; and Germanicus, after erecting a mound and trophy on the field of battle,* found that he had to force a new position, defended by an earthwork, in the midst of woods and morasses. After performing prodigies of valour, and slaughtering multitudes of the enemy, it does not seem that he succeeded in dislodging them, and the Angrivarii were the only tribe of whose submission he could boast. Arminius, though defeated in his last battle against the Romans, remained the liberator of Germany. The last and most brilliant campaign of Germanicus was as fruitless as the rest;

* The field of battle was probably near Minden. Tacitus places it in a plain called *Idistavisus Campus*, which can be traced in no modern locality. Grimm supposes that the real name was *Campus Idisiavisus*, that is, in German, *Idisiwiese*, the *maiden's meadow*.

and his retreat along the Frisian coast was attended with most serious losses from a storm. The Marsi and Chatti were again assuming the offensive, when another incursion not only checked their rising, but recovered the third of the lost eagles of Varus. The Romans were prepared to retire with honour from an enterprize which had never been conducted with system enough to ensure a permanent conquest; and Tiberius had resolved to content himself with fomenting divisions among the German tribes. His letters recalling Germanicus, on the pretext of events which required his services in the East, mark the final relinquishment of the attempt to extend the Roman empire beyond the Rhine.* The modern historian of the Empire has shown how the crafty policy of Tiberius failed from the want of any sustained interest on the part of the imperial government in the subjugation of the Germans, and how the people, left to themselves in their native forests, failed to make any progress in civilization for the next four centuries. "The instincts of order and devotion, which distinguished the northern conquerors of Europe, lay undeveloped in the germ, till, in the course of Providence, they met the forms of Law and of Religion, which they were destined so happily to impregnate. As with their own lusty youths, to whom the commerce of the sexes was forbidden till they had reached the fulness of manly vigour, the long celibate of German intelligence may seem designed by a superior Wisdom to crown it with inexhaustible fertility."

Meanwhile Tiberius reserved the honour of carrying out his new policy for his son Drusus, and chose the province of Illyricum as his base of operations. The purpose of sowing dissensions among the Germans was anticipated by the outbreak of a great war, in which Arminius led the Cherusci, with the Langobardi and other Suevic tribes, in an assault upon the despotism established by

* Mr. Merivale makes the following criticism on the German campaigns of Germanicus :—"Suetonius says that Tiberius was generally reputed to have disparaged the *glorious successes* of Germanicus, as prejudicial to the public interests. It is vexatious, however, to observe how little reliance we can place on the panegyric of Tacitus. His story of the last campaign bears strong features of romance. The interview of the German brothers is an heroic episode. It is not usual with ordinary mortals to converse across a stream one hundred yards in width. The night watch of Germanicus, though not in itself improbable, is suspiciously in unison with the epic character of the narrative; and the splendid victories ascribed to him are evidently belied by the results. The account of the shipwreck of the flotilla is a clang of turgid extravagance, amplified perhaps from the statement which Pliny may have founded, with little discrimination, upon the fears and fancies of the survivors."

Maroboduus in Bohemia. The two great divisions of the German race met each other in the arms they had adopted from Rome; a bloody battle left the victory with the Cherusci, and the king of the Marcomanni was deserted by many of his vassal tribes. He asked protection from Tiberius, and Drusus appeared as umpire, with secret instructions to encourage the enemies of both chiefs; and the expulsion of Maroboduus from his kingdom, to which allusion has already been made,* was followed by the treacherous murder of Arminius by some of his own associates, when he also had begun to assume despotic power.† He died in the 37th year of his age (A.D. 19); and the liberator of Germany became one of the chief national heroes of the Germanic race in all its branches. "Arminius left a name, which the historians of the nation against which he combated so long and so gloriously have delighted to honour. It is from the most indisputable source, from the lips of enemies, that we know his exploits. His countrymen made history, but did not write it. But his memory lived among them in the lays of their bards, who recorded

> 'The deeds he did, the fields he won,
> The freedom he restored.'

Tacitus, many years after the death of Arminius, says of him, 'Canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes.' As time passed on, the gratitude of ancient Germany to her great deliverer grew into adoration, and divine honours were paid for centuries to Arminius by every tribe of the Low Germanic division of the Teutonic races. The *Irmin-Sul*, or Column of Hermann, near Eresburg, the modern Stadtberg, was the chosen object of worship to the descendants of the Cherusci, the Old Saxons, in defence of which they fought desperately against Charlemagne and his Christianized Franks. 'Irmin,' says Sir Francis Palgrave, 'in the cloudy Olympus of Teutonic belief, appears as a king and a warrior; and the pillar, the *Irmin-Sul*, bearing the statue, and considered as the symbol of the deity, was the Palladium of the Saxon nation, until the temple of Eresburg was destroyed by Charlemagne, and the column itself transferred to the monastery of Corbey, where perhaps a portion of the rude rock-idol yet remains, covered by the ornaments of the Gothic era.' Traces of the worship of Arminius are to be found among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, after their set-

* See p. 348.

† Such is the statement of Tacitus, who was very probably misled by an attempt of Arminius to maintain his rightful power as the elective war-chieftain, against the faction to which, as we have seen, his nearest relatives belonged.

tlement in this island. One of the four great highways was held to be under the protection of the deity, and was called the *Irmin-street.*"*

With the death of Arminius we lose sight of the Low German tribes for four centuries, till they reappear in our own island, disguised under the name of Anglo-Saxons, as the true English people, and founders of the present English nation.

The end of the heroic period of ancient Germany coincides with the death of the enemy whom the Romans regarded as almost the last of their national heroes. Germanicus, having enjoyed the splendid triumph, in which the wife of Arminius and the recovered standards of Varus gave the people less delight than the sight of their favourite young prince (May 26, A.D. 17)—was sent with a wide commission to regulate the affairs of the East. At the same time Cneius Piso,† who had distinguished himself for his misgovernment of Spain as legate under Augustus, was sent out as governor of Syria, and, unless the popular suspicion did Tiberius injustice, with the most sinister purpose. At all events, his wife Plancina, instigated it was said by Livia, took every opportunity of annoying Agrippina. After reducing Cappadocia and Commagene to Roman provinces, and settling a dispute between Armenia and Parthia—whose conflicts have now scarcely more interest for us than a fight between the tigers and lions of their own deserts—Germanicus gratified his curiosity by a visit to Egypt, and ascended the Nile as far as the southernmost limits of the empire at Syene. His disregard of the rule, which shut out senators from

* Creasy, *Fifteen Decisive Battles*, pp. 207, 208. The same excellent work affords a reply to the question, why, in addition to its importance as a great epoch in the history of the world, an English historian in particular should dwell upon the career of Arminius. "I have said above that the great Cheruscan is more truly one of our national heroes than Caractacus is. It may be added, that an Englishman is entitled to claim a closer degree of relationship with Arminius than can be claimed by any German of modern Germany. The proof of this depends on the proof of four facts; first, that the Cherusci were Old Saxons, or Saxons of the interior of Germany; secondly, that the Anglo-Saxons, or Saxons of the coast of Germany, were more closely akin than other German tribes were to the Cheruscan Saxons; thirdly, that the Old Saxons were almost exterminated by Charlemagne; fourthly, that the Anglo-Saxons are our immediate ancestors. . . . . The present Saxons of Germany are of the High Germanic division of the German race, whereas both the Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon were of the Low Germanic." (*Fifteen Decisive Battles*, p. 199.)

† He was the grandson of the Cn. Piso who conspired with Catiline, and the son of the Cn. Piso who fought against Cæsar in Africa, and whom Augustus raised to the honours of the state, which he was too proud to solicit. The year in which Germanicus went to Asia was that in which both Ovid and Livy died (A.D. 18).

Egypt without the emperor's permission, gave great offence to Tiberius; and he returned to Syria to find that Piso had been defying his authority. An open quarrel ensued, and Piso was, or seemed to be preparing to leave the province, when Germanicus died, after a short illness, at Antioch (A.D. 19). It was believed that he had been poisoned by Piso; and so fully did he himself share this conviction, that he spent his latest breath—except that with which he uttered his fond farewell to Agrippina—in imploring his friends to bring Piso and Plancina to justice. His injunctions were obeyed; and Piso—after being defeated by Sentius in a daring attempt to recover the province from which Germanicus had dismissed him, with the purpose, it was believed, of rebellion—was followed to Rome by Agrippina, who charged him with her husband's murder. The case was still before the Senate, when Piso was found one morning with his throat cut and his bloody sword lying by his side (A.D. 20). Whether he had put an end to his own life, or whether Tiberius had resolved to bury his secrets with him, is one of the dark mysteries of imperial annals. We have entered upon a period of history when princes are charged with many a crime in keeping with their characters and interests; and such suspicions are a part of the just penalty which irresponsible power prepares for itself. The burst of popular feeling at the funeral of Germanicus was in remarkable contrast with the cold reserve maintained by Tiberius and Livia; and the influence of the empress-mother obtained the acquittal of Plancius. But before hastening through the darker annals of Tiberius's later reign, we may dismiss the wars which illustrated its commencement by a notice of the rebellion of the African chief Tacfarinas, a captain of Numidian auxiliaries, the Abd-el-Kader of his day (A.D. 17). After, by an imprudent battle, giving occasion to the proconsul Camillus to reap the honours of victory, which seemed to have departed from the Furian house since the days of the "second Romulus," Tacfarinas prolonged the war by repeated outbreaks for seven years, till he was at last killed in battle by Dolabella (A.D. 24).* A rebellion in Gaul, chiefly among the Belgæ and Ædui—the latter under Sacrovir, who seems from his name to have been a Druid—caused no small alarm at Rome, and proved the need of incessant vigilance as the condition of retaining the obedience of even the most settled provinces (A.D. 21). Another war in Thrace demands no detailed notice: and a single word may

* Julius Blæsus, who commanded against Tacfarinas in A.D. 21, was the last Roman not of the imperial house who was saluted *Imperator* by his troops.

suffice for the successful revolt of the Frisians, by which the whole land beyond the Rhine (except the Decumates Agri) was finally rescued from the dominion of Rome (A.D. 28).

Meanwhile the gloomy and suspicious character of Tiberius had done much to neutralize his observance of the policy of Augustus in preserving the forms of the constitution; and an obsequious Senate was ready to support him in every fresh step towards tyranny. Of such steps, one of the first was the working of the law of treason (*majestas*), which had, from the foundation of the empire, been necessarily extended from crimes against the security of the state, to offences against the safety of its chief; and the old law, which had only condemned *acts* directly injurious to the Republic and had left *words* free, had been extended by Augustus, not without strong provocation, to defamatory writings.* But Tiberius, in his morbid distrust of every man who could seem to have the power to hurt him, declared the scope of the law to embrace all such as, in any act, or word, or writing, should offend against the majesty of his person; and in reply to the consultation of the prætor Macer, "whether trials for treason should be revived?" he gave the ominous reply, "let the laws be enforced." At this signal there started up the host of informers (*delatores*), who soon had at their mercy the noblest citizens of Rome. One favourite charge was that of sinister speeches about Tiberius, an accusation which, Tacitus remarks, there was no escaping, when the accuser selected all the foulest points in the habits of the prince, and placed them in the mouth of the accused; and what was true was believed to have been spoken. The Senate judged these charges with such zeal, that Tiberius could afford at this period of his reign to gain the credit of clemency by interposing on behalf of the accused. It was his custom, too, to take a seat by the tribunal of the prætor, and his presence discountenanced the injustice of the powerful. Several cases are recorded of his seasonable liberality; and upon the whole, except where his suspicions were excited in reference to his own safety or power, he seems to have begun his reign with a desire to administer equal justice. Among the domestic events of his earlier years, may be mentioned the attempt of Clemens, a slave of Agrippa Postumus, to personate his master and raise a rebellion; and the laws for repressing the license of comic actors in their hits at eminent men, for restraining female levity, and for banishing large numbers, chiefly

* *Famosi libelli*, the phrase from which, by the omission of the essential epithet, we get our word *libel*.

of the class of freedmen, who were addicted to the Egyptian and Jewish rites, which Tacitus seems to regard as forms of a common superstition. The old efforts at the restraint of luxury were only renewed to be again abandoned; and the proposal to regulate the head waters of the Tiber so as to protect the city from frequent inundations raised difficulties of a sort not unknown in the most recent times. While the dwellers on the banks of the Arno protested against being washed away in order to save the Romans, others held that nature knew best the courses that rivers ought to keep.

Upon the whole, the first five years of the reign of Tiberius formed a period not unpromising, except in the matter of treason and the informers. His moderate taxation and firm administration of the provinces, his industry and economy in the government at home, his personal simplicity, frugality, and abstinence from pecuniary extortion, his deference to the Senate, and steady rejection of all titles of flattery, combine to form "the picture of a good sovereign, but not of an amiable man." But all was marred by the uneasy irritability of his temper, betraying itself in a demeanour in which the popular feeling saw a guilty mistrust that prepared them to believe charges such as that of the murder of Germanicus. From that epoch we may trace a decided change for the worse in the character and policy of Tiberius. If he was released from a constant source of jealous alarm, he knew that he had incurred suspicions never to be shaken off, and he read his own condemnation in the feeling evinced at his nephew's loss. From this period may be dated that settled distrust between prince and people, which is one of the worst fruits of despotism, and which Tiberius was wont to express by the emphatic saying, "I am holding a wolf by the ears." The intriguing spirit of the aged Livia used her son as the instrument of her hatreds, while his moroseness was augmented by his impatience of her yoke. But a more baneful influence was gaining possession over him. The great men and rulers of every age have been remarkable for their eminent friends and counsellors, the very choice of whom indicates the nobility of spirit which they helped to maintain. So, too, weak or suspicious princes, in gratifying their want of a staff to lean upon, have become the victims of the favourites whose characters have too truly reflected their own. The contrast between the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius might be almost summed up in the statement, that the one had Agrippa and Mæcenas, the other L. Ælius Sejanus, for their ministers.

Sejanus resembled Mæcenas in two points only: he was an Etruscan and of equestrian rank. His father, Seius Strabo, was the prefect of the prætorian guards under Augustus; and the son is supposed to have obtained the name of Ælius by adoption. After being the companion of M. Apicius, the second of the three gourmands who have made the name proverbial, he joined the train of Caius Cæsar, and upon his death, attached himself to Tiberius. His active and hardy body, and his bold and enterprising spirit, pleased the military tastes and supplied the moral irresolution of his patron. Tacitus ascribes to him equal skill in concealing his own vices and in unmasking the disguises of others. "His pride and meanness were equal the one to the other, and he could carry a pretence of moderation in his demeanour, while his lust of power and lucre were really unbounded." On the other hand, Velleius Paterculus, the unscrupulous flatterer of Tiberius, regards it as a proof of his master's good fortune that he had such a minister as Sejanus, "a man of rare energy and ability, vigorous alike both in mind and body, a loyal servant, a cheerful companion, one whose natural modesty evinced his actual desert, and smoothed the way for his well-merited advancement." *

On the accession of Tiberius, Sejanus was sent as the adviser of Drusus on his mission to quell the mutiny in Pannonia; and upon his return he was associated with his father in the command of the prætorian cohorts. This office gave him constant access to the person of the emperor, whose jealousy against Germanicus he is said to have inflamed, and to have been the adviser of the prince's recal from the Rhine. It seems to have been from this period that he conceived the design of succeeding to the power of Tiberius, and removing all the obstacles that stood around the throne. In A.D. 21, Tiberius made Drusus consul for the second time, as his own colleague, and in the following year he gave him a share of the tribunitian power, an act which marked him as his successor. In the exercise of the consulship, for which Tiberius gave him free scope by withdrawing to Campania, the young prince gained considerable credit; and though wanton in his pleasures, and fond of the sports of the amphitheatre to a degree that argued a proneness to cruelty, his genial temper was favourably contrasted with his father's morose reserve, and his affection for Germanicus and his bereaved family formed a sure recommendation to popular favour.

* The history of Velleius Paterculus was completed in A.D. 30, the year before the fall of Sejanus, in whose fate the historian seems to have been involved by the very panegyric which was doubtless designed to gratify the emperor.

But he had betrayed a haughtiness which the Senators could ill brook, and their discontent at being required to bestow upon him the tribunitian power at the age of thirty was fostered by Sejanus. The minister had succeeded to the prefecture of the city and the sole command of the prætorian guards, whom he now concentrated in one great camp at the north-eastern angle of the city walls, and while he plied the men with indulgences, got the appointment of the officers into his own hands. In approving a measure so dangerous to himself, and ultimately so fatal to the empire, Tiberius must have suffered his sound military judgment to be overpowered by jealousy towards his subjects; the excess of suspicion, as usual, outwitted itself. The complaints of Drusus, that a stranger was usurping his share in his father's power, hastened the plot against the prince, whose wife Livilla, already seduced by the minister, was now employed to administer poison to her husband, with the help of a physician and a slave. Tiberius bore the loss with stoical equanimity, and commended Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, to the care of the Senate* (A.D. 23). But when the priests proposed to join the names of Nero and Drusus in their prayers for the emperor's safety, the rebuke—"Did you do this at the request of Agrippina, or were you moved to it by her menaces?"—betrayed his dread of that noble woman's influence. Sejanus inflamed his master's ill-will to the family of Germanicus, while preparing his measures for their removal. He now took the decisive step of asking to be received into the imperial family; but his suit for the hand of Livilla was rejected, though with every mark of the emperor's continued confidence (B.C. 25). Meanwhile these evil influences showed themselves in the policy of Tiberius, who had now fairly entered on the downward course which has stamped his memory with execration. The pages of Tacitus become blotted more thickly with the victims whom the informers sought chiefly among the friends of Agrippina. Some of the most eminent among these were Silius, the conqueror of the Druid Sacrovir, and the historian Cremutius Cordus, who, in his Annals of the Civil Wars had praised Brutus, and called Cassius the "last of the Romans." His defence was purposely designed to exasperate his judges; and then, returning home, he starved himself to death (A.D. 25).

In the ensuing year an open quarrel between Tiberius and Agrippina was followed by the emperor's retirement from Rome into Campania; a measure suggested by Sejanus, that he might have

* Caius (Caligula), the third son, was now only eleven years old.

a clear field for the usurpation of real power, and adopted by the emperor from that political cowardice which poisoned all his reign. So far, however, from being at first a relinquishment of public business, this retirement "was a great step in the development of despotism, the greatest step perhaps of all, inasmuch as it made it at once apparent that the institution of monarchy was an accomplished fact, and no longer the creature of variable popular caprice" (Merivale). The superstitious Romans, however, were less quick in drawing political inferences, than in scanning the alarming omens that followed the emperor's withdrawal—such as a great conflagration of the quarter of the city on and about the Cælian Mount. Attended by only one Senator, M. Cocceius Nerva (probably the grandfather of the emperor), and by a single knight, besides Sejanus, the emperor directed his course first to Nola, on the pretext of dedicating a temple to Augustus at the place where he had expired. Thence he withdrew in the following year to his final retreat in the island of Capreæ (*Capri*, the "island of the wild goats"), lying off the promontory that divides the bays of Naples and of Pæstum. It is needless to repeat the descriptions so often given by historians and travellers of this most exquisite spot on the fairest of all shores; with its delicious climate, its uneven surface rising at each end into picturesque crags, and terminating in sheer limestone cliffs, "furrowed here and there by those caverns celebrated for the play of coloured light in their recesses, which, after having amused and astonished the curious of our own time as recent discoveries, are now ascertained to have been the forgotten haunts of Roman luxury,"—precipices on which Tiberius would at one time repose, to enjoy the glorious prospect of the opposite shores, and from which he would at another time watch the headlong fall of the victims of his tyranny. But such cruelties were not at first his favourite amusements, nor did he at once resign himself to the enticements and opportunities which his distant retreat afforded for the gratification of those hideous lusts which his cold reserve had hitherto enabled him to control or to conceal, like the volcano whose slumbering fires had not yet deformed the fair shores that he looked down upon from the cliffs of the wild goats:—

> "So youth may hold
> All possibilities of devildom,
> While looking stainless as a piece of heaven."

We have evidence that Tiberius was far from being insensible to the natural beauties that surrounded him, and his example may

teach a lesson to those who dwell on the purity of such pleasures without reflecting how easily the delights that appeal to the senses may lead on to grosser sensual indulgence. That converse with nature which forms a refreshment after honest work, and a pause in wholesome intercourse with our fellows, is the very opposite to the indolent self-indulgence of the habitual recluse. Of the real extent to which Tiberius pursued the indulgences even of his worst days, we cannot judge with safety from the stories with which Suetonius and the authorities he followed gratified their prurient curiosity. "They filled the hours they supposed to be vacant from business with amusements of a far less innocent character, with debaucheries of the deepest dye, and cruelties the most refined and sanguinary; they accused the Roman Cæsar of the crimes of a Median or Assyrian; as if their perverted imaginations delighted in contrasting the exquisite charms of nature with the grossest depravation of humanity: and all these charges, whether or not they were in his case really true, of which we have little means of judging, found easy credence from the notorious vices of their own degraded aristocracy."* Not that these stories are to be rejected in their substantial outlines; but we have far more trustworthy accounts of the emperor's unremitting attention to public affairs, which found constant occupation for a service of couriers, and of his literary recreations in the society of Greek professors. "He was peculiarly addicted to conversation with the soothsayers, of whom he entertained a troop about his person, making constant experiments of their skill in the examination of the lives and fortunes of his associates." To the very last, Tiberius never relaxed his care of the provinces and of the frontiers of the empire, as we see in the suppression of the insurrections already mentioned, the completion of the conquest of Mœsia, and the repulse of the Parthian Artabanus from Armenia. That his arm could reach to Rome, to take vengeance on the objects of his suspicious hatred, was proved to the alarmed Senate and people by a demand for the blood of a Roman knight, Titius Sabinus, in his very letter of congratulation on the festival of the new year (A.D. 28).

The death of his mother Livia, in the following year, removed the check that he had never ceased to feel, while he chafed under it, and gave freer scope than ever to the artifices of Sejanus (A.D. 29). The effect was at once seen in a letter of accusation from Tiberius to the Senate against Agrippina and her son Nero. The report, magnified by Sejanus, of a popular demonstration in

* Merivale, vol. v. p. 264.

their favour, which might have alarmed the emperor had he been at Rome, only made him the more resolute, and the widow and son of Germanicus were banished to islands (A.D. 29). The next son, Drusus, whom (as well as his brother Caius) Tiberius had taken with him to Capreæ, was assailed by the same arts that had destroyed his cousin and namesake. Sejanus, having first seduced his wife Lepida, used her influence to obtain the dismissal of Drusus to Rome, where he was imprisoned by the order of Sejanus in a vault of the imperial palace (A.D. 30). But their fate was not accomplished till after their arch-enemy had fallen.

Sejanus now seemed to have reached the acmé of his power—Tiberius consented to his betrothal to Livilla,* and associated him with himself in the consulship for the ensuing year. But the sequel proves that Sejanus had at length roused the fatal jealousy of his master, who was but lulling the suspicions of the favourite with the honours that decked the victim for his fate. The design was executed with an impenetrable treachery thoroughly characteristic of Tiberius. He deputed Sejanus to discharge the functions of their joint consulship at Rome, so that it seemed, Dion says, as if Sejanus were the autocrat, and Tiberius the governor of an island. The applauses of the obsequious Senate for the emperor's favourite were accepted as the tribute of Rome to his own merit, and the proposal to prolong the joint consulship for five years held out the hope of an indefinite extension of a power, which the aged emperor could not long share, even in the unassisted course of nature. He was specially undeceived, when the emperor not only refused the five years' consulship, but laid down the office early in May, Sejanus having of course to share his resignation, though the blow was hypocritically delivered under the cover of proconsular and other honours; and when the chief of these, the priesthood, was also conferred upon the young Caius Cæsar, the intentions of Tiberius as to the succession appeared evident. Sejanus would willingly have repaired the mistake of leaving his master's side—perhaps the consulship had been but a device to get rid of his presence—but his request to visit his bride at Capreæ was refused, on the plea that the imperial family were coming to Rome. Sejanus prepared for the emperor's arrival by a conspiracy against his life. The plot was communicated to one of the infamous informers; and he revealed it to Antonia, the aged mother of Germanicus; "who preferred, of the two per-

* Tacitus calls Sejanus the emperor's son-in-law. The loss of the greater part of the fifth book of the Annals deprives us of our best guide for this period.

secutors of her race, to save Tiberius and destroy Sejanus." The difficult task of seizing the captain of the prætorian bands in the heart of the city was committed to Sertorius Macro, who was appointed to succeed Sejanus in the command. Entering the city at midnight, he required the consul Regulus, a man of approved fidelity, to summon the Senate for the morrow, and then concerted his measures with the captain of the urban watch. Next he took care to meet Sejanus on his way to the Senate, and to tell him in confidence that the purpose of the sudden meeting was to raise him, like Agrippa and the other designated heirs of empire, to a share of the tribunitian power. Blinded by vanity and false hope, Sejanus dismissed his guards, whom Macro privately informed that he was now their captain, promising them a liberal donative. It is needless to dwell on the details of the scene that ensued,—the elation of Sejanus gradually dying away into alarm during the reading of the "verbosa et grandis epistola,"* in which Tiberius, unfolding his purpose with tantalizing reserve, at last denounced Sejanus as a traitor, and commanded his arrest,—the shrinking of his flatterers one by one from his side, and the closing round him of his enemies, to overwhelm him with reproach and restrain all resistance. As the lictors dragged him through the Forum to the Mamertine prison, the populace were already overthrowing his statues;† and Macro appeased and gained over the Prætorians. This done, the Senate met in the Temple of Concord, to act without waiting for the emperor's sentence, and the body of Sejanus was presently thrown out upon the Gemonian stairs. His kinsmen, friends, and relatives were proscribed, and while the agitation of the populace filled Rome with tumult and bloodshed, the Senate voted fresh honours to the emperor. Meanwhile Tiberius sat on the highest cliff of Capri, in an agitation which he had betrayed at no other crisis, watching the telegraphic signals he had arranged, or casting down his eye upon the swift triremes which were prepared for his escape. When at last the welcome news arrived, he refused, whether from a strong reaction of reserve, or from real loss of

* The well-known phrase of Juvenal in his celebrated passage on the fall of Sejanus (Sat. x. 71).

† Juv. Sat. x. 72:—

"Sed quid
Turba Remi? Sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
Damnatos. Idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
Augustum."

self-possession, to receive the deputation of the Senate, or the consul who had come to escort him back to Rome. The title of "Father of his Country" was again declined, as it had often been before; but he seized the opportunity for demanding another hecatomb of Roman nobles, as accomplices in the treason of Sejanus and the murder of Drusus. The young children of Sejanus are said to have been executed under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, and Livilla herself was starved to death. In responding to the desire of Rome for his return, Tiberius made his approach in a manner which betrayed undiminished distrust. Not venturing to travel by land, he sailed up the Tiber, while guards drove the people from the banks; but when he reached the gardens of Cæsar, his heart seemed to fail him as he once more beheld the city, and he sailed down the stream and back to his island. The stories of the horrid cruelties and loathsome lusts to which he now returned are chiefly credible because they reflect what is known of the vices of his order and his age. "The excessive sensuality of the Roman nobles, pampered by all the appliances of art and luxury, was in fact the frenzy of a class deprived of the healthy stimulus of public action, and raised above the restraints of decency and self-respect."*

The loyalty of Antonia in denouncing Sejanus did not turn aside the suspicion of the emperor from the family of Germanicus. Nero had already perished in the island of his banishment, and the fate of Drusus appears to have been sealed by the appearance of a pretender who personated him, with some brief success, in Greece and Asia. After the horrid fashion which we trace in the suicides as well as in the secret murders of the time, Drusus was not put to death in prison; but, according to an imperial formula, he "ceased to exist," after prolonging his existence for nine days by gnawing the stuffing of his pallet. Despair brought the mother to the same end to which the tyrant had doomed the son; and the resolute Agrippina is even said to have resisted the attempts, made by the emperor's command, to force food down her throat. † These

* Merivale, vol. v. p. 299.

† Mr. Merivale has some admirable remarks on this form of death:—"A superstitious notion may have been current, that death by famine was a kind of divine infliction; it might seem like simply leaving nature to take its appointed course;" and, with regard to the letter in which Tiberius recounted to the Senate all the horrid details of the death of Drusus, he adds:—"It is impossible to believe that this was a mere wanton piece of unnatural cruelty. It must have had a political purpose; and we may conjecture that it was meant, first, to establish on unquestionable testimony the actual demise of Drusus; and, secondly, to prove that no

accumulated horrors, and other circumstances in the conduct of Tiberius at this period, seem to confirm the opinion that the moody Claudian spirit had at last passed over the limit which divides moroseness from insanity. And no wonder, for the atmosphere of the reign of terror drove Nerva, his long-attached companion, to suicide, and Tiberius, who had exhausted all his powers of persuasion, is said to have felt the stroke as his own condemnation. "Not in vain," says Tacitus, "was the wisest of philosophers wont to maintain that, could the hearts of tyrants be opened to our gaze, we should behold there the direst wounds and ulcers; for the mind is torn with cruelty, lust, and evil inclinations, not less truly than the body by blows." *

The sentiment ascribed to various modern despots or their ministers—"Après moi le déluge"—has its prototype in a quotation which Tiberius is said to have made from a Greek poet:—

"After my death, perish the world in fire:"

an utterance which, if real, was that of despair rather than indifference. It now remained for him to provide for the succession to the empire; but here again he was prevented by hypocritical reserve and real timidity from conferring on Rome the greatest benefit that could console her for the loss of liberty, by establishing a clear principle of hereditary right. Instead of this, he once more affected to give back the supreme power into the hands of the Senate; and for the rest, as Tacitus says, "with a hesitating mind and weary body, he abandoned to fate the decision to which he felt himself unequal," and was content with leaving his property between Caius Germanicus Cæsar (Caligula)—the only surviving son of Germanicus, and the youngest of his five children—and his own grandson, Tiberius Gemellus, the son of Drusus (A.D. 35). Caius was now twenty-three years old and Tiberius sixteen, their birth years having been in A.D. 12 and A.D. 19. So far as the emperor had hitherto shown any preference, it had been for Caius. There was still an elder member of the family, Tiberius Claudius Drusus, the younger brother of Germanicus. Though this prince afterwards succeeded to the purple as the emperor

drop of the Julian blood had been shed, no spark of his divine spirit extinguished, by the hand of the executioner."

* The imperial confession, by which this reflection was suggested, is too great a curiosity of morbid psychology to be either suppressed or weakened by translation. It is the commencement of a letter to the Senate in A.D. 32:—"Quid scribam vobis, P.C., aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, Di me Deæque pejus perdant, quam perire me quotidie sentio, si sciam." Tac. *Ann.* vi. 6.

Claudius, he had been purposely excluded from all state affairs as being infirm both in body and in mind.* Josephus tells a romantic story, which accords well with the known addiction of Tiberius to the arts of divination. Wishing to learn by a sign the will of the gods concerning the two princes, the emperor resolved to choose that one who should first come into his presence. In summoning them, however, he gave a hint to the tutor of the young Tiberius; but, by an accident, Caius presented himself first, and Tiberius said, "My son, although Tiberius is nearer to myself than you are, yet both are of my own choice, and in obedience to the gods, into your hands I commit the empire of Rome." Be the truth of this story what it may, Caius himself took a surer method of determining the decision in his own favour. He had formed a close connection with Macro, the new prætorian prefect, who, with a spirit as ambitious and tyrannical as Sejanus, had never been admitted to his master's confidence, and was ready, as the keen-sighted emperor once told him, "to leave the setting sun and court the rising." Macro was said to have made use of the vilest arts in obtaining an ascendancy over the sensual young prince. Whether the confederates designed to hasten the emperor's end is doubtful: that they would not have scrupled so to do is sure. At the last moment, from some unknown cause, Tiberius made another effort to revisit Rome. Once more he came in sight of Rome, this time on the Appian road; and once more he turned his back upon its seven hills, and retraced his steps along the Campanian coast. An illness, which seized him at Astura, was increased through the effort he made to conceal it by taking part in the exercises of the camp, and in the hunt of wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Circeii. He pressed on with difficulty to Misenum, where a splendid feast was spread in the villa that had once belonged to Lucullus. But the courtiers knew that the hand of death was upon him; and the physician Charicles, who was about to leave the court for a time, seized the opportunity of making his farewell obeisance, to feel the emperor's pulse. Tiberius detected the action, and, as if resolved to brave alike the prognostications of science and the expectations of the courtiers, prolonged the feast far into the night, and then dismissed the guests with all the accustomed formalities. Charicles was, however, able to inform Macro that all would be over in two days; and a fainting fit, with which the emperor was seized on the 15th of March, seemed to

* The remaining prince of the imperial house, the emperor Nero, was only born in the year in which Tiberius died (A.D. 37).

have verified the prediction. The courtiers were already offering their congratulations to Caius, who had left the room to take his measures for assuming power, when the report was spread that Tiberius had revived. Caius was struck speechless with fear and disappointment; but Macro, with a soldier's presence of mind, ordered the old man to be smothered by heaping on coverlets as if for warmth, and to be left alone to die.* He expired in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

Such was the end of the first of the Cæsars who succeeded without usurpation to the empire of the civilized world; in the degeneracy of whose character, more and more hateful, though never utterly contemptible, we may trace the natural fruits of the despotic system, and who presents a warning to those who would revive it, lest in claiming the imperial rights of a Julius or an Augustus, they become rather assimilated to the pattern of a Tiberius. As the historian of the empire observes:—"It is the character of the age in which he was placed, an age of rapid though silent transition, rather than of the man himself, which invests him with an historical interest." Having traced the imperial system through that third stage of its development which his history illustrates, we have no need to dwell long upon the caricature of its vices in his successors.

Caius Germanicus Cæsar, more commonly known by the pet name of CALIGULA,† which his father's soldiers had conferred upon their playmate, was twenty-five years old when he succeeded to the honours of "Cæsar" and "Augustus." His frank though licentious youth was of itself a relief from the reserved moroseness of Tiberius; and the people were willing to be indulgent even to the

* Such is the plain statement of Tacitus and Dion; but Suetonius quotes an account from Seneca, which implies that the emperor died naturally, after giving a last sign of his habitual indecision by holding out his ring as if he meant to give some one the symbol of authority, and then replacing it on his finger. In another passage, this collector of gossip directly charges Caius with poisoning Tiberius.

† The diminutive of *caliga* (the military buskin) was jocosely given as a name to the little prince, whether from his actually wearing it, or simply from his being brought up among the soldiers, and perhaps imitating their manners with the amusing caricature of a child. It seems strange that grave historians should write the annals of a Roman emperor under the name of "Little-Boots," which was always resented by himself, and is never used by Tacitus, Seneca, or Pliny—who always call him Caius or Caius Cæsar—and seems to be first found in Aurelius Victor. Yet it is a sort of poetic justice that such a caricature of humanity—the very ideal of Shakspere's "angry ape"—should be fixed in history by a mere nickname; and perhaps we have reason to regret that excess of gravity which, in our own history, has left off talking of *Lackland*, and such other names by which our kings were best known to their own age.

vices of the son of Germanicus. While their exultation at the tyrant's death prompted for a moment the wild cry of "Tiberius to the Tiber," the Senate showed as little respect to his last will, and conferred on Caius the imperial power and titles, to the exclusion of the young Tiberius. But Caius liberally executed that part of the will which left ample legacies to the prætorians, the legions, and the citizens. For this and other acts of profuse generosity, the means were found in a treasure of not less than twenty-one millions sterling, which the care of the late emperor had accumulated. The last obsequies of Tiberius were performed with befitting splendour, and Caius pronounced the funeral oration, but the tyrant was not enrolled among the gods, nor was the Senate asked to confirm his acts. Caius was no less careful to render funeral honours to his mother and brothers. He went in person to bring the ashes of Agrippina and Nero from the islands where they had died, and laid them, with those of Drusus, in the imperial mausoleum. After assuring the Senate, in his first speech, that he intended to share the government with them, and to be guided by their superior wisdom, Caius began his administration with measures which delighted Rome with the promise of a happy change. He proclaimed an amnesty to all political offenders, released those who were in prison, recalled the banished, and drove out the delators. Among other constitutional and judicial reforms, he attempted to revive the popular election of magistrates; but the nobles had been too long relieved from the troubles of a canvass to be willing to come forward as candidates. Caius himself assumed the consulship two months after his accession, and delighted the citizens with his sedulous attention to public business. But when the signal for retreat from the malaria of Rome was given by the arrival of the last day of August, which was also the emperor's birthday, he celebrated the commencement of the holiday season by magnificent games and banquets, and himself resumed the habits of dissipation in which he had lived from early youth. The extravagance of his spectacles and the wanton humours he indulged had already betrayed the deep taint of mental as well as moral weakness, when his revels were interrupted by a dangerous illness. Through all the empire the temples resounded with prayers for his recovery, which the devotees were soon ready to redouble for deliverance from his tyranny: for all the brilliant promise which had gilded over his early vices and his mean dissimulation towards Tiberius, was obliterated by his illness, and the work of demoralization was completed by the flattery which greeted his recovery.

Caligula's career is henceforth of no other interest than as an example of that Nemesis of despotic power which drives her victims to insanity, and there is no profit in pursuing the details of the "fantastic tricks" which draw tears from angels and disgust from men.* He first put to death the young Tiberius, whom he had promised the Senate that he would bring up as his own son. Then he commanded his grandmother Antonia, and his old adherent Macro, with his wife, to put an end to their lives. His passion for the cruel sports of the amphitheatre, always strong, passed all bounds of decency. Not only were Senators and Knights forced to the indignity, which former emperors had refused to accept as a voluntary sacrifice, of exhibiting themselves in the arena, but the emperor himself is said to have fought as a gladiator, his safety being ensured by the blunted swords of his antagonists. No such precautions were taken on behalf of the noble combatants, and on one occasion twenty-six knights were slaughtered. The regular gladiators, whose number had been limited by Augustus, were butchered in whole bands, and the combats of wild beasts were on a like scale. It is even said that once, when there were not condemned criminals enough to satisfy Caligula's thirst for blood, he ordered some of the spectators to be exposed to the lions. He himself drove chariots in the races of the circus, and became the patron of one of the four factions, the establishment of which appears to date from Caligula's reign, the Green, Blue, Red, and White: the emperor espoused the green faction. His extravagance soon exhausted the treasures amassed by Tiberius; and the informers were again encouraged to renew the accusations which were the means of replenishing the emperor's coffers and gratifying his passions. By such a course he soon made himself the common enemy of that vast portion of the human race which was cursed by his dominion: and he felt it. The image by which Tiberius expressed his own attitude towards his subjects showed at least the bold spirit of a hunter of men; but the wish ascribed to Caligula, that the Roman people had but one neck, so that he might sever it at a blow, if ever really uttered, was the very climax of impotent malice.

Nor was the tyrant's lust less horrid than his cruelty. During their long decline into vicious luxury, the Romans had abstained

* The excellent popular work of the late Mr. Arthur Malkin, entitled "Historical Parallels," gives a sufficient number of these details to illustrate the insanity produced in a feeble constitution by the possession of arbitrary power, in comparison with the examples of the Persian Cambyses and Paul of Russia.

from those incestuous marriages which disgraced the Asiatic Greeks; but Caius had formed a connection with his sister Drusilla, upon whose death he wandered down the Italian coast to Sicily, in the garb of mourning, and then returned to command divine honours to be paid to her under the name of Panthea (the Universal Deity). "Having strained his morbid feelings to this pitch of fanaticism, the crazy monster relieved them by an outburst of cynical humour. He declared that, if any man dared to mourn for his sister's death, he should be punished, for she had become a goddess; if any one ventured to rejoice at her deification, he should be punished also, for she was dead." He next married Lollia Paulina, having compelled her husband Regulus to divorce her; and soon divorcing her, he finally married Cæsonia. But no Roman lady was safe from his licence, nor their husbands, fathers, and brothers from the fatal consequences of withstanding him. To the foreign princes who came to pay their homage at Rome he displayed the most arrogant humours of an autocrat, and cut short their contest for precedence with the words of Homer,—"One chief, one king." Though not venturing to assume the royal title, he claimed to be a deity upon earth, and after exhibiting himself with the attributes of Hercules, Bacchus, and Apollo in turn, and pretending to commune with the Capitoline Jove himself, in conversation sometimes mixed with jests and sometimes with loud quarrels, he at length reached the point of proclaiming the universal deity of the Cæsar—supreme over all local gods. His extraordinary interview with the deputation of Alexandrian Jews, who ventured to remonstrate against the edict for his worship, we reserve, with his relations to the family of Herod, for another chapter.

If we turn our eyes from these revolting traits in the personal character of Caligula to the state of the empire under his rule, we may be surprized that we do not find one universal scene of misgovernment; and we may more than suspect that the historians, whose picture of the Cæsars is drawn in the darkest tints, have been led by prejudice or perverse consistency to omit many a redeeming feature. The truth would seem to be that Caligula's restless excitement displayed itself in business as well as in pleasure; while his self-reliance was shown in the fact, that he never surrendered himself to a favourite. His was not the incapacity which slumbers in lazy enjoyment while all around goes to ruin; but the notion of his superior nature, engendered in a morbidly irritable brain, with no training either in the school of experience

or of adversity, drove him to extravagance even in his best projects. Magnificence in architecture is a leading passion of great minds; and no wonder, for this alone of all human works unites in the highest degree beauty, greatness, utility, and monumental durability, presenting in the public ways a constant gratification to the taste of those to whose wants it ministers. The praise so often lavished on Augustus, because he "found Rome of brick and left it of marble," may not fairly be denied to the designer of the Claudian aqueduct; and the viaduct over the Velabrum, from the Palatine Hill to the Capitoline, though of less utility, was a noble work of engineering skill. The enlargement of the palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine, where the modest residence of Augustus occupied an angle of the mount, may be excused as suited to the supremacy which was now the confessed right of the prince, but it was carried out on the most extravagant scale; and the same mind that planned harbours of refuge from the perils of the straits of Messana, revelled in the senseless grandeur of the bridge of boats across the Gulf of Baiæ as a mere temporary platform for a pageant, in which Caligula claimed to have far surpassed the bridges of Darius and Xerxes between Europe and Asia.

It was not enough for him, however, to exhibit on the Campanian coast a mock triumph over the Parthians: the son of Germanicus must pluck real laurels on the fields of his father's fame. According to Suetonius, the thought was suggested by a sudden desire to recruit his slender escort of Batavian horsemen; and, while he proclaimed that the barbarians were threatening the frontiers, his real purpose was to fill his empty coffers by exactions in Gaul and Spain. Turning aside before he reached Rome, he advanced sometimes by forced marches, as if the safety of the empire were at stake, sometimes with the slow pomp of an Oriental despot's progress. The cities on his route were required to sweep the roads and lay the dust before the emperor and his train of players, gladiators, and women. Arrived at the banks of the Rhine, he assumed the airs of a rigid disciplinarian; and, as no enemy was to be seen, he extemporized the show of a battle by sending some captives across the river, and causing the alarm to be given in the camp while he was at supper. Then, sallying forth with only a few of his guards, he dispersed the pretended enemy, and returned to upbraid his legions for their sluggishness, while he rewarded the vigilance of his comrades with a newly-invented chaplet, which he called the "crown exploratory." The victory was announced to the Senate by a "laurelled letter," which contrasted their indolent enjoyments at

Rome with the dangers faced by their prince. Such is the story of the ancients, who make Caligula always grotesque, even when he is not atrocious. But Mr. Merivale thinks that a very different truth may be detected through the caricature itself. "Towards the close of the principate of Tiberius, the command of the legions on the Rhine was left by him reluctantly in the hands of a chief whom he had not the courage to dispossess. Lentulus Gætulicus had defied the emperor, and the emperor had succumbed to his menaces. Tiberius was old and timid, and satisfied perhaps that the obedience of the legions would at least last his own time: but Caius partook neither of his fears nor of his confidence. The relaxation of discipline by his legate had given occasion to attacks on the part of the Germans. But it was much more dangerous to the Imperator, as a token of independence on the part of his own officer; and it was with the bold determination, as I conceive, to put down this rising spirit in person, that Caius, under pretence of defending the frontiers, left Rome for Gaul, to defend himself and his imperial authority. In daring, Caius was not deficient; perhaps he had not sense enough fairly to estimate the dangers which beset him. But at such a crisis, daring was the best wisdom, and the apparition of the redoubted emperor in the midst of a disaffected camp, together with some examples of sternness, which showed that he was not to be trifled with, may have actually saved the state from a bloody and bootless revolution." Nor does this view necessarily exclude the substantial truth of the story of the mock victory: for such alternations of vigour and absurdity seem to give the truest picture of the inconsistent character of Caligula.

Returning to Lugdunum, Caius began the work of extorting money. To forced contributions of all kinds, and fines for imaginary offences, he added an expedient so ingenious as to prove that there was at least "method in his madness." Vast quantities of the furniture of the imperial palaces were brought from Italy, and sold by Caius in person, nor dared the rich provincials be deaf to the eloquent descriptions of the imperial auctioneer. At the games which he celebrated in honour of Augustus, the emperor played the critic on the eloquence and poetry of authors, giving the unsuccessful competitors the choice of licking out their compositions from the tablets, or being cast into the Rhone. The year closed with the execution of Lentulus Gætulicus, and the banishment of Caligula's sisters, Julia and Agrippina, for a conspiracy against the emperor's life; and the Senate, in voting him an

ovation, gave new offence by sending his uncle Claudius at the head of the deputation to congratulate him.

On the 1st of January, A.D. 40, Caligula assumed the consulship at Lyon, but resigned it on the twelfth day. The winter was spent in preparing for an invasion of Britain, which may have been wisely planned to employ the legions who were discontented at the death of their late commander; but which is said to have had a termination as fruitless as the one, and as grotesque as the other, of the last imperial enterprizes directed from and to the same port of Gessoriacum (*Boulogne*). The troops, expecting the signal to embark, were one day marshalled on the beach in full array of battle, with all the battering train, and Caius had mounted a tribunal as if to give the signal, when suddenly they were ordered to pile their arms, and to fill their helmets with shells gathered from the beach, which they laid in a heap at the emperor's feet. These were sent to Rome as spoils of his victory over the ocean, which he celebrated on the spot by an ample donative to the soldiers, and by the erection of a lighthouse.*

Orders were sent to Rome to prepare the grandest triumph that had ever yet been seen, over Germany and Britain; and in addition to a few slaves and fugitives, the troops of supposed German captives were represented by Gauls, chosen for their great stature, whose hair was allowed to grow and was dyed red, and who were taught a little German, and called by German names. After all, the mock triumph was not celebrated; for the Senate, doubtful, as it seems, whether the emperor was in earnest, omitted the necessary invitation, and Caligula entered the city with only an ovation, on his birthday, the 31st of August, A.D. 40. He came, he said, not for the Senate, but for the knights and people, who alone deserved his presence among them. "For the Senate," he

* Here again Mr. Merivale "hesitates to believe that the *British Expedition*, as it was sarcastically denominated, was such a monstrous farce as it has been described to us. The erection of a lighthouse indicates at least an intelligent purpose, and cannot have been a mere whimsical fancy. Possibly Caius was diverted from a real intention of attacking Britain by some act of submission, from which he anticipated the opening of freer and more regular communication with the natives. Even the picking of shells may be a grotesque misrepresenting of receiving a tribute of Rutupian pearls." But surely, if this last suggestion had been well-founded, the pearls would have been made the most of in the narrative; and Mr. Merivale adds that, "after all, there can be no doubt that the claim Caius now advanced to a triumph, as for a glorious success, was utterly extravagant; nor is it incredible that the tricks with which he is said to have given colour to it, were hardly less absurd than they are described to have been."

added, laying his hand upon his sword, "I will neither be a prince nor a citizen, but an imperator and a conqueror." *

To prove that this at least was no jest, he entered the city in the dress of an Imperator, and encamped his legions in the Forum. This open abandonment of the republican fiction provoked a plot against his life, which was betrayed by one of the conspirators. The discovery revealed a latent spark of that generous feeling which had once made Caius the hope of Rome. Being informed that some of his most trusted courtiers were in the plot, he bared his bosom before them, and offered them a sword to pierce his heart. The chief conspirator, Cerialis, though tortured to obtain a confession, had his life spared. The Senate seized the occasion for fresh marks of abject homage, and the mutual distrust inspired by the reign of terror seemed to secure the tyrant against the fate of Cæsar. In a few months, however, he fell a victim to a conspiracy in his own household, headed by Cassius Chærea, a tribune of the Prætorian guards, whose resentment he had provoked by the most wanton insults. The conspirators despatched him with thirty wounds, in a vaulted passage leading from the palace to the circus, on the 24th of January, A.D. 41, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the fourth of his reign. His attached friend, the Jew Agrippa, threw a cloak over the body, which he presently burnt and buried in haste; and the ashes were afterwards honoured with funeral rites by the sisters of Caligula. In reviewing the record of his brief career, and after recognizing the warning it gives of the effect of wielding arbitrary power, the historian is tempted to sum up the whole in the jest of a Gaul, which the cynical humour of the emperor suffered to pass unpunished. The man, who was a currier, was detected by Caius in a smile, as he saw him seated on his tribunal with the insignia of Jove; and on the emperor's asking him what he thought of him, he replied, "I think you a great absurdity."

Ridiculous as it would seem to institute any comparison between the great Caius Cæsar and his imperial namesake, there was a singular parallel in the circumstances of their deaths. When the murderers of Caligula, like those of Julius, had each plunged his dagger in the body, they rushed out of the palace in helpless expectation of the liberty which they had made no preparations to secure. There was still a republican party in the Senate, which, headed by the Consuls, made some attempt to restore the old

* The contrast embodied in this speech is an indication of the strictly civil, nay, republican idea still connected with the title of Princeps.

constitution, and to proscribe the memory of the Cæsars. But the contrast between the assembly in the midst of which Julius had been struck down, and the servile band that had placed the seat of Caligula above the reach of their own daggers, was a sign of their helplessness; and the power of decision had passed away to a new and very different body. "While the Senate deliberated" —says Gibbon—"the Prætorian guards had resolved." A party of them, having rushed into the palace, found a man hidden behind the curtain of a verandah; and as they dragged him out, half dead with terror, they recognized Tiberius Claudius, the uncle of the late emperor. Whatever might be thought of the alleged incapacity which had been the excuse for treating Claudius with contemptuous neglect, the name of the brother of Germanicus was a talisman for the soldiery, who at once saluted him as Imperator, and carried him off to their camp. In the morning, he accepted their oath of allegiance, and sent Agrippa to persuade the Senate to save its dignity by appearing to make the choice which it was unable to refuse. Serious opposition came only from the conspirators; Chærea protesting against "the substitution of an idiot for a madman," while Sabinus, who seems to have engaged in the plot as a republican, declared that he would not survive the accession of another Cæsar. He kept his word by falling on his sword, though not included in the condemnation of Chærea and a few others for the murder of Caligula, which was the first act of the new reign. The Senate went through the form of passing the constitutional act which conferred the imperium on Claudius; but his actual elevation by the Prætorian cohorts proved that the purple had passed into the gift of the soldiers, and the last step, of making it again the prize of a successful general, was alone wanting to complete the cycle of the imperial system. Meanwhile the new emperor's timidity kept his person perpetually environed by his guards.

Tiberius CLAUDIUS Drusus Nero Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, the younger son of Drusus and Antonia, was born at Lugdunum on the 1st of August, B.C. 10. Deformity combined with perpetual ill-health made him an object so contemptible in Roman eyes that his very mother spoke of him as a monster of humanity,* and Augustus deemed him fit for nothing but an augur, and would not even suffer him to be seen among the family of Cæsar in the circus. But even while uttering the despairing wish "that the poor creature would take pains to imitate some respectable per-

* Portentum hominis.

sonage in bearing, gait, and gesture," and declaring that he could not ordinarily speak intelligibly, the emperor confessed that he had found something to like in the style of Claudius's declamation. When Tiberius also denied him all active employment, he solaced himself with literary pursuits, mingled, according to his detractors, with drunkenness, gambling, and gross debauchery; but the extent of his compositions seems to show that these charges of vice, indolence, and mental incapacity are at least exaggerated.* At the court of Caius, he was made the butt of practical jokes, which he had the sense to bear with good humour. What we know of him before his accession is thus summed up by Mr. Merivale:—"That the judgment of a man from whom the practical knowledge of men and things had been withheld, was not equal to his learning, and that the infirmities of his body affected his powers of decision, his presence of mind, and steadfastness of purpose, may easily be imagined: nevertheless it may be allowed that in a private station, and anywhere but at Rome, Claudius would have passed muster as a respectable, and not perhaps an useless, member of society."†

The mature age of fifty at which Claudius assumed the government gave at least a security against the boyish absurdities of Caligula; but his weak and timid nature made him the tool of the freedmen and mistresses into whose society he had been thrown by his seclusion from affairs of state; and a still more fatal influence was exercised over him by his third wife, the notorious Valeria Messalina. But it was not till the latter part of his reign that these evil influences prevailed over the emperor's desire to signalize himself as the imitator of the policy of Augustus; and his government of the provinces and wars on the frontiers were even attended with signal success. His wars had for

* Besides Histories of Roman affairs from the Battle of Actium in forty-one books, of his own times in eight, of the Etruscans in twenty, and of the Carthaginians in eight, Claudius wrote a defence of Cicero in reply to Asinius Gallus, a Greek comedy, and a treatise on dice-playing. In these works he of course availed himself, as was usual with Roman authors, of the aid of grammarians and learned freedmen. Claudius had an ambition to effect literary reforms: he attempted to introduce the *F*, Ψ, and some third letter into the Roman alphabet.

† Mr. Merivale avows that this opinion is influenced by the study of the emperor's countenance in his busts, which he considers the most interesting of the whole imperial series. "If his figure, as we are told, was tall, and when sitting appeared not ungraceful, his face, at least in repose, was eminently handsome. But it is impossible not to remark in it an expression of pain and anxiety which forcibly arrests our sympathy. It is the face of an honest and well-meaning man, who feels himself unequal to the task imposed upon him."

their chief object the permanent security of the frontier provinces; but in one case he added a long-coveted possession to the empire. But first we have to glance at Africa. Mauretania, having finally become a Roman possession when Ptolemy, the son of Juba II., fell as one of Caligula's victims (A.D. 40), and having been constituted by Claudius into two provinces,* was made by the enterprizing governor, Suetonius Paulinus, the base of an expedition beyond the Atlas. He proceeded ten days' march through the *Tafilet* (or Country of the Date-palm) as far as the river Gir, on the northern margin of the *Sahara* (A.D. 42).

While the Roman empire was thus extended to its "natural limits" in Africa, the boundary of the Rhine was still insecure, and there remained another conquest, which even the moderate policy of Augustus had deemed essential to the "rectification" of the north-western frontier. Upon the death of Caligula, Servius Galba, the governor of Gaul, instead of aspiring, as his friends would have had him do, to the purple which he afterwards found so fatal, carried the Roman arms again beyond the Rhine, and made war upon the Chatti, but with no decisive results. About the same time, an opportunity seemed to offer itself for subjecting to Rome her most inveterate enemies among the German tribes, when the Cherusci, weakened by their own dissensions, invoked the arbitration of the emperor. Claudius preferred the government of a vassal prince to a direct attempt at conquest, and the people were content to receive for their chief Italicus, the son of Flavius, the renegade brother of Arminius; though his Roman birth and manners, his parentage and name, all inflamed the animosity of the patriot party, whom he had great difficulty in keeping down. Some years afterwards, the Chauci, who, since the campaigns of Germanicus, had profited by their alliance with Rome to carry on commerce with Gaul, as well as with Britain, made a piratical attack upon the country about the mouths of the Rhine. The able legate, Domitius Corbulo, resolved to chastise them effectually. Sailing down the Rhine, he subdued the Frisians, and attacked the Chauci on their own coasts.

* The *Mauretaniæ duæ*, with the epithets of *Tingitana* (from Tingis, *Tangier*), and *Cæsariensis* (from Julia Cæsarea, *Zershell*), were divided by the river Malva, the old limit of the Moorish kingdom of Bocchus, which corresponds to *Marocco*. The eastern province, corresponding to the west and central parts of *Algeria*, included the greater part of the territory of the Massæsylii and the former Numidian kingdom. Constantine added to Mauretania the rest of the territory of the Massæsylii, and made the country between Saldæ and the Ampsaga into the province of *Mauretania Sitifensis*, so named from the inland town of Sitifi (*Setif*).

His progress already promised the conquest of the country, when the emperor—moved, it is said, by jealousy of a possible rival, or in pursuance of his policy of moderation—sent him the order of recal. Corbulo obeyed, with the remark, "How fortunate were once the Roman captains." He found occupation for his troops in a work which has lasted to our own time, the canal from the Maas near Rotterdam to the Rhine near Leyden (A.D. 47). "Before the adoption of the modern railroad, the canal of Corbulo was the common highway of traffic between Rotterdam and Leyden; and its plodding *trekschuyt* may still faithfully represent the old Roman tow-boat of the Pomptine marshes."*

The emperor reserved for himself the conquest of Britain, an enterprize which the first Cæsar had left to his successors as a fixed tradition of the imperial policy; but which Augustus had been obliged to postpone while the Gallic legions were employed upon the Rhine. If that river was accounted the natural frontier of Gaul, much more was our island deemed the natural appendage of this province, with which it had had the closest connection from the earliest period. The inhabitants of both were of the same Celtic stock, the Britons in the south of the island belonging to the Cymric branch,† and seem to have preserved, in their bracing climate, and amidst the unmolested freedom of their woods and hills, that nobler type which marked the race before its complete separation from the common parent stock of the Celts and Teutons, and which was seen in the Belgæ above all the other continental Gauls.‡ The trade of the Greek colonists of Massilia and Narbo with Britain was carried on through Gaul; and it is important to observe that this was a channel of information respecting the Britannic islands distinct from what was derived indirectly through the very early intercourse of the Phœnician traders with Cornwall and the Scilly Islands. When the obscure notices of the earlier writers are replaced by distinct historic light in the time of Cæsar, we find the Britons on the south-eastern

* Merivale, who quotes the statement of Greenwood (*Hist. of the Germans*, i. 141), that "this work still forms a principal drain of the province of Holland, between the city of Leyden and the village of Sluys on the Maas."

† Of the population of Northern Britain we shall have to speak again.

‡ The theory suggested in the text may help to account for the physical characters which led some of the Roman writers to imagine a Germanic element in the population both of Britain and of the parts of Gaul opposite to the island. Of the much-debated question, concerning a really Germanic population previous to the date of the great Anglo-Saxon invasion, this is not the place to speak.

coast subject to a continental chief, Divitiacus, King of the Belgic tribes of the Suessones (B.C. 57): and the aid they gave to the Veneti (the people about the modern *Vannes*) attests at once their maritime habits and their intercourse with that part of Gaul to which they afterwards gave the name of *Brittany* (B.C. 56). We have seen that Cæsar effected no permanent conquest in Britain; but it would seem that the experience which the natives had of the power of Rome disposed them to friendly relations with the empire. The fragmentary notice of Britain on the "Monumentum Ancyranum," is supposed to confirm the statement of Dion Cassius, that Augustus received an embassy from certain British chieftains, with presents and professions, that could be construed into tribute and submission. Under Tiberius, we have further evidence of friendly relations, in the statement that some Roman soldiers, who were cast upon the shores of Britain, were sent back to Germanicus by the chieftains. But the period to which these scanty and doubtful testimonies relate is enlightened by an invaluable piece of contemporary evidence, in the shape of gold British coins, bearing the names of TASCIOVANUS and CUNOBELINUS. It seems probable that these princes of the Trinobantes were father and son; and the name of their capital appears on the coins in the same form in which it became celebrated as a Roman colony, CAMULODUNUM.* Besides assuring us that the CYMBELINE of our great poet was a real British prince, these coins prove, by their Latin inscriptions and their high style of art, that the Roman civilization, now thoroughly established on the opposite shores of the Channel and of the German Ocean, had already made no little progress in Britain before the victories of Claudius, and that Cymbeline's greater son was no mere "painted savage," when he stood in chains before the emperor. It seems even probable that Roman traders had begun to form settlements in Britain, and Londinium (*London*), though not named by Cæsar, was already a considerable mart. The tribes already known to the Romans were the Cantii (in Kent), the Regni (in Sussex), the Trinobantes (in Hertfordshire and Essex), and the Iceni (in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Norfolk). The last appear to have been in antagonism to the general supremacy exercised over the south-eastern tribes by the warlike kings of the Trinobantes. Of these

* Camulodunum is almost universally held to be the same as Colonia, and identified with *Colchester*. But Dr. Latham inclines to the opinion that, while the Roman colony was no doubt at Colchester, the British capital of Camulodunum was at Maldon. (*Dict. of Greek & Rom. Geog.* s. v.)

we have already seen Cassivelaunus heading the resistance to Cæsar.* But in Britain, as in Germany, the neighbourhood of the great empire offered to every malcontent a refuge and an appeal; and the internal dissensions of the chieftains gave a never-failing pretext for Roman interference. Such an appeal from Adminius, the son of Cunobelin, was claimed by Caligula as the cession of all Britain; and it is said to have been at the solicitation of an expatriated chief, named Bericus, that Claudius undertook the subjugation of the island.

There were, however, reasons for the enterprize in the character and position of the emperor himself. By birth a Gaul, he gave special attention to the welfare and security of his native province, to which he extended the Roman citizenship. But there was in Gaul one element of constant resistance to the principles of Roman civilization, which might at any moment become the rallying point of Celtic nationality. This was the influence of the Druids, which had its roots in Britain. In that island were the most sacred seats of the mysterious religion; and thither the young Gallic nobles were sent to learn its tenets in all their purity. The general tolerance of Rome for the religions of the conquered peoples had its exceptions; and while rites abominable for their cruelty, or dangerous from their mystery and from the unbounded submission of the votaries to their priests, were discountenanced by a sound policy, the germs of a purer faith provoked a fanatic hatred, which was thinly disguised under the contempt of the philosophers, and which broke forth into persecution most conspicuously when the emperor was himself a man of philosophic culture. All these provocations to intolerance were united in Druidism, with the unbounded influence of its priests, who were the sole educators as well as the religious ministers of the people; —with the occult mysteries of their impenetrable groves, and their cruel human sacrifices;—and, above all, with their doctrine of another life beyond this. "Amidst the importunate doubts and fears regarding the future, or rather in the despair of immortality which Paganism now generally acknowledged, the Roman was exasperated at the Druid's proud assertion of the transmigration of souls" (Merivale). Under Augustus and Tiberius, the rites of Druidism were proscribed at Rome more sternly even than the "superstitions" of Egypt and Judæa; and Claudius enforced the

* It deserves notice that the capital had been transferred from Verulamium to Camulodunum in the interval between Cassivelaunus and Cunobelinus.

prohibition by capital punishment.* The revolt of the Æduans under the Druid Sacrovir must have given a most powerful impulse to the animosity of the studious emperor against a system which could thus prove itself dangerous as well as hateful; and that the desire to extirpate Druidism in its chief seats †—in the temples of Abury and Stonehenge, and the distant islands of Anglesey and Man ‡—was among the motives of his British expedition, may be inferred from the zeal with which successive generals persecuted the Druids. At all events it is clear that, as Gaul became more and more Romanized, the remains of Celtic nationality found in Britain their sole refuge; and for this reason the tribes beyond the channel were viewed as more dangerous than those beyond the Rhine.

It was almost exactly a century since Cæsar had retired from Britain, that four legions crossed the channel under AULUS PLAUTIUS, the legate of Claudius in Gaul, and the future emperor TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS, who, says Tacitus, was then first "shown to the Fates." Amidst the meagre details of the campaign, we learn that their opponents were CARACTACUS (Caradoc) and Togodumnus, the sons of Cunobelin. After a first defeat the Britons appear to have made a stand behind the Thames; the Romans owed their victory to the boldness of the Batavian cavalry in swimming the broad tidal river; Togodumnus was slain; and Caractacus seems to have retired to the west.§ The emperor, who was waiting in Gaul till the first difficulties of the war should be smoothed before him, now crossed the channel to reap its honours. The Trinobantes, who had made their last stand at Camulodunum, were defeated in front of their fortifications. Their submission was followed by that of several other tribes; and after spending only

* Pliny tells us that a Gaulish chief, who had obtained the distinction of Roman knighthood, was delivered to the executioner, because on his coming to Rome on some private business, the Druid's talisman called the serpent's egg was discovered upon his person.

† "The silence of the Roman authorities on Stonehenge and the other presumed Druidical monuments of Britain is no doubt remarkable; yet it seems extravagant to suppose, with some modern theorists, that they are posterior to the Roman period. They are first referred to by Henry of Huntingdon, early in the twelfth century, as then of unfathomed antiquity, and they form unquestionably part of a single system of monumental structures, scattered from Carnac in Brittany through a great part of northern and central Europe."—Merivale.

‡ The ancient name of *Mona*, common to these two islands, causes a frequent confusion.

§ The account which represents Plautius as advancing as far as the Severn, which was again crossed by his Batavian horsemen, appears very improbable.

sixteen days in the island, Claudius returned to Rome to enjoy not only a triumph (A.D. 44), but the honour, only claimed before him by Sulla and Augustus, of enlarging the sacred *pomœrium* of the city, in token of his having extended the limits of the empire.* The work of completing the conquest thus vaunted was left to Plautius and Vespasian. The latter led the second legion against the Belgæ and Damnonii, who inhabited the peninsula west of the Solent and the Severn, defeating them in thirty-two battles, in one of which the young Titus gave the earnest of his future fame by saving his father's life. The Regni in the south not only submitted, but became the zealous allies of Rome; and the Iceni in the east were led to take the same course through jealousy of the Trinobantes. Their heroic king, Caractacus, still held out at the head of the Silures (in South Wales), when Aulus Plautius was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula (A.D. 47). The first act of the new commander was to establish a line of posts along the course of the Severn and the Avon. After subduing a revolt of the Iceni, and making successful attacks upon the Brigantes, in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and other tribes whose localities are less certain,† Ostorius founded a colony of veterans at Camulodunum, which became the great military base of the Roman power in the island; and here the worship of Claudius was set up. "In the colony of Camulodunum the Britons beheld an image, rude indeed and distorted, of the camp on the Rhine or Danube, combined with the city on the Tiber" (A.D. 50).

The Roman general now devoted all his energy to finishing the war, which Caractacus had prolonged for nine years by deeds which were doubtless sung by the native bards, but of which the record of his enemies is silent. He had now transferred the war to the mountains of the Ordovices in North Wales; but it seems impossible to identify with certainty the hill and river where his camp (*Caer Caradoc*) was at last stormed by the sheer hard-fighting of the legionaries. His wife and daughter were among the captives, and Caractacus himself was betrayed by his step-mother, Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes, with whom he had taken refuge. Claudius, who had already celebrated his triumph, prepared another spectacle, in which to exhibit the first British prince who had been brought a captive to Rome. Caractacus, led in chains with his family and clients before the tribunal, where

* This ceremony took place in A.D. 49.

† The Cangi, for example, are placed by the geographers in the peninsula of Caernarvonshire.

the emperor was seated with Agrippina at his side, at the gate of the prætorian camp, pleaded for his life with a sublime boldness worthy of the first of British heroes.* While reminding the emperor that his resistance enhanced the glory of his conquest, he invited him to earn a nobler title to fame by his clemency. The voice of history has ever since ratified the truth of the appeal; and the response of Claudius places him in honourable contrast to the murderers of Pontius, of Perseus, of Jugurtha, and of Vercingetorix.† Meanwhile the capture of Caractacus had not ended the resistance of the Britons, and Ostorius Scapula died in the midst of his efforts to subdue them. A great victory was gained by the Silures over Valens and a Roman legion, and the Brigantes regained their independence, after expelling the traitress Cartismandua. The new legate, Aulus Didius, inactive alike from age and caution, was content to secure the ground already won, and to press forward slowly in the subjugation of Wales. When the reign of Claudius ended in the year 54, the south of Britain, from the Exe and the Severn to the Stour, had begun to assume the aspect of a settled Roman province, with Camulodunum for its capital, and London scarcely second to it as a seat of traffic. "Swept east and west by the tidal stream, and traversed north and south by the continuous British roads, Londinium supplied the whole island with the luxuries of another zone, just as Massilia had supplied Gaul." The readiness of the southern Britons to accept the civilization of the Romans inspired the latter with a confidence which was shown by the absence of any new works for the fortification of the Colony; and neither of the four legions which formed

* True as is the remark already quoted, that Arminius has equal claims to rank as one of the first heroes of the English nation, nothing but the mere pedantry of ethnical science would depose Caractacus from his place in our popular traditions. Not to insist at present on the arguments for a greater continuity of the Celtic element in our nation than is commonly admitted, nor on the honour which the whole people owes to the greatness of each of its races, the popular sentiment is amply justified by the principle of local association. Just as in the battles of chivalry the victor took the armorial bearings of the vanquished—our own heir-apparent, for example, deriving his title from the conquered Cymry, and his heraldic insignia from the King of Bohemia, who was slain at Crecy—so the *English* are not wrong in claiming the whole traditional inheritance which is included under the name of *Britons*.

† The family of Caractacus would naturally be enrolled among the clients of the Claudian house; and it has been conjectured that the accomplished lady celebrated by Martial as "Claudia sprung from the blue-eyed Britons" (*Epig.* IV. 13), was the same person as the Claudia, wife of Pudens, whose Christian greeting Paul sends to Timothy (2 *Tim.* iv. 21). An inscription, however, found at Chichester, has given ground for the belief that St. Paul's Claudia was the daughter of a British king, Cogidubnus, an ally of Rome (see *Smith's Dict. of the Bible, s. v.*). We shall have again to speak of the early indications of Christianity among the Britons.

the whole military force was retained for its protection. The Second Legion held the country which it had conquered in the West; but it is not clear whether its head-quarters were yet fixed at the great station of Isca Silurum (*Caerleon*),* on the river of the same name (the *Usk*). The Ninth, quartered among the Iceni, kept watch over the doubtful fidelity of that people, as well as against the still hostile Brigantes beyond the Wash, who were confronted at the opposite extremity of their wide territory by the Twentieth Legion, whose camp upon the Dee grew into one of the most interesting of the Roman cities in our island.† The Fourteenth Legion was occupied in completing the reduction of North Wales, where its progress drove back the more resolute patriots, with the proscribed Druids, both of Gaul and Britain, to their last refuge in the dense forests of Anglesey.

The conquest of Southern Britain was not the only memorable event in the provincial government of Claudius, which was distinguished also for the number and splendour of his colonies on the frontier,‡ and by his patronage of the petty princes of the East. Antiochus was restored to the kingdom of Commagene, Mithridates to that of Pontus, and Herod Agrippa to the throne of Judæa; but the history of this country is reserved for another chapter. At home, Claudius endeavoured, so far as his feeble character and the evil influences about him would permit, to imitate the policy of Augustus in raising the dignity of the Senate, recruiting its numbers from the most distinguished of the provincials, especially from his native land of Gaul, the nobles of which were admitted to the Roman magistracies;—in his regulation of the national religion;—his regularity and firmness in the administration of justice;—and in the splendour and utility of his public works. Of these, the most remarkable were the Claudian aqueduct, already begun by Caius;§ the new Augustan

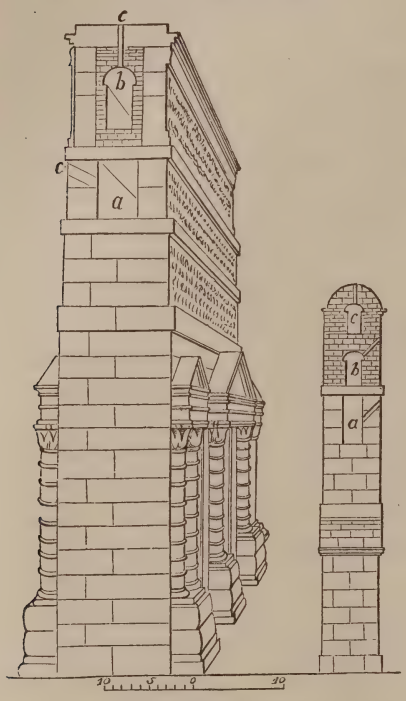
* That is, the *Camp of the Legion.* In the same way, the city of *Leon* in Spain derived its name from the Legio VII. Gemina, which was stationed there to command the Astures.

† Deva, now *Chester*, a name which, with its compounds, as Col-chester, Chi-chester, Ciren-cester, is a sure mark of the site of a Roman camp, *castra.*

‡ Such as Augusta Trevirorum (*Treves*) on the Moselle, and Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensis (*Cologne*) on the Rhine, the latter named in honour of his wife Agrippina.

§ This aqueduct, in the form in which it entered Rome, was the combination of two, the *Aqua Claudia* and the *Anio Novus.* The former was brought from a distance of about forty-five Roman miles, and the latter had a course of nearly fifty-nine. Near the city they were raised on a common substruction of arches, one channel over the other; and of this portion we have a splendid remnant in the double archway now called *Porta Maggiore.*—(See p. 400.)

or Roman Harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, which enabled the corn ships again to sail up to Rome, after being long used to unload at Puteoli, in consequence of the silting up of the port of Ostia; and the subterranean "emissary," three miles long, which provided an outlet for the surplus waters of the Fucine lake in the Marsian hills. The mimic sea-fight on the lake, by which the completion of this work was celebrated, afforded the populace of Rome, who witnessed it by imperial invitation, a novel change from the spectacles of the amphitheatre, which Claudius provided on a grander scale than any of his predecessors, and honoured more regularly by his presence.



SECTION OF THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT COMPARED WITH THE TRIPLE AQUEDUCT OF AGRIPPA.

In all this there were proofs at least of good intentions, which in a man of more energy and self-reliance, and trained from his youth to the duties of empire, might have been crowned with success. But the very exertions which Claudius made seem to have had an unfavourable re-action on his natural tendency to coarse sensual pleasures. In the scandalous chronicles of the empire, Claudius is conspicuous for his disgusting gluttony; but taking into account the constant exaggeration of such writers as Suetonius, we may believe that, "of all the Cæsars, Claudius stands, on the whole, the most nearly free from the charge of illicit and disgraceful indulgences." But it was his fate to have wives whose influence was more fatal than that of other princes' mistresses; and what remains to be told of his reign consists almost entirely of the intrigues of these abandoned women, and of the freedmen who shared and disputed their influence over the feeble and irresolute old man. At the time of his accession,

Claudius had recently married his third wife, Valeria Messalina, who bore him a son, born in A.D. 41, and named Britannicus, and a daughter Octavia. She was conspicuous for her profligacy even in an age which seemed to have forgotten every vestige of the fame of the old Roman matrons; and, from the moment of her husband's accession, she sought to establish her power at court by a guilty league with Polybius and Narcissus, the Greek freedmen and ministers of the emperor, who appears to have been completely deceived. Her influence was seen in the second banishment of Julia, the sister of Caligula,* as well as of the philosopher SENECA, of whom we shall soon have to speak again (A.D. 41). With the aid of Narcissus, Messalina extorted from the fears of Claudius the condemnation and death of a most distinguished Senator, Appius Junius Silanus, whom the emperor had chosen for the honour of a double connection by marriage with the imperial family; and the abortive conspiracy of Scribonianus, provoked by this and similar cruelties, was made the occasion of a series of executions. This reign of terror is memorable for the affecting deaths of Pætus and his wife Arria, who, when her husband shrunk from the deed of self-destruction, to which he was doomed by Claudius, stabbed herself first, and then handed him the dagger, saying calmly, "Pætus, it does not pain me" (A.D. 42). After the return of Claudius from Britain, he was still so blind to his wife's conduct or so besotted by her influence, that he commanded the Senate to confer upon her the same honours that Livia had shared with Augustus, while she plunged into hideous excesses, only paralleled in history by those of Catherine of Russia. The partners of her guilt, who might at any moment become her betrayers, were bribed with wealth obtained by fresh judicial murders, of which that of the consul Valerius Asiaticus was among the worst (A.D. 46).

It was amidst such scenes as these that Claudius celebrated the Secular Games, on the completion of the eighth century from the foundation of the city (A.D. 47);† and a representation of the

* One of the first acts of Claudius was the recal of Julia and her more celebrated sister Agrippina, the daughters of Germanicus.

† In this year Claudius took a census of the empire, which gave the sum of 5,984,072 males of the military age, corresponding to a total population of 25,419,066. In A.D. 13, the number was 4,897,000, corresponding to a population of 17,400,000. The immense increase was chiefly due to the extension of the citizenship to whole communities as well as individuals. The franchise, of which Augustus had been so chary, was made the object of traffic, if not by Caius and Claudius themselves, certainly by their ministers and favourites; and people were ready to pay for an honour which exempted them from the poll and land tax. "The sale of the franchise by the

Game of Troy by the noblest Roman youths introduced to the notice of the people the emperor's son Britannicus, then in his seventh year, and the young Lucius Domitius, the son of Agrippina by her deceased husband, and consequently the grandson of Germanicus, whose virtues the people were ready to believe revived in the beautiful boy of ten years old, the future NERO. The marks of public favour showered upon him, and withheld from Britannicus, must have inflamed the mutual hatred of Messalina and Agrippina; and the Roman empire was degraded another step towards the likeness of an eastern despotism when the court became the scene of female rivalry. The repulsive details of their intrigues are the less deserving of our notice, as the historians recorded them chiefly on the authority of the Memoirs of Agrippina herself. Thus much seems clear, that Messalina at last quarrelled with the freedmen, and procured the ruin of Polybius, a victory which drove the other favourites into a close league with Agrippina. Messalina herself gave them the opportunity of effecting her destruction by her infatuated love for a noble Roman, C. Silius, who endeavoured to fix her inconstant affections by a marriage, which was to be followed by the assumption of the supreme power in the name of Britannicus. The incredible story, vouched for by the authority of Tacitus—that a formal marriage actually took place without the emperor's knowledge—is explained by the modern historian from a hint supplied by Suetonius.* The common form of the story represents Claudius as receiving the news at Ostia, and returning to Rome in a transport of rage, which Narcissus contrived to keep at its height till the doom of Silius was pronounced, and his fate was shared by numbers of his

emperor," says Mr. Merivale, "was in fact no other than the spendthrift's economy; it was living upon the capital of the state."

* "Claudius, it is suggested, had been assured by the diviners, that evil was about to befall the husband of Messalina. His feeble mind was the victim of the superstitions, from which few indeed of his class were wholly exempt. He conceived the idea of evading his impending fate by marrying his wife to another man. It was rumoured, accordingly, that the nuptials of Silius were actually of the emperor's own contrivance; that he, in fact, not only recommended and urged them, but, fearing lest his crafty scheme should by any means be frustrated, actually assisted at the ceremony, and himself signed the deed as a witness to its legal completion. It is not mentioned, indeed, but of this there can be no reasonable doubt, that he had previously divorced his wife in due form, in order to make her new marriage legitimate. . . . The scandalmongers of the day, the parasites of Claudius, the foes of Messalina,—above all, Agrippina herself, in her Memoirs,—may have combined, each for reasons of their own, to heighten the colouring of the story by dropping this essential feature in it." (Merivale, Vol. v. p. 555-6.)

alleged accomplices and of the other paramours of Messalina. She herself had boldly gone, with Britannicus and Octavia, to meet her incensed husband, and Narcissus had only succeeded in obtaining her dismissal with the emperor's promise that she should be heard in her own defence. The maudlin compassion to which Claudius gave vent the same evening in his cups added a new alarm to confirm the freedman's resolution, that the hearing should not take place; and he sent some officers to despatch her, on pretext of the emperor's command. Messalina had retired to the gardens of Lucullus with her mother Lepida, who urged her, as life was over, to make a decent exit from it; but she lacked courage for the fatal blow, which one of the soldiers at length inflicted, after overwhelming her with reproaches. Claudius received the news while he was still at table, without interrupting his deep drinking, nor did he afterwards show any emotion. The Senate, however, stamped the deed with approval, by ordering the name of Messalina to be erased from the public monuments, and Narcissus was rewarded with the quæstorship (A.D. 48).

The emperor's ministers were divided on the choice of a successor to Messalina: but the claims of Agrippina prevailed, and, after a solemn debate, a decree of the Senate set aside the ancient principle of religion, which even the reckless profligacy of that age had not yet infringed, by sanctioning the marriage of an uncle to a niece, with the loud approval of the people who surrounded the Senate-house. "The authority of the Senate and the licence of the Cæsar to create law and right of their own sovereign will, were thus established with the concurrence of the people, and to their entire satisfaction; yet the authority and licence were shared by these still co-ordinate powers; it remained yet to be seen whether either could destroy the other, or continue to exist without it" (Merivale). The marriage of Claudius and Agrippina was soon followed by the betrothal of Octavia, the emperor's daughter, to L. Domitius, the son of the empress, a union doubly incestuous in Roman eyes, as being with a cousin and a step-brother.* Claudius was persuaded to follow the example of Tiberius in associating with his son an elder and more popular kinsman, and Domitius was adopted by the name of NERO Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus (A.D. 50). The elevation of the grandson of Germanicus was rendered doubly popular by the step of entrusting his education to the philosopher Seneca, who had been recalled from exile by the influence of Agrippina; while Britannicus, sur-

* The marriage took place in A.D. 53.

rounded by the creatures of his step-mother, was more neglected even than his father had been in his youth. From this time, as Tacitus informs us, "Agrippina affected to be a partner in the empire which her sire had defended, and her grandsire had won: she boasted herself the daughter of one Imperator, the sister of another, the consort of a third; moreover she expected, and indeed was destined, to be the mother of a fourth." Her son, invested with the garb of manhood at the age of fourteen, was made Prince of the Roman youth, and raised to the proconsular power beyond the city (A.D. 51); and the harangues composed for him by Seneca, in favour of various cities of the empire, as well as of individual clients, increased his popularity from year to year. Meanwhile his mother's influence was maintained and increased by crimes as shameless as those of Messalina; and she gained the victory in a second contest of female intrigue by obtaining the condemnation of Lepida, the mother of Messalina, on a charge of treason to be compassed by magical arts, her real offence being that she had gained the affection of her nephew Nero. But, for all this, Agrippina did not feel safe. The stolid plodding sense of duty which led Claudius to labour on in the reform of public morals, seemed to incline him not to spare his own family; and he was heard to say, when wine unloosed his secret thoughts, "that it was his fate to suffer the crimes of his wives, but at last to punish them." The freedman Narcissus, who had planned a different marriage for Claudius on the death of Messalina, and who had felt himself gradually supplanted by Pallas, the favourite of Agrippina, muttered threats of vengeance, which the empress resolved to anticipate. Among the worst signs of the utter depravity of imperial Rome was the existence of professional poisoners, who were chiefly women. One of these, a certain Locusta, is branded by the satire of Juvenal as the agent in ridding many a wife of her husband, and by the more epigrammatic prose of Tacitus as "long reckoned among the instruments of government." She engaged to prepare a potion, which should act as a slow poison, and meanwhile unsettle the mind. Agrippina procured its administration in a dish of mushrooms; but Claudius's excess produced, as was not unusual, a fit of vomiting; and the empress called in the aid of a physician named Xenophon, who thrust a quill full of poison down the emperor's throat, on the pretence of relieving the sickness. It was on the 12th of October, A.D. 54, that the death of Messalina was thus avenged by the murder of Claudius, at the age of sixty-three, in the fourteenth year of his reign. How difficult it

is to find the materials for an impartial estimate of his character may be judged by a comparison of Seneca's fulsome adulation of Claudius as a god during his life, with the philosopher's ribald ridicule of the apotheosis which the Senate decreed to the emperor.* The judgment of Niebuhr is uttered in the following brief words:—"Of Caligula we cannot speak otherwise than as a monster; but Claudius deserves our deepest pity, though he did evil things, which show that there was some bad element in his nature."

The sickness only of Claudius was announced, and the Senate was summoned to pray for his recovery, while Agrippina kept Britannicus and his sisters within the closely guarded palace, till the preparations for Nero's proclamation were completed. At midday, on October 13th, A.D. 54, Burrus, whom the influence of Agrippina had made prefect of the prætorian cohorts, conducted Nero to the camp, where the young prince, who was now in his 17th year,† was saluted Imperator, while scarcely a murmur was heard on behalf of Britannicus. For the second time the Senate ratified the choice of the Prætorians; and the people welcomed with enthusiasm the grandson of Germanicus, and the representative of the house whose services to Rome, from the day when C. Claudius Nero conquered Hasdrubal at the Metaurus, had been sung by Horace in words destined ever after to become the bitterest irony.‡ That ardour of original research, which sometimes finds its chiefest reward in the discovery of a new paradox, has not even stopped short of the "rehabilitation" of Nero; but the calm judgment of the historian of the Cæsars, after labouring to detect the "almost obliterated traces" of the true characters of Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, and even extending suspicion to the records which we possess of Nero, declares that he is "constrained to add, that no outlines of a truer character are elsewhere discoverable, and with some allowance only for extravagance of colouring, we must accept in the main the verisimilitude of the picture they have left us of

* The "Ludus de Morte Claudii Cæsaris," in Seneca's works, seems to be substantially the same as the *Apolocolyntosis* (*i.e.*, *Pumpkinification*, for he imagines a transmigration of the soul from the emperor's bloated carcase into a pumpkin) alluded to by Dion Cassius. An analysis of this most curious piece may be read in the history of Mr. Merivale, who points out the probable imitations of it in Voltaire's sentences on Constantine and Clovis, and in Byron's *Vision of Judgment*.

† Nero was born at Antium, Dec. 15, A.D. 37.

‡ *Quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus,*
Testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal
Devictus." *Horat.* Carm. IV. 4.

this arch-tyrant, the last and the most detestable of the Cæsarean family." And yet the lesson of imperial depravity must not be traced without a feeling of deep pity for the youth—for Nero was only thirty when he died—who showed enough of generous impulse and of sympathy for the gentler graces of life, to exhibit him all the more conspicuously as the arch-victim and fruit of a false religion, a vicious education, an utterly corrupt society, and a tyrannical system of government. Nor can we believe that it was without a profound meaning that the contact of Nero with Christianity placed such a character as St. Paul in direct contrast, on the page of history, with the pupil of Seneca and the last descendant of Augustus.

The portrait of the young emperor has been admirably drawn by the historian of the Cæsars:—"The youth, who at the age of seventeen years was called to govern the civilized world, is represented in his busts and medals as handsome in countenance, but, as Suetonius remarks, without grace or winningness of expression. His hair was not the bright auburn of Apollo, the delight of the Romans, to which it was so often likened, but yellowish or sandy: his figure, though of middle stature, was ill-proportioned; the neck was thick and sensual, the stomach prominent, the legs slender. His skin, it is added, was blotched or pimpled; but this, it may be supposed, was the effect of intemperance in his later years; his eyes were dark grey or greenish, and their sight defective, which may account perhaps for the scowl which seems to mark their expression. His health, notwithstanding his excesses, continued good to the end, and it was only from anxious concern for his voice that he wrapped his throat in kerchiefs, like a confirmed valetudinarian. In his dress there was a mixture of slovenliness and finery; in the arrangement of his cherished locks he was exceedingly careful, piling them in tiers above the crown, and letting them fall from thence over the shoulders, a fashion which was reputed not less indecent, or at least effeminate, than the looseness of his cincture, the bareness of his feet, and the lightness of the chamber-robe in which he did not scruple to appear in public."

If we may believe one of the highly coloured anecdotes of Suetonius, Nero's father had predicted his fatal career at the very hour of his birth. The "Red-bearded Domitii"* furnished as striking

* This branch of the *Gens Domitia* boasted their descent from Lucius Domitius, to whom the Dioscuri announced the battle of the lake Regillus. In token of this divine favour, his beard was changed from black to red; and together with that colour a fair complexion was believed to have been transmitted through the whole line of the *Domitii Ahenobarbi* (*i.e.*, of the Copper Beard).

an illustration as the Claudii of that hereditary transmission of character which marked the nobility of Rome. "It was illustrious for the high public part it played through several generations; illustrious for its wealth and consideration, for its native vigour and ability, but execrable at the same time above every other for the combination of ferocity and faithlessness by which its representatives were successively distinguished." Of Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the chief pontiff, Crassus, his colleague in the censorship of B.C. 92, is reported to have said, "No wonder that his beard is of copper, for his mouth is of iron, and his heart of lead." All the worst qualities of the race seem to have been combined in Cneius Domitius, the husband of Agrippina, who was "infamous for crimes of every kind: for murder and treason, for adultery and incest. He was mean as well as cruel, and even stooped to enrich himself by petty pilfering. . . . He made a jest of his own enormities; and it was reported at least, that on his son's birth he replied to the felicitations of his friends by grimly remarking that nothing could spring from such a father and such a mother but what should be abominable and fatal to the state." The death of such a father, when the young Nero * was only three years old, would have been in itself no loss; but Caligula, not content with the two-thirds of the inheritance which Domitius had been prudent enough to leave him, despoiled his nephew of the remainder, besides banishing Agrippina; and the child was left to the care of his aunt, Domitia Lepida, the mother of Messalina, who provided a dancer and a barber for his tutors. After two years, however, both his mother and his fortune were restored by Claudius, and Agrippina devoted her brilliant talents to the cultivation of her son's mind and the formation of his manners. Like the other princes of the imperial house, Nero was debarred, by the old spirit of aristocratic exclusiveness, from the public education which had now become common at Rome, a system singularly fitted to teach princes to respect the many who are their equals or superiors in all but the accident of birth. From the age of twelve Nero had, in the philosopher SENECA, a tutor better fitted perhaps than any other in that age to make the best of the system of private culture in the unfavourable soil of the palace of the Cæsars. The name of Seneca was borne by two distinguished men, the father and the son, who were natives of Spain, a province distinguished in Roman literature. M. Annæus Seneca, born at Corduba (*Cordova*) about B.C. 61, practised rhetoric at Rome in the first years of

* We may henceforth call him by the name by which he is known in history.

Augustus, and afterwards returned to Spain, where he married Helvia, and became the father of three sons, M. Novatus or (by adoption) Junius Gallio, L. Annæus Seneca, and L. Annæus Mella, the father of M. Annæus Lucanus, the poet of the great Civil War, of whose share in his uncle's fate we have presently to speak. The father returned to Rome, and died there, probably towards the end of the reign of Tiberius. He was of equestrian rank, and had accumulated a large fortune. The fragments of his declamations which still survive display much ingenuity and eloquence misapplied to the trivial questions which exercised the rhetoricians of that age, such as "Shall Cicero apologize to M. Antonius? Shall he burn the Philippics, if Antony requires it?" "Shall Alexander embark upon the ocean?" His son, L. ANNÆUS SENECA, who pursued the far more serious path of philosophic study, besides attaining to poetic fame by his Latin imitations of the Greek tragedies, was also born at Corduba, probably a few years before the Christian era, and was brought to Rome in his infancy. His hereditary taste for learning was cultivated with an ardour unchecked by his physical weakness; and, besides his attainments in philosophy, Seneca became eminent as a pleader. Regarded with jealousy by Caligula, who is said to have marked him as a victim for the sake of his wealth, he was connected with his sisters in a friendship so close as to give a pretext (well or ill-founded we cannot say) to the jealousy of Messalina; and Claudius banished him, as we have seen, to Corsica, on the charge of a criminal intrigue with Julia (A.D. 41). The triumph of Agrippina over her rival was followed by the recal of Seneca, and his appointment to the tutorship of Nero (A.D. 49). The boy had already shown docility and ardour in acquiring those accomplishments to which his mother devoted her training, and the public speeches which he delivered from the dictation of the philosopher, as well as the verses with which he occasionally amused himself, proved that he had received from Seneca at least the mechanical part of philosophic culture.* But the enervating

* When, however, Nero delivered the funeral oration for Claudius, composed for him by Seneca, it was remarked by the elder men as a sign of degeneracy, that he was the first of the emperors who had needed such aid; and Tacitus takes the opportunity to describe, in a celebrated passage, the characteristics of the eloquence of the first Cæsars:—"Nam dictator Cæsar summis oratoribus æmulus; et Augusto prompta ac profluens, quæ deceret principem, eloquentia fuit. Tiberius artem quoque callebat, qua verba expenderet, tum validus sensibus, aut consulto ambiguus. Etiam Cai Cæsaris turbata mens vim dicendi non corrupit. Nec in Claudio, quotiens meditata dissereret, elegantiam requireres. Nero puerilibus statim annis vividum animum in

luxury which formed the daily life of a Roman prince, and the constant flattery of parasites, were a far more powerful means of education; and Nero was possessed by that curse to manly character—fatal when it lays hold on princes—of tastes, elegant indeed and graceful, but utterly frivolous.* The compliant temper which Seneca afterwards showed as a courtier warrants the belief, that his desire to win his imperial pupil to severer studies would form a pretext for concession to what might seem the harmless recreations of painting and sculpture, singing, music, dancing, and horse-breaking. But Nero's insatiable desire for admiration made it impossible that he should practise solely for relaxation the arts in which alone he found himself able to excel. It may, indeed, be recorded in praise of his common sense, that he despised the pretence of divinity in comparison of a real victory in the Grecian games. "He wanted to be admired as the first among men, not be adored as a god." But when he had once made this the object of his life, he sacrificed to it alike the dignity and the resources of his empire, and even the commonest restraints of decency. Whether he drove his chariot in competition with the course of the Sun-god through the heavens, or killed a lion prepared by stupefaction in rivalry of Hercules, or prided himself on his imitation of a woman's dress, voice, and bearing, or lavished untold wealth equally on banquets and useless public works, he was always realizing the character drawn of him by Tacitus in two words as "lusting after the incredible (*incredibilium cupitor*)." Nor are we without sufficient evidence that the hot-bed of moral corruption in which he was brought up had already at his accession begun to produce the incredible vices of his manhood.

And yet the hopes conceived of the grandson of Germanicus seemed at first likely to be fulfilled, though he began his reign amidst peculiar difficulties. He was surrounded by a conflict of interests, at agreement only on one point, that advantage must be taken of his inexperience; and Britannicus might at any moment be set up against him. Agrippina, determined to hold the supreme power in the name of her youthful son, made a league with the freedman Pallas, to which Narcissus fell a victim against the emperor's will. Without even his knowledge, M. Silanus, the

alia detorsit: cælare, pingere, cantus aut regimen equorum exercere; et aliquando carminibus pangendis inesse sibi elementa doctrinæ ostendebat."—Tacit. *Annal.* XIII. 3.

* This radical vice of character goes far to justify the comparison made by a great orator between Nero and George IV.

proconsul of Asia, was put to death by the order of Agrippina, lest he should avenge the judicial murder of his brother Lucius, and the opposition of Seneca and Burrus alone prevented other executions. The philosopher and prætorian prefect, to both of whom it seems only just to ascribe a true desire for the public good, were united by the common necessity of withstanding Agrippina; and to their influence Tacitus ascribes the good beginnings of Nero's reign. But it seems, in truth, that the emperor's ardent susceptibility and intense love of admiration impelled him to seek the favour of his people, so long as he had to make no sacrifice to deserve it; while his proud spirit, scorning subjection to the servile class that had governed Claudius, resented the power of Pallas, and threatened the continuance of his mother's influence. In the speech which he delivered in the Senate after his funeral oration for Claudius, he reminded the fathers that he was too young to have personal enmities to avenge, and promised to abstain from the busy intermeddling with all causes which had made his predecessor's administration of justice capricious. The citizens, both in Italy and the provinces, should plead before the tribunals of the magistrates: the Senate should exercise its ancient functions: he would take charge of the armies. The satisfaction with which the Senate received this speech proves how completely all real power had passed into the emperor's hands; and they thought it a great thing to be permitted to pass, among other measures to reform late abuses, a law against the taking of money for pleading causes.* This show of independence was openly resented by Agrippina, on the ground that the Senate was annulling the acts of Claudius; and she insisted on its meeting within the palace, where she could hear the debates from behind a curtain. She would even have mounted the tribunal by Nero's side, when he gave audience to the Armenian ambassadors, had not Seneca, amidst the stupefaction of the whole court, whispered to the emperor to descend and receive his mother; and so Nero's dignity was saved under the pretext of an act of duty.†

The relations of the empire to Armenia conferred on Nero's earlier years the lustre of foreign conquest. The embassy just referred to came to ask his aid against Vologeses, the king of Parthia, who had overrun Armenia, and placed his brother Tiridates on the throne. Domitius Corbulo, whom we have seen

* This confirmation of the ancient tradition of the gratuitous services of counsel seems to have been a side blow at the informers.

† "Ita specie pietatis obviam itum dedecori."—Tacit. *Annal.* XIII. 5.

distinguishing himself in Germany, was recalled thence and sent to the East (A.D. 54). In a series of brilliant campaigns, he expelled the Parthians (A.D. 58); took Artaxata and Tigranocerta; and restored the Armenian Tigranes to his throne as the vassal of Rome (A.D. 60). But while Corbulo administered Syria as proconsul (A.D. 61), his conquests were lost through the incompetence of his successor; and Tiridates was confirmed in the sovereignty, on consenting to the form of receiving it from Nero; while Corbulo suffered the fate of a too able and illustrious subject (A.D. 67).

Whatever elements of impulsive goodness existed in Nero's character were speedily stifled by the pervading atmosphere of vice and intrigue. He had taken a disgust from the first to his wife Octavia, and had formed a profligate connection with M. Salvius Otho, a noble Roman youth, and with a freedman named Claudius Senecio. Agrippina, who had in vain attempted to break off these intimacies, was incensed beyond measure when they were the means of enticing Nero into a passion for a freedwoman named Acte. Finding that Seneca and Burrus encouraged the intrigue, for the sake of retaining their influence, Agrippina changed her tone, apologized for her violence, heaped presents upon Nero, and even Tacitus affirms that no sense of decency was spared in the indulgences she offered:* but all her arts were neutralized by the warnings of Seneca. While Nero sank daily deeper and deeper into vice, his tutor indulged his errors at the sacrifice, not only of his Stoic principles, but of his self-respect. The following is the humiliating confession of a philosopher trying at the same time to be a courtier:—"To the student, who professes his wish and hope to rise to a loftier grade of virtue, I would answer that this is my *wish* also, but I dare not *hope* it. I am preoccupied with vices. All I require of myself is, not to be equal to the best, but only to be better than the bad." Mr. Merivale remarks on such confessions, "that Seneca, like many preachers of virtue and holiness, while he professed to sigh over his own weakness on some points, was convinced that, in repudiating vices which were in truth less congenial to him, he was soaring far above the level of vulgar humanity. I have no doubt that the morality he impressed on Nero was such as this:—*Be courteous and moderate; shun cruelty and rapine; abstain from blood.* There was no difficulty in this to a young and popular prince, flattered on all sides, and abounding in every means of enjoyment. *Compensate yourself with*

* "Suum potius cubiculum ac sinum offerre contegendis quæ prima ætas et summa fortuna expeteret."—Tacit. *Annal.* XIII. 13.

the pleasures of youth without compunction; amuse yourself, but hurt no man. It required no philosopher to give these lessons; and it may be questioned whether the comparative innocence of the young man's early indulgences would have been exchanged for grosser enormities under more vulgar tuition." In the same manner we may read in Seneca's fulsome eulogies of the emperor's clemency the absence as yet of any sufficient motive to the tyranny, of which the philosopher himself was doomed to be a victim.

Even the second year of Nero's reign began to cast the hue of irony over the promise of Seneca—"We shall gauge the remainder of your principate by the flavour of your first twelvemonth." When Nero took courage to disgrace Pallas, Agrippina became so furious as to threaten to appeal to the soldiers in the name of Britannicus; and Nero, who had already treated his cousin with wanton insolence, not without receiving at least one rebuff, caused him to be poisoned at his own table, bidding the guests continue the banquet the moment the corpse was removed. Nor did he scruple to follow up the fratricide with a claim on the increased regard of the Roman people for himself, as the sole survivor of the house of the Cæsars. Seneca (who is suspected of having advised the crime), instead of openly defending it, laboured so to conduct the government as to win for his pupil new favour with the people, and especially with the Senate; while Agrippina took measures for strengthening her party, and the first attempt to prefer a direct charge of treason against her signally failed. Meanwhile Nero began to exhibit himself in the circus and the theatre, and to seek amusement in disorderly nocturnal adventures in the streets with his boon companions. A foretaste of his wanton tyranny was given when a Senator named Montanus, who had inadvertently struck the emperor in such an encounter, apologized too openly. The blow might be forgiven, but not so the exposure; and Montanus was ordered to put himself to death. But while these irregularities were gradually divulged, the people had daily experience of the firmness, clemency, and constitutional order of the government. Public criminals, especially extortioners in the provinces, were brought to justice, without any encouragement being given to the informers. The law of *Majestas* was allowed to slumber, and scurrilous libels upon the emperor were treated with contempt. Nor must we refuse to believe the proof of the susceptibility of his feelings which was furnished by his exclamation, when he had to sign a death-warrant, "Would to

God that I had never learnt to write!" * The full treasury and ample revenue left by Claudius enabled Nero to gratify his generosity and love of splendour by donatives, spectacles, and the foundation of new colonies at Capua and Nuceria. "He could give without borrowing: he could endow without extorting." He was only restrained by the remonstrances of the Senate from acceding to the popular demands by an entire abolition of the duties (*vectigalia*), so far at least as they affected Roman citizens.† There are difficulties respecting the contemplated extent of a measure which Tacitus describes as *the noblest present to the human race;* but it is very interesting, from our modern point of view, to find Nero's philosophic minister enunciating the principles of free trade on the ground of the common brotherhood of humanity. The highest consideration was shown to the dignity of the Senate, who, in return for the permission to pass some important laws, and to exercise an appellate jurisdiction in some civil cases, were profuse in their eulogies of the emperor. On the news of the subjugation of Armenia, they added unusual honours to the salutation of "Imperator;" and a Senator declared that the year should be divided into two portions, one for public affairs, the other for giving thanks to Nero. If the suggestion were made in irony, it would at least prove, as Mr. Merivale observes, the freedom of speech now permitted to the order. In those appeals which Nero reserved for his own hearing, he was conspicuous for the precision which he demanded of the pleaders, and for the care with which he delivered his judgments in writing, after taking the opinion of competent advisers.‡ "Rome was tranquil; the citizens were content; the Senate, affecting to speak the voice of the nation, pronounced Nero the best of its princes since Augustus. Affairs might seem to run more smoothly even from the absence of great principles to guide them. Nero differed from all his predecessors in the extent to which he suffered affairs to take their natural course. Julius Cæsar had deliberately overthrown old forms and prescriptions which he felt to be obsolete, confident of the creative force of his own master genius. Augustus strove to revive the past. Tiberius was content with shaping the present. Claudius affected, in the narrow spirit of a pedant on the throne, to govern mankind by personal vigilance, as a master governs his

* Similar exhibitions of feeling are recorded by the biographer of George IV.

† See Mr. Merivale's discussion of the difficulties involved in the statements of Tacitus, vol. vi. pp. 107-111.

‡ This throws an interesting light on the confidence of St. Paul's appeal to Cæsar, and his acquittal on his first trial.

household. Nero, at last, or his advisers for him, seems to have renounced all general views, to have abstained from interfering with the machinery of empire, and contented himself with protecting it from disturbance. The tradition of the felicity of these five auspicious years, to which the best of this prince's successors gave long afterwards the palm of virtuous administration, attests the consciousness of the Romans that they were ruled with a masterly inactivity. Great honour is undoubtedly due to the men who actually governed for Nero, that they did so little abuse their temporary ascendancy. There seems, however, less reason to extend our admiration to Nero himself, or to regard this happy result as the triumph of philosophy over youthful passions and the fatal sense of irresponsibility. We must rather admit that his reserve was caused by incapacity or indifference, by an engrossing taste for frivolities which belonged to his tender years, or by the dissipation to which his position too naturally enticed him.*

The brilliancy of this QUINQUENNIUM NERONIS was already clouded, and was soon to be utterly darkened, by the passions which we have seen at work in the emperor's heart and court. Other reputed crimes, besides the murder of Britannicus, had stained this period of five years; and we now come to an almost unbroken course of cruelty, profligacy, and tyranny. The details, so repulsive to dwell upon, may be passed over the more briefly on account of the doubts which beset their true history. Even the circumstantial narrative of Tacitus seems to be not exempt from the censure pronounced by Josephus, who had no motives to partiality: "Many persons have undertaken to write the history of Nero; of whom some have disregarded the truth on account of favours received from him; others, from personal hostility, have indulged in abominable falsehoods." Enough, however, remains to justify the popular idea of a monster of lust and cruelty. The last decisive blow to Agrippina's influence was given by the love of Nero for Poppæa Sabina, whose husband, Salvius Otho, the emperor's favourite, was sent away on the honourable mission of governing Lusitania. Perceiving that her power over Nero depended on the removal of his mother, Poppæa taught him that he was being treated as a child, and at last persuaded him that Agrippina was plotting against his life. No scruple of conscience or sense of filial duty formed an obstacle to getting rid of her; but her own vigilance,

* Merivale, vol. vi. pp. 115, 116. The following is the judgment pronounced by Trajan on the first five years of Nero's reign:—"Procul differre cunctos principes *Neronis quinquennio.*"

and the scandal of an open murder, raised real difficulties. An ingenious contrivance for causing her death at sea by means of a vessel specially prepared, into which the caresses of Nero enticed her for a water excursion at Baiæ, failed through mismanagement; and Agrippina, who narrowly escaped from the wreck, could have no further doubt of the fate intended for her. She had the presence of mind to send a message to Nero, informing him of her escape from what she called an accident; but his fear of her revenge, stimulated by the acclamations of the people, could only be stilled by her immediate death; and, with the consent of Seneca and Burrus, she was despatched by a body of soldiers, led by the freedman Anicetus. Her last words, as she was pierced by their swords, were, "Strike my womb, which bore a monster." It is said that she had long foreseen her fate, and braved it for the sake of the power she was to wield under her son's empire. When a Chaldæan astrologer had told her that Nero was destined to reign, and then to slay her, she exclaimed, "Let him kill me: let him but reign!" and now he rejoiced at his deliverance from his mother's yoke as the first day of his empire. But it was also the day from which remorse claimed its hold upon a heart seared by that most hardening of all influences, a life led for pleasure only. He fled at once from the scenes "which could not change their faces, like the courtiers, to flatter him;" and at a later time he shunned Athens and the Eleusinian mysteries because of their connection with the Furies, who pursued him like Orestes. From Naples he despatched a letter to the Senate, accusing his mother of a plot against his life; declaring that she had put herself to death in despair and shame at its detection; and enumerating all her crimes with a minuteness, of which it has been well said, that "the explanation bordered too closely on a justification: it was taken as a murderer's confession of guilt, veiled by the ingenuity of a hired advocate." And yet the Senate and people received him with acclamations on his return to Rome; and he passed over in silent contempt the licence of the popular satire, which hung upon his statues the sack in which the Roman law doomed the parricide to be sewn up, and placarded the walls with the inscription, "Nero, Orestes, Alcmæon, the matricides." They had little concern for the fate of Agrippina, in comparison with the shows with which they were gratified by Nero, who now instituted the feast of the *Juvenalia*, on reaching the age of manhood. Not content with compelling noble Romans, senators, and even matrons, to figure among the hired dancers and singers, the emperor himself appeared

upon the stage, lyre in hand, to make an exhibition which was the more indecent as his voice was thick and his breath short. He sang, among others, his own verses or those composed by the court poets from his casual hints. "You may trace," says Tacitus, "in the poems of Nero the manner of their origin; for they flow not, as it were, with a current and inspiration of their own; they have no unity of style or meaning." In the following year (A.D. 60) he instituted the *Quinquennia*, or *Neronia*, in imitation of the Olympic games. For the first time a Greek gymnasium was erected at Rome, and the Greek athletic contests were exhibited in conjunction with chariot-races and competitions in poetry and eloquence. The first prize in lyric poetry was awarded to Nero himself, no other competitor being deemed worthy even to contend with him; and he was adjudged the victor in eloquence, though no prize was offered. In epic poetry, Lucan made his first appearance as the panegyrist of the emperor. These games were followed by the *Ludi Maximi*, for the eternity of the Roman empire, in which, amidst an unheard-of prodigality of wealth and luxury, the strange spectacle was exhibited of an elephant descending from the cornice of the amphitheatre along a tight-rope, with a Roman knight upon his back. It remains, however, to be recorded, that Nero alone of all the emperors refused to gratify the public taste for gladiatorial combats, even of condemned criminals. The sensibility of feeling, which he retained amidst all his excesses, found an excuse in the Greek character of the games; but, in fact, the whole tendency of the despotism of Nero, educated as he had been in the Stoic philosophy, was to replace Roman by Greek ideas and customs. "The chief of the Roman state, the representative of its most illustrious families, is found altogether insensible to the principles which, in the absence of spiritual religion, had sufficed to carry her in triumph through every combination of foreign and domestic peril." If there remained among the nobles a sufficient remnant of the old national spirit—such as we see reflected in the pages of Tacitus—to feel indignant at this sacrifice of Roman hardihood for Greek polish and pleasure, Nero was all the fitter representative of the city rabble, "of that hybrid multitude of the circus and the baths, which owed no fealty to the traditions of the Forum and the Camp." It may have been partly from a cynical contempt for his order, that Nero continued to abstain from enforcing the law of treason, and moderated the sentences which the Senate was eager to pass upon libellers. The effect of this policy is recorded by Tacitus in one remarkable case,

that of Fabricius Veiento, whose books it was declared criminal to read, and he himself was banished from Italy. The prohibition was soon removed; and the works, which were eagerly bought and read while it was dangerous to procure them, fell into oblivion as soon as their possession was allowed. We have now reached the middle of Nero's reign. Before tracing the headlong descent of his last seven years, we may pause to notice the revolt and defeat of Boadicea in Britain, which will be more conveniently related in connection with the complete conquest of the island under Domitian (A.D. 61).

Niebuhr has said, "there can be no doubt that Nero was a madman, though not in the same degree as Caligula." Except perhaps in his extreme sensibility, we can trace in Nero no natural element of mental unsoundness. His madness was the natural fruit and punishment of a life devoted to pleasure with the unbounded licence of a despot; and it is no vain fancy that traces the crisis of the moral disease to the hour when he purchased freedom from control by matricide. The avenging deities whom he tried to shun at Eleusis, or rather the divine law of retribution which the ancients personified in them, tracked every step of his subsequent course with the sting of an impenitent remorse, that goaded him to wreak upon mankind his dissatisfaction with himself. But also another cause for the murderous tyranny of his later years has been well traced by Mr. Merivale:—"The young Cæsar's progress in dissipation and expense gave nearer cause for apprehension. The wasteful extravagance of his first eight years could not have been maintained with pure hands, had he not found in the coffers of his predecessor the accumulated treasures of a reign of carefulness and moderation. But the descent from dissipation to extravagance, from extravagance to want, from want to violence and tyranny, was inevitable. It could only be a question of time. The profusion of the prince would surely grow with indulgence; his treasury must stand always empty, and unlimited power would not long be baulked of the means of replenishing it."

The death of Burrus, the prætorian prefect, under circumstances the more suspicious from Nero's sedulous inquiries after his health, removed an adherent to whom he was too deeply indebted, and a minister too honest for his service. Burrus never laid aside his military freedom of speech; and he is said to have opposed Nero's resolution to divorce Octavia with the words, that might seem to hint at revolution, "If you dismiss the daughter of Claudius, restore at least the empire which was her dowry."

His office was divided between two creatures of the emperor, Tigellinus and Fenius Rufus, "a bad man and a weak man; the one to contrive crimes, the other to sanction them." Seneca, who had always acted in concert with Burrus, now found himself exposed alone to the envy of the Senators and courtiers; and Nero, impatient of his tutor's intellectual superiority, began also to covet his immense wealth. With professions of unbounded regard, he refused the philosopher's wish to retire from public life; and Seneca was compelled to remain to witness, without power to prevent, the crimes of which a fit instrument and adviser was found in Tigellinus. The deaths of Rubellius Plautus and Cornelius Sulla, sacrificed to Nero's jealous fears, were followed by the divorce, banishment, and murder of Octavia; and the emperor's marriage to Poppæa was celebrated at the time when he was making public exhibitions of profligacy too disgusting to be suffered to stain our narrative even of such a reign. The very necessity of alluding to them prompts the wish that their memory had perished in the conflagration which destroyed many precious records of better times, and which seemed to mark the will of Heaven to consume the scene of such abominations. The city of the seven hills had its lower spaces filled with a crowded mass of wooden tenements, amidst which fires were both frequent and destructive. On the 19th of July, A.D. 64, the anniversary of the burning of Rome by the Gauls, a conflagration broke out among some sheds built against the eastern end of the Circus Maximus. While the fire ran in one direction along the wooden galleries of that edifice, in another the wind swept the flames up the valley between the Palatine and the Cælian, and thence through the hollows between the other hills, till the greater part of the lower city resembled a sea of fire, the waves of which surged up to devour the stately edifices on the heights. The conflagration was only stopped on one side by the river, on the other by the heights of the Esquiline, having spent its fury during six days on the southern portion of the city. After an interval of six days the fire broke out again, and raged for three days more towards the Quirinal and Viminal, consuming this time many temples and public buildings of importance. Three of the fourteen "regions" of the city were utterly destroyed; seven were devastated more or less; and only four escaped uninjured.* The parts most entirely

* "The great fire of London (in 1666) lasted only four days, and swept an area of 436 acres; while the space through which this nine days' conflagration raged, though with less complete destruction, must have comprised at least one-third of Rome, or

consumed were those which formed the site of the ancient city on the Palatine and the Aventine and the adjacent valleys. The Capitol escaped, and so apparently did the temples and basilicas around the Forum. Many of the most interesting monuments of ancient Rome perished with the choicest specimens of Greek art, and with an unknown wealth of the literature of both nations. Of the origin of the fire nothing is positively known: it was probably the work of slaves and robbers, the scum of the deeply demoralized city. But the excited populace had seen amidst the ruin of their abodes bands of men hindering the efforts to extinguish the fire, and others kindling it with torches in new quarters, who declared, when they were seized, that they acted by authority; and it was observed that the second fire broke out close to the gardens of Tigellinus. The people, who had lost their all, had now seen enough of Nero's wantonness to be quite ready to adopt the inference suggested by these and other circumstances. Nero was at Antium when the fire broke out, and only returned when his own palace was in danger;* and then, instead of exerting himself by orders and example, he took his station on the villa of Mæcenas, which looked down upon the burning city, and chanted the *Sack of Troy* to his own lyre. If the tale be true, Nero's character would lead us to believe that he indulged a mad sentimentalism, perhaps likening himself to Scipio quoting Homer over the flames of Carthage. But the people were the more ready to impute his conduct to the insane wantonness which could at once exult over so grand a spectacle and find a malignant satisfaction in such unexampled ruin, since it was reported that, when the quotation of Tiberius was repeated in his hearing,

"After my death, perish the world in fire,"

Nero responded, "Nay, in my lifetime." Nor were there wanting those who imputed to him the less insane but far more reckless mischief, of causing the destruction of the city expressly for the purpose of being handed down to posterity as its restorer. For once the people refused to be satisfied with those popular arts which had palliated his former crimes, though he seems to have

not less than three times that extent."—Merivale, vol. vi., p. 163; comp. Lambert's *History of London*, vol. ii., p. 91.

* The words of Tacitus (*Ann.* xv., 39) seem to imply that the fire had caught a gallery, probably of wood, which had been thrown across the Velia, to connect the gardens and villa of Mæcenas on the Esquiline with the palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine, and that it was through the indifference of Nero that the flames extended to the latter building and the neighbouring edifices.

done all that the wisest and most active ruler could have effected to mitigate their sufferings and supply their wants. Nero saw the necessity of providing victims to satiate the public indignation, and he found them, to use the words of Tacitus, by "casting the charge of the crime and visiting it with exquisite tortures upon those whom, already hated for their wickedness, the common people called by the name of CHRISTIANS."* Reserving for another place the true account of the growth of Christianity, till it embraced multitudes at Rome, including some of "Cæsar's household," it will be interesting, in this connection, to introduce the Christians upon the scene of Roman history in the light in which they were regarded by the greatest Roman historian of the age, who continues his account in the following words:—"This name was derived from one CHRISTUS,† who was executed in the reign of Tiberius by the procurator of Judæa, Pontius Pilate; and this accursed superstition, for a moment repressed, broke forth again not only through Judæa, the source of the evil, but even through the City, whither all things outrageous and shameful flow together and find many adherents. Accordingly those were first arrested who confessed,‡ afterwards a vast number upon their information, who were convicted, not so much on the charge of causing the fire, as for their hatred to the human race.§ To their execution there were added such mockeries as that they were wrapt in the skins of wild beasts and torn in pieces by dogs, or crucified, or set on fire and burnt, when daylight ended, as torches by night. Nero lent his own gardens for the spectacle, and gave a chariot-race, at which he mingled freely with the multitude in the garb of a driver or mounted on his chariot. As the result of all, a feeling of compassion arose for the sufferers, though guilty and deserving of condign punishment, on the ground that they were destroyed, not for the common good, but to gratify the cruelty of one man." Meanwhile the visitation scarcely fell more severely upon Rome itself than upon Italy and the provinces,

* Tac. *Ann.* xv., 44: "Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat."

† It is worthy of notice that Tacitus seems ignorant both of the name of *Jesus* and of the fact that *Christus* was a significant title. The *animus* of the whole passage gives it all the more value as a testimony to the historic truth of the death of Christ at the time and in the manner related in the Gospels.

‡ That is, that they were Christians, for the idea of their confessing the burning of the city seems inconsistent with what follows.

§ It will be remembered that the Egyptians and Greeks cast the same imputation upon the Jews.

which were fleeced by exactions and downright pillage for the rebuilding of the city. In Greece and Asia especially, not only were the temple-treasures seized, but the very statues of the gods were carried off by two agents to whom Nero entrusted the commission. The city rose from its ruins with marvellous rapidity; and Nero enjoyed the opportunity, whether created by himself or not, of extending to the whole city the Greek architecture which Augustus had adopted for his public buildings, in place of the rude but picturesque houses which had risen in hasty disorder from the ashes of the Gallic conflagration.* The obliteration of another outward sign of old Roman nationality was the price paid for the greater convenience and wholesomeness of the wide and straight streets, with each "island" of houses surrounded by its open colonnade. Another such fire was guarded against by the construction of the houses of fireproof stone from Gabii and Alba, with scarcely any timber, and walls enclosing each house in place of the flimsy partitions of older times; arrangements were made for a freer distribution of the water, and other appliances were prepared to combat fire. The work of "improvement," however, was not unopposed in those days any more than in our own; for Tacitus tells us that there were some who considered the ancient mode of building the more salubrious, since the narrow lanes and lofty houses kept off the burning sun, from which there was no shade in the broad new streets. Of the vast area cleared by the conflagration, Nero appropriated an immense space for the erection of the new palace, which was called, from its splendid decorations, the *Golden House*. It seems to have occupied the two sites of the house of Augustus on the Palatine and the villa of Mæcenas on the Esquiline, both much enlarged, and connected with each other by three covered galleries, each as much as a mile long, across the intervening valley. Though a way must have been left through that valley for the line of the Sacred and Appian road, the greater portion of the low ground and slopes was occupied by the gardens, which Tacitus pronounces more wonderful than the gilded roofs and gem-encrusted walls which gave the house its name, where vast open spaces and lakes were diversified with the solitudes of dense woods. The interior of the palace formed a grand museum of the works of Grecian art, many of the finest

* In the parallel case of modern times, it was the fate of London to retain the inconvenience of its old construction, while losing the picturesqueness of its architecture, in defiance of the noble plan of a master-builder, who was at least equal to the architects employed by Nero.

remains of which have been dug out from its ruins. In front of its chief entrance, from the Forum and the Via Sacra, stood a colossal statue of Nero in marble, 120 feet high, which soon gave the name of Colosseum to the amphitheatre of Vespasian. The wonder raised by the completion of this work, and apparently of the general rebuilding of the city, before Nero's death, is mingled with reflections upon the oppressive exactions by which a despotic ruler is able to accomplish the gigantic projects, for which free states long and patiently wait the time. Among his other edifices at Rome were the baths which the Roman epigrammatist pronounces as good as Nero himself was bad. Nor were the projects, for which Tacitus calls him a desirer of things incredible, confined to the city, which he is said to have designed to extend as far as Ostia. His architects, Severus and Celer, with the boldness "to attempt by art, and to make sport by the prince's power, of the things that nature had denied," planned a navigable canal from the mouth of the Tiber to Lake Avernus, to be carried straight through the Pomptine marshes and the intervening hills, and the works were begun in the hills round the lake.

Nero is said to have exclaimed, on the completion of his Golden House, that now he was first lodged like a man; but his new abode soon resembled a wild beast's den, and "the cage of every unclean bird." The year closed with portents and disasters which the popular feeling connected with the pillage of the Greek temples, an act of which Seneca sought to avoid the responsibility by again asking permission to retire, and feigning illness to effect his purpose. The discontent of the nobles at length came to a head in a conspiracy against the life of Nero, under the guidance of C. Calpurnius Piso, the chief of a house as noble as the Cæsars, and a man distinguished for his wealth, liberality, and intelligence. It is needless to trace the details of a plot unskilfully and irresolutely planned, and which, after the hesitation of a whole year, was inadvertently betrayed by the eagerness of one of the conspirators to his freedman, and by him revealed to the government. Among the victims was the poet Lucan, who redeemed the adulation which he had formerly heaped on Nero, and the cowardice with which he is said to have been induced to turn informer by the hope of pardon, by at last suffering with firmness the manner of death which had now become frequent,—causing his veins to be opened in a warm bath.* His more illustrious uncle, Seneca,

* Tacitus (*Ann.* xv., 70) tells us that Lucan recited with his last breath some lines

was pursued to his retreat by a charge of which his guilt (unless we should rather say the honour of it) is far more doubtful than his nephew's; and his murder, even more than Agrippina's, brands Nero as a parricide. His death was calm, though agonizing. Having caused his veins to be opened, he conversed with his friends like another Socrates, in however inferior a strain; but the old man's sluggish blood refused to flow, even with the aid of the warm bath, and he caused his agony to be ended by suffocation with steam.

These are but samples of the bloody executions which were followed by the banishment or poisoning of the children of the victims, crimes which are scarcely more hideous than the base adulation heaped upon their perpetrator by the Senate and nobles. While the city, says Tacitus, was filled with funerals, the Capitol reeked with sacrifices; men returned thanks to the gods, decorated their houses with laurel, covered the tyrant's right hand with kisses, for the death of a son, a brother, a relation, or a friend. But the ever-deepening tragedy which fills up his last four years, interspersed with such absurdities as the pretended discovery of Dido's treasures at Carthage, and the ludicrous exhibitions of Nero in the theatre, where the applause of the populace had to be brought out with the stick, may be left to the pages of historians like Tacitus, who, while recoiling with disgust from the unvaried tale, made doubly melancholy by the servile patience of the sufferers, yet feels that he ought to tell the tale of the wrath of the gods against Rome, and to leave the record of each noble's fate to his descendants. In such a spirit, he relates the deaths of Annæus Mela, the father of Lucan, of Rufius Crispinus, of Anicius Cerialis, and of C. Petronius Arbiter, whose title was derived from his office as the manager of the pleasures of the imperial court (*arbiter elegantiarum*), and whose name has been handed down to us by the *Satires*, which there seems good reason to regard as his genuine work. The sanguinary tyranny which weighed upon Rome was made the more terrible by the secresy with which the victims were despatched, and by the irresistible mandates which made them their own executioners. After killing the unworthy courtiers,

in which he himself had described the death of a soldier bleeding at every pore. The passage alluded to seems to have been that in the *Pharsalia* (ix., 811—814):—

"Sanguis erant lachrymæ; quæcunquæ foramina novit
Humor, ab his largus manat cruor; ora redundant,
Et patulæ nares; sudor rubet; omnia plenis
Membra fluunt venis: totum est pro vulnere corpus."

whose fate we can hardly pity, "Nero at last yearned," says Tacitus, "to destroy Virtue itself, in the persons of Pætus Thrasea and Barea Soranus." Thrasea, a Stoic philosopher, who was held to reproduce in those evil days the virtues of a Cato, was sentenced to death by the abject Senate, and his like-minded son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus, was exiled. Among the treasons imputed to Thrasea was his neglect of attendance upon the ceremony of the deification of Poppæa Sabina, who had died in A.D. 65. His death took place at the moment when Rome was occupied with the display of pomp amidst which Tiridates, the king of Armenia, received his diadem in person from the hands of Nero.* The same year was marked by the beginning of the great Jewish war, which will be related in its proper place (A.D. 66).

Nero's course at Rome seemed now well-nigh run. His yoke could scarcely become more intolerable, and the only question was, how much longer it would be borne. The Senate, reduced in number by repeated executions, in former reigns as well as in this, and degraded in popular estimation by their compliance with Nero's tyranny, regarded him and his foul crew of freedmen and minions with a hatred only equalled by his for them. The old families, decimated by proscription and impoverished by confiscations, saw their places supplied by plebeian creations in the assembly which they still fondly regarded as the ark of the old Republic.† Nor would it be any consolation to them, that a new nobility of wealth had been created by the prodigality of the emperor, by the traffic of the courtiers in forfeitures, and by the varied arts of amassing money under such a government. Of the common people we have seen but little during the imperial rule, nor have they deserved much notice. They are well described as "a commonalty suffering also a social revolution, undergoing a rapid transition, and presenting the elements of two rival classes, or even hostile camps, in the bosom of the city. The *Clients* and retainers of the old nobility, whether freed or free-born, still formed the pith and marrow of the commonwealth. Still leaning their humble tenements against the great lords' mansions, still respecting them as their patrons and advisers, still attending their levees, and waiting for the daily compliment of the *sportula* at their doors, they regarded those lords as the real chiefs of the state, and held

* See p. 411.

† Mr. Merivale quotes from Champagny the names of a score of *gentes* first raised to consular rank under the Cæsars, and a dozen of the most famous *gentes* of the Republic, the names of which now scarcely occur.

them equals of Cæsar himself. The death or exile of their august protector might strike them with surprise and indignation; but, when they looked around, and counted their numbers, they felt their own insignificance, and quailed beneath the blow in silence. They saw that there was growing up beside them a vast class of patronless *proletaries*, the scum of the streets and lanes, slaves, freedmen, foreigners, men of base trades and infamous employments, or of ruined fortunes, who, having none but Cæsar himself to depend on, threw the weight of their numbers in his scale, and earned his doles and entertainments by lavish caresses, and deeds corresponding to their promises.* These have been called the *lazzaroni* of ancient Rome: in idleness, indeed, and mendicancy, they deserve the title; but they were the paupers of a world-wide empire, and the crumbs on which they fed fell from the tables of kings and princes. The wealth of millions of subjects was lavished on these mendicant masters. For days together, on the oft-recurring occasion of an imperial festival, valuables of all kinds were thrown pell-mell among them, rare and costly birds were lavished upon them by thousands, provisions of every kind, costly robes, gold and silver, pearls and jewels, pictures, slaves, and horses, and even tamed wild beasts, at last, in the progress of this wild profusion, ships, houses, and estates were bestowed by lottery on these waiters upon Cæsar's providence. . . . He flung to these pampered supporters a portion of every confiscated fortune; the emperor and his people hunted together, and the division of the prey was made apparently to the satisfaction of both equally. Capricious as were the blows he dealt around him, this class alone he took care never to offend, and even the charge of firing the city fell lightly on the ears of the almost houseless multitude, whose losses at least had been fully compensated by plunder. The clients of the condemned nobles were kept effectually in check by this hungry crowd, yelling over every carcass with the prospect of a feast. Nero, in the height of his tyranny and alarm, had no need to increase the number of his prætorians: the lazzaroni of Rome were a body-guard surrounding him in every public place, and watching the entrances and exits at his palace-gates."

Such was the condition to which a century of imperial government—a period long enough to give the system a fair trial—had brought "the Roman lords of the world." It was only among

* Tac. *Hist.* i., 4: a precious passage, as Champagny justly terms it, in which the historian marks this distinction of classes in the population.—Merivale, vol. vi., p. 323.

their so-called subjects in the provinces that social life and industry pursued their regular course, under a government which, if oppressive, was at least comparatively free from the wanton caprice which reigned where Nero was present in person. In proportion as the emperor became more absorbed in the exercise of his tyranny at Rome, the proconsuls grew not only more and more independent in their own provinces, but acquired the power of effecting a revolution in the empire. As the proconsular commands were a part of the government which the emperors deemed it sound policy to commit to the more distinguished Senators, they were for the most part exercised with ability and moderation; and while the Senators at Rome were kissing the iron rod of a Nero or a Domitian, commanders like Paulinus and Vespasian, Corbulo and Agricola wielded the sword on the frontiers of the empire. Such men, moreover, imbued with the traditions of the old nobility, preserved their loyalty to the commonwealth and to the emperor as its head; and it was only to save the state from the last excess of tyranny, and themselves from destruction, that Nero's captains raised the standard of revolt, while Agricola, under Domitian, preferred death to rebellion. The jealous temper of Nero was fully sensible of the dangers to be expected from such rivals; and his fears seem to have been especially roused by the successes of Corbulo in the East. Hence probably one reason for the journey which he planned as early as A.D. 63, with the ostensible motive of viewing the wonders of Egypt, but which he only began to execute in A.D. 66, when he went to Greece, attended by a retinue of courtiers and the shameless ministers of his vices. Of all the honours paid to him by the Hellenic cities, the most welcome was the invitation to exhibit his musical skill; and the applause with which his performance was of course received drew from him the compliment, that the Greeks alone had ears. It was equally a matter of course that he should claim and receive the honour of a *Periodonicus*, or victor in the whole cycle of the games, at Olympia, Nemea, Delphi, and the Isthmus. To gratify his vanity, the regular order of the festivals was deranged; contests were fixed in violation of all precedent, such as those of music at Olympia and of tragedy and comedy at the Isthmus; and such a trifle as his rolling over, chariot and horses and all, in mid career, was not suffered to disqualify him for the prize. He was pronounced successful in every contest over every competitor, and a Roman consular, in the character of herald, made proclamation, "NERO THE IMPERATOR IS VICTOR, and he crowns the people of Rome, and the world which is his

own." It was not without design that the name of the Senate was omitted from the ancient formula, for in sacrificing at the commencement of the work (which was never destined to be finished) of cutting through the isthmus of Corinth, Nero prayed that it might turn out prosperously for the *Emperor and People of Rome.* In imitation of the old Macedonian princes and of Flamininus, Nero proclaimed the freedom of Greece to the people assembled at Corinth. It was here that he committed one of his most senseless acts of tyranny. Just when the abilities of Corbulo were most needed to cope with the rebellion now making head in Judæa, that general was recalled by the jealousy of Nero, and was met at Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth, by the order to put himself to death. Uttering in a single word* his sense of the fitness of such a reward for the service of such a tyrant, Corbulo smote himself with his sword. The retribution that awaited the deed may be indicated by the simple mention of the name of the officer appointed to succeed Corbulo in the conduct of the Jewish war; it was Vespasian. Nor was the retribution long delayed. While Nero was plundering Greece of her choicest works of art, to adorn his baths and palace, the indignation of the Romans in Italy and the provinces at his mingled crimes and self-degradation was so plainly shown, and rumours of military revolt in Gaul and Spain became so rife, that his freedman Helvius, whom he had left to govern Rome, prevailed on him to return. Believing that his mere presence would amply vindicate his power, and confident in the stability of his fortune—for Nero shared the superstition of Claudius, and like him cultivated magical science—he came back in a triumph strange to the Romans, and such as greeted the return of an Olympic victor to his city. He entered Capua, his native city of Antium, his favourite residence of Albanum, and finally Rome itself, in a chariot drawn by four milk-white steeds, through a breach purposely made in the city walls. The mockery which profaned the old Roman triumphal ceremonies was made the more conspicuous by the imitation of the sacrifices and libations; the crowns which decked the emperor's statues were mingled with lyres as the instruments of his victory; he was saluted by the titles of *Nero-Apollo* and *Nero-Hercules*, and by praises of his divine voice, and the shame which he had brought upon the name of Rome was perpetuated by medals which represented the emperor in the garb of a flute-player. The gloom

* Ἄξιος, that is, *rightly served*, unless it may mean that he died a death worthy of a soldier.

which betrayed the exhaustion of public patience was mingled with murmurs, from the sound of which Nero withdrew into sullen retirement in Campania, while the decisive tempest was gathering in the West.

The relatives of the murdered Senators, and the knights and nobles who had retired in alarm and disgust from Rome, were now scattered through all the provinces and armies; and it seemed almost an accident which should be the first to proclaim the deliverance of the world from its arch enemy. The lot fell first to the army of Hither Spain, a province which had been governed for eight years by the venerable Senator, SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA (A.D. 61—68).

The first Roman, unconnected with the family of the Cæsars, who attained to the supreme power, was said to have been designated by repeated omens. Born at Tarracina, on the 24th of December, B.C. 3, he was presented in his childhood to Augustus; and the aged emperor said playfully, as he patted his cheek, "And thou too, child, shalt one day taste our empire." The arts of divination, to which Tiberius was so addicted, are said to have revealed to him the future greatness which might have been more surely prognosticated from the talents early displayed by Galba, a worthy representative of the noble house which had produced the Rufi and the Galli of the old Republic. We have seen him refusing to accept the purple when offered to him by his army, on the death of Caligula, as the reward of his services on the Rhine; and he had faithfully served Claudius in the government of Africa. Under Nero, the already aged veteran lived in retirement, whether from the tyrant's jealousy or his own fear of it, till he was appointed to the Spanish government, which he administered with great ability for eight years. We may suspect that he was regarded as more than a possible candidate for the empire, if there be any truth in the story, that the Pythian priestess bade Nero to beware of the seventy-third year. The youthful emperor, well pleased that the danger should be so remote, forgot that the fatal number expressed the age of Galba. The first proposal of revolt was made by JULIUS VINDEX, the governor of Trans-alpine Gaul, but rejected by Galba's caution. Nero, informed of the plans of Vindex, set a price upon his head, and the army of Lower Germany was led against him by Virginius Rufus. The chiefs held an interview and agreed to unite against the emperor, but the troops refused to come into the arrangement; and a bloody battle ensued at Vesontio (*Besançon*). The army of Vindex was cut to pieces, and he threw himself upon

his sword. Galba, now driven to act in self-defence, harangued his troops, displaying before their eyes the images of Nero's most illustrious victims. The army of Spain saluted Galba Imperator, and he was presently recognized by Virginius, who had refused to accept the title for himself from the united armies of Gaul and Germany. At this signal, the proclamation of Claudius Macer in Africa, and of Fonteius Capito in Lower Germany, revealed, as Tacitus observes, "the secret of the empire, that a Prince could be created elsewhere than at Rome." The news of the revolt of Vindex, which reached Nero while presiding at a gymnastic contest at Naples on the anniversary of Agrippina's murder (March 19, A.D. 68), was received at first with contempt, and then with petulant ill-humour. For eight days he refused to be spoken to on public affairs; and, when the manifesto of Vindex himself arrived, he was chiefly indignant at being called Ahenobarbus, and having his musical skill disparaged. On his way to Rome, his spirits were so raised by the omen which he drew from the sight of a group of sculpture, representing a Gallic soldier dragged headlong by a Roman knight, that he returned at once to his amusements. The news of the fall of Vindex was closely followed by that of the revolt of Galba; and when the defection of Virginius proved that the whole West was in rebellion, Nero fainted away, and abandoned himself to pusillanimous complaints. "Never"—he exclaimed—"was such ill-fortune as his: other Cæsars had fallen by the sword, he alone must lose the empire while still alive." The legions of Illyricum, the only force at hand for the defence of Italy, were found to be in correspondence with the rebels; and the prætorians declared against him, their prefect Tigellinus having fled from the camp. Even his own pampered populace assailed him with clamours, which were embittered by one of those accidents that so often mark a crisis. The city was suffering from a dearth, such as we have seen perilling its tranquillity even under Augustus, when the happy arrival of a ship from Alexandria was announced: but the cargo proved to be fine sand for the arena instead of bread. The despotism, which its admirers praise as of at least making the people happy, had realized the proverb of the worst parental cruelty! Meanwhile the deserted tyrant was uttering projects, in which impotent fury alternated with sentimental absurdity. At one time he would talk of disgracing the proconsuls, pillaging the provinces, exterminating every Gaul in Rome, massacring the Senate, letting loose the lions on the people, and laying the city

again in ashes. In another mood, he would dress up the courtezans and dancers in the garb of Amazons, to attend his march against the rebels; then again he proposed to disarm them with no other weapons than his own beauty, tears, and persuasive tones; and again, losing confidence in all except the voice of which he was so vain, he declared that he would set sail for Alexandria, and earn his bread by singing in the streets. At last, driven to desperation by terrific dreams, he sprang furiously from his couch at supper, and, taking with him some poison prepared by Locusta, he rushed out of the palace, with the intention of escaping by ship from Ostia. The guards whom he summoned to share his flight refused, with the pitiless taunt at the tyranny whose mandate had caused so many suicides, "Is it then so hard to die?" The Tiber was at hand, but his craven spirit required time to summon resolution for the deed, and he fled for a villa four miles from the city, where a refuge was offered him by his freedman Phaon. Thunder and lightning and a shock of earthquake added less terror to his flight than the cries of the passengers who met the hurrying group—"What news of Nero?"—"These men are pursuing the tyrant." At length he dismounted, and crawled on all fours into a little room of the villa, through a hole made in the back wall. His companions in vain urged him to anticipate his certain doom. He dallied with the deed: ordered a grave to be dug and decorated with bits of marble, and bemoaned the loss about to be sustained by the world—"What an artist to perish!" During this delay a courier arrived from Rome: and Nero learned that he had been declared a public enemy, and doomed to death "after the manner of the ancients." "What is that?" he asked; and, on being told that the culprit was fixed naked with his neck in a cleft stick, and scourged to death, he drew forth two daggers, felt their edges, and laid them down again, saying that the moment was not yet arrived. While he was upbraiding himself in Greek for his own want of courage, he heard the sound of his pursuers' horses. The affectation of the artist was still his "ruling passion, strong in death;" and it was while hastily reciting a line from Homer,

"The galloping of speedy steeds assails my frightened ears,"

that he placed the dagger to his breast, and his slave Epaphroditus put an end to his indecision by striking it home. The centurion in command of the party, entering almost at the moment, tried to stanch the blood; but Nero only murmured, "Too late! Is this

your fidelity?" and expired with a horrid stare upon his face. His attendants were permitted to burn the body in haste, and the remains of Nero were spared the indignity which he had dreaded, of having his head severed and exposed. The allusion of Byron has immortalized the act of devotion to his memory, which proved that there was at least one to mourn even for such a monster of humanity: flowers were found scattered on his tomb by an unknown hand. He died at the age of only thirty years and a half, and in the fourteenth year of his reign, on the 9th of June, A.D. 68, the anniversary, it is said, of the death of his wife Octavia. With him perished the line of the six imperial Cæsars, of whom Augustus alone is known to have died a natural death. Caius Julius and Caius Caligula were assassinated, Tiberius probably, and Claudius certainly, had their deaths hastened in order to secure the succession; and Nero ended his life in the wretched manner just related. Nor does it tell a less striking tale of corruption than of fate, that the whole race thus perished in little more than a century, in spite of ingrafts, by adoption and intermarriage, from the Octavian, the Claudian, and the Domitian houses, and notwithstanding the frequent marriages of each one of the Cæsars. Such was the effect of the imperial system on the men themselves for whose aggrandizement despotic power had been usurped. The time had now arrived when the empire was to be the undisguised prize of the successful soldier. Meanwhile the people could hardly believe in the extinction of the family which had descended from Augustus; which bore, though only by adoption, the name of the great Cæsar; and which had ruled the Roman world for exactly a hundred years, counting from the victory of Actium. "The idea that Nero still survived, and the expectation of his return to power, continued long to linger among them. More than one pretender arose to claim his empire; and twenty years later a false Nero was protected by the Parthians, among whom he had taken refuge, and only surrendered to the repeated and vehement demands of the Roman government. This popular anticipation was the foundation, perhaps, of the common persuasion of the Christians, when the death of the prince was no longer questioned, that he should revisit the earth in the character of Antichrist; and both Romans and Christians seem to have combined in believing that the East, and possibly that Jerusalem itself, would be the scene of his reappearance." *

* Merivale, vol. vi., p. 360.

From the death of Nero to the accession of the Flavian dynasty, three emperors appear and disappear in the short space of a year and a half. The key to the complicated events of the struggle may be furnished by the following summary of dates:—GALBA, proclaimed by his troops on the 3rd of April, A.D. 68, was acknowledged by the Senate soon after Nero's death on June 9th, and assumed the actual government on the first day of his consulship, Jan. 1, A.D. 69, only to perish on the 15th of the same month. OTHO, whose intrigues had overthrown Galba, was thereupon accepted as emperor by the Senate; but meanwhile VITELLIUS had already been proclaimed at Cologne on the 2nd of January, and Otho's death on the 16th of April put him in possession of the empire, after a brief civil war. On the 1st of July, VESPASIAN was proclaimed at Alexandria, his generals invaded Italy, and finished a successful campaign by taking Rome and killing Vitellius on the 21st of December. The year 70 began with the consulship of Vespasian as the acknowledged Imperator of the Roman People. The events that fill up this outline require only a very brief narration.

The death of Nero, like that of Caius, brought with it no real hope of the restoration of the irrevocably slain Republic. The Senate, assembled by the Consuls at midnight, on the news of the tyrant's flight, proclaimed him a public enemy, and passed upon him the doom which we have seen ending his cowardly delays. The tidings of his death were greeted with enthusiasm by the rabble, who flocked to thank the gods for liberty, the symbol of which, the well-known cap, they again assumed. But the Senate, though sharing in their joy, and using their liberty, as Tacitus says, somewhat freely, as was natural with only a new and absent prince, confined their desires to the fulfilment of the promise, that they should save their dignity by ratifying the choice of the army. This claim had been made on their behalf by Virginius and accepted by Galba, who was content to style himself the Legate of the Senate and People. The cautious old man was still in his province, when the news of Nero's death decided his advance. At Narbo, he was met by a deputation from the Senate, bearing their ratification of his election, and he forthwith assumed the title of Cæsar. An attempt of Nymphidius, the prefect of the prætorians, to seize the empire, was crushed by his death at the hands of his own soldiers; and the marine battalions, which had been enrolled by Nero as a last resource, were cut to pieces by Galba at the Milvian bridge, in answer to the

demands they made for themselves. The year closed a few days after the emperor's arrival at Rome.

On the very day upon which Galba began his consulship with the new year, the legions of Upper Germany, summoned to take the oath to his name, tore down his images, insisted on taking the oath in the name of the Roman Senate and People, and demanded another Imperator. The news was brought next day to Cologne, whither Aulus Vitellius had recently been sent by Galba to take the command of Lower Germany as consular legate. Vitellius accepted the salutation of the united armies as Imperator, and set his seven legions in motion towards Italy. The tidings of the mutiny hastened the step which Galba had already contemplated, of associating with himself a younger and active colleague. The politic adviser Vinius recommended M. Sabius Otho, who had returned as a partisan of Galba from his honourable exile in Lusitania, where he had gained credit by the moderation of his government, and was popular for his mixture of showy virtues and elegant vices; but the choice of Galba and his few counsellors fell upon L. Piso Licinianus, by birth a Crassus, and, like Galba himself, one of the few Romans whose frugal habits and severe character recalled the memory of the old Republic. But these very qualities were fatal to both Cæsars. The choice was welcomed by the Senate and not refused by the soldiers, to whom Galba presented Piso on the 10th of January; but the withholding of the usual donative caused the mass of the legions to observe a gloomy silence. The discontent of the prætorians was inflamed by the dismissal of several tribunes; and the people, slow to admit the claims of the stern old man, a stranger to the blood of the Cæsars, murmured at the severity with which some of Nero's partisans were punished, while the arch-offender Tigellinus was spared. The malcontents found a leader in Otho, whose plot the modern historian has compared to that of Catiline. "In the combination of voluptuousness and daring, in fascination of manners and recklessness of disposition, in lust of place and power, and contempt for the dangers which environed them, Otho may remind us of Catilina; but, in atrocity of purpose he stands a full step in advance, inasmuch as Catilina was impelled to treason at least by an urgent necessity, while Otho plunged into it from mere wantonness and the pleasure of the game. The excuse he pleaded could not have imposed even on himself. For a loyal subject, even though once a friend of Nero, there was no insecurity under Galba, nor need he have

despaired of winning the confidence of Piso. He had gained credit for moderation in his ten years' government; a new career of virtue and reputation was open to him. But Otho was an elegant gambler: his virtues had been as capricious as his vices; he was weary of decorum, and now, long restrained from the gratification of his passion, he rushed back to the table with a madman's frenzy, prepared to stake his life against his evil fortune." Like his late patron, he was addicted to the arts of superstition; and the fulfilment of a soothsayer's prediction, that he should survive Nero, added faith to the same man's promise of the empire. Otho began by gratifying the guards with the presents which the parsimony of Galba had withheld, and the defection of the common soldiers overbore the fidelity of the officers. On the morning of the 15th of January, when Galba was engaged in a sacrifice, at which Otho himself was present, the haruspex had just warned the emperor, from the omens of the entrails, of an intestine foe in his own house, when Otho was summoned by a freedman on a pretext arranged before. In the neighbourhood of the Forum he was saluted as Imperator by a small band of soldiers, who bore him off in a litter to the prætorian camp, where, bewildered by the step he had taken, he received the acclamations of the soldiers like a man, says Tacitus, "courting empire with the demeanour of a slave," and, if we may believe Suetonius, declaring his readiness to accept whatever share of power they might please to leave him. Meanwhile Galba found himself deserted by his guards; but the populace, alarmed at the elevation of Nero's favourite, rushed into the palace, demanding the blood of Otho and his accomplices. Piso was sent forward to parley with the prætorians, and Galba was still debating whether to defend himself in the palace or to go out to meet the danger, when the report that Otho was slain decided him to take the latter course. Enfeebled by old age, and suffering from the gout, he could neither walk nor bear the weight of his armour; and, putting on a linen corslet, he was carried on a litter at the head of the people. An incident, which occurred as he left the palace, proved his magnanimity and Roman love of discipline. A soldier, holding up a bloody sword, exclaimed that he had killed Otho. "Comrade"—said Galba—"who ordered you?" In the Forum he joined Piso, who had halted upon hearing the warlike sounds which proceeded from the Prætorian camp; and presently Otho appeared at the head of the soldiery. The single cohort which surrounded Galba now mutinied; the people were driven from the

Forum; the emperor's litter was overturned at the Curtian pool, and in a moment he was despatched by a multitude of wounds. Vinius shared his fate; and Piso, protected by one faithful centurion at the cost of his own life, fled to the temple of Vesta, only to be dragged out and put to death. The three heads were brought to Otho, and paraded through the city by the soldiers, each boasting of the strokes he had inflicted; but the body of Galba received a hasty sepulture from one of his freedmen. In that age of vice and tyranny, he had proved himself a model of the class of soldier-nobles, who almost alone preserved the old Roman spirit; but old age, caution, severity, and parsimony disqualified him, as a stranger to the blood of the Cæsars, from securing their inheritance. "The Romans considered Galba to have lost the empire by mismanagement. After summing up his qualities,—his desire for fame, but dignified reserve in awaiting rather than seeking it; his private frugality, his public parsimony; the moderation of his passions; the mediocrity of his genius; the slowness and discretion of his conduct, which passed with many for wisdom; finally, his freedom from vices, rather than possession of virtues;—Tacitus, speaking solemnly in the name of his countrymen, declares that *All men would have pronounced him fit to bear rule at Rome, had he but never ruled.*"*

Otho was at once accepted by the Senate and invested with the imperial titles, while the populace proved their hopes of the renewal of the late tyrant's licence by greeting him as Otho-Nero. But his first measures proved his desire to conciliate the nobles, in the appointment of the consuls, priests, and augurs, and the restoration of exiles to the city and the Senate. While Otho turned to confront the enemy, with whom he had still to fight for the empire, the charge of the city was committed to Flavius Sabinus, the elder brother of Vespasian. To the latter, Tacitus assures us, the best and wisest citizens already looked as the only saviour of the state. But Vespasian at once declared for Otho, as he had declared for Galba, in loyalty to the Senate; and so did Mucianus, the proconsul of Syria,† and the provinces along the southern coast of Africa. The legions of Spain and Gaul, at first divided, soon declared for Vitellius. A civil war thus threatened between the East and West, had there been time to muster the forces on both sides. But two divisions of the army

* Tac. Hist. i. 49 :—*Omnium consensu capax Imperii nisi imperasset.* Merivale.

† It should be remembered that Vespasian's conduct of the Jewish war was a command independent of the government of Mucianus.

of Vitellius were already entering Italy, under Valens and Cæcina, through the passes of Mont Genèvre and the great St. Bernard: and Otho, after an attempt to negociate with his rival, prepared to encounter them with the prætorians, the legions that had followed Galba to Rome, and the army of Illyricum. The fidelity of his troops was doubtful; the city was said to swarm with the emissaries of Vitellius; and the people were alarmed, among other omens, by a great inundation of the Tiber.

The fleet at Ostia was devoted to the cause of Otho, who despatched it to the Ligurian coast, with the object of recovering Gallia Narbonensis, and then operating in the rear of the Vitellians. But beyond the good service done in garrisoning the towns of the Riviera and securing Corsica, the fleet accomplished little except plunder. It was in the plain of Cisalpine Gaul that the prize of empire was to be lost and won. The country north of the Po, as far as the Addua, was occupied by the Vitellians. Cæcina, who led the van—the march of Valens being impeded by insubordination among his soldiers—crossed the river, and made a fruitless attack upon Placentia. On the other side, Otho, throwing aside his luxurious habits, marched on foot at the head of his army to the Po, which was crossed at Brixellum (*Bregella*), and the head-quarters established at Bedriacum, a small town near the junction of the rivers Oglio and Chiese, commanding the road between Cremona and Mantua. Otho had had the prudence to commit the military operations to the veteran Suetonius Paulinus, the conqueror of Boadicea; but the jealousy of the other generals caused him to send for his own brother Titianus to take the supreme command. He himself retired to Bedriacum, to receive the reinforcements expected from Rome and Illyricum. The troops were discouraged by his absence, and the dissensions of the generals were renewed. Titianus determined, against the advice of Suetonius, to advance from Bedriacum towards Cremona. A parley begun with Cæcina was broken off by orders from Valens for an instant attack; and the battle, which at first wavered from side to side, was at length won by the reinforcements which were constantly supplied by Valens. The leading column of the Othonians, driven back along the raised causeway, which had been the scene of the fiercest struggle, trampled down their comrades in their flight. The pursuing Vitellians paused when they came in sight of the hostile camp about four miles in advance of Bedriacum; and on the following morning the Othonians opened their gates, and received their late enemies into their camp as brothers.

The news of the defeat caused no dismay among the legions left with Otho at Brixellum. The army of Illyricum was already at Aquileia; the force of the prætorians was unbroken; and their prefect, Plotius Firmus, supported by his advice their enthusiastic demand that Otho would lead them in person to repair the disaster. One soldier plunged his sword into his breast, exclaiming, "This is the devotion which animates us all." Strange as Otho's decision seems, it deserves respect, not only from the price he paid, but for the calmness with which he carried it into effect. With the recklessness which the man of pleasure often learns from his experience of the vanity of life, and which is at least a substitute for courage,* he determined that the loss of his first cast should end his game for empire. His protection of the family of Vitellius had left his rival no excuse for cruelty: and he resolved to withdraw from his friends the motive to further bloodshed. His last acts were to provide for the safe departure of Virginius and others of his chief adherents, and for securing his own attendant against the suspicion of being his murderer. He then laid himself down to sleep, and rising at daybreak fell upon his sword. His last request, that his body might be burnt immediately, to prevent the severing and exposure of his head, was fulfilled amidst vehement demonstrations of the grief of the prætorians, some of whom slew themselves at his funeral pyre, an example which found many imitators in the other camps. It is not the least strange among the vicissitudes of this mournful chapter in the world's history, that the man whose life deserves no other record than that he defended against one rival for three months the purple which he had so wantonly snatched from another, should have justified by his death, regarding it from the Roman point of view, the epigram of Martial,—

> "Greater than even Cæsar, while he lived,
> Cato but equalled Otho in his death." †

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* Mr. Merivale aptly quotes the lines of Byron :—

> "And, strange to say, the sons of pleasure,
> They who have revelled beyond measure
> In beauty, wassail, wine, and treasure,
> Die calm, and calmer oft than he,
> Whose heritage was misery—"

with the comment that "the sentiment of the noble voluptuary, whatever we may

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† Martial, *Epig.* vi. 32 :—

> "Sic Cato, dum vixit, sane vel Cæsare major :
> Dum moritur, numquid major Othone fuit?"

Otho died within eleven days of completing his thirty-seventh year, after a reign of three months, from the 15th of January to the 16th of April, A.D. 69. His troops, after once more trying in vain to force the purple on Virginius, made their submission to the conqueror, and Flavius Sabinus caused the garrison of Rome to swear to the name of Vitellius, on whom the Senate at once conferred the imperial titles.

If the end of Otho's despicable career was gilded at last with one ray of heathen virtue, we seek in vain for a redeeming feature in the character of his successor. Niebuhr pronounces him "a man far more vicious and vulgar than Otho," and declares it "superfluous to speak of his brutal manners and his beastly voracity." AULUS VITELLIUS was the son of Lucius Vitellius, one of the most fawning courtiers of Tiberius, but a man of great military talent. Having been consul in A.D. 34, he was appointed in the next year to the government of Syria, and carried the Roman arms beyond the Euphrates, expelling Artabanus III., and placing Tiridates on the throne of Parthia. His politic hesitation to enforce the worship of Caligula on the Jews caused the tyrant to recal him with the purpose of putting him to death; but he saved his life by becoming himself the emperor's abject worshipper; and the like arts secured him the favour of Claudius, with whom he shared the consulship in A.D. 48. His son Aulus, born in A.D. 15, followed his father's example from his earliest youth, as the flatterer of each Cæsar in succession. He was the minion of Tiberius at Capreæ, the fellow-charioteer of Caius in the circus, the comrade of Claudius in gambling and gluttony; and he overcame Nero's first bashfulness about coming forward to sing in public. Still his natural talent enabled him to acquire some distinction in learning and rhetoric, and his government of Africa gained him a reputation for integrity.* But he obtained a very different notoriety at Rome by a rapacity which is said to have extended to the pilfering of the golden ornaments of the

think of its justice in general, that they who have enjoyed life the most, are often the most ready to quit it, was never more conspicuously fulfilled than in this example. It is pleasant to think that the last thoughts of this misguided spirit were for the peace of his country, and the safety of his friends, to whom he counselled submission."

* Suet. *Vitell.* 5. "Singularem innocentiam præstitit;" a statement on which Mr. Merivale remarks, "Such testimony in favour of a man who has received no quarter from ordinary history ought to be specified. Yet it is open to us to enquire whether the 'innocence' here signalized implies equity and moderation towards the provincials, or indulgence and popular manners in connection with Roman officials, the quæstors, and proconsular staff."

temples, and by a profusion which had reduced him to poverty at the time when he was sent by Galba to take the command in Lower Germany. At his elevation to the empire he was fifty-four years old, confirmed in the most ignoble habits of sensual indulgence and indolence, "sluggish and indifferent, with no thought beyond the morrow, yet all the more subject to be worked on by cool intriguers, and led into sudden excesses of violence and cruelty." He had scarcely moved from his quarters in Gaul, when he received news of the battle of Bedriacum; and, gliding down the Saône in his barge, he was met at Lyon by his victorious generals, with the Othonian leaders who had come to make their submission. A pretext was made for several executions in revenging the murder of Galba; but Titius, Suetonius, Proculus, and others of the most eminent chiefs were spared, and the heirs of the condemned were allowed to enjoy their property. His first acts of government were marked by their moderation. He refused the name of Cæsar, and did not for the present assume the title of Augustus; and he gave proof of some desire to restore public decency by banishing the soothsayers, and forbidding the knights to enter the arena. He attempted to recover the empire out of the hands of the soldiery by his disposition of the legions, and especially by disbanding the prætorian cohorts. Meanwhile the advance of his rude soldiery, recruited chiefly from the Celts and Germans, was marked by plunder and other disorders, of which the Cisalpine had, had a terrible foretaste from the armies of Valens and Cæcina. At Ticinum the drunken orgies of the emperor and his officers were disturbed by a quarrel, in which the camp was for a time threatened with an open conflict. From Cremona, Vitellius turned aside to view the battle-field of Bedriacum, with its still unburied bodies now decaying, looking upon which, without a sign of grief or horror, he is reported to have said, "The corpse of an enemy always smells well, particularly of a citizen!" As he approached Rome, and was greeted by the troop of suppliants for his favour, his sluggish spirit rose to such a sense of his imperial dignity, that he was scarcely persuaded to lay aside at the Milvian bridge the garb and the pomp of war, with which he purposed to have entered Rome like a conquered city. Ascending to the Capitol, he embraced his mother and saluted her by the title of Augusta; and on the following day he harangued the Senate and People, far too much in the tone of a conqueror. It was noticed with horror that the first edict which Vitellius issued as Chief Pontiff was dated on the 18th of July,

the black anniversary of the Allia and Cremera; and the omen had already begun to be fulfilled by the proclamation of his successful competitor in the East.

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS was a worthy scion of the hardy Sabine stock, having been born at Phalacrine, near Reate, on the 17th of November, A.D. 9. His family had not attained to any of the honours of the state, and at the age of sixty he founded the nobility of his house as the emperor of Rome. His humble father bore no other cognomen than that of his country, which descended to his elder son Titus Flavius Sabinus, while the emperor derived his from his mother, Vespasia Polla, the sister of a Roman senator,* who was left a widow when both her sons were young. After serving as military tribune in Thrace and as quæstor in Crete and Cyrene, he became ædile and prætor, was married about the end of A.D. 39, to Flavia Domitilla, and was indebted to the favour of the freedman Narcissus for the legion which we have seen him commanding with such honour in Britain (A.D. 43). He was consul for the last two months of the year 51; but the jealousy of Agrippina towards the friends of Narcissus threw him into the shade; and it was not till after her fall that he obtained the proconsulship of Africa. In an age when it was less disgraceful for a noble to plunder a province than to earn an honest living, Vespasian, quitting office poorer even than when he took it, incurred odium for becoming a contractor for the supply of beasts, and perhaps of slaves, from Africa. Following in the train of Nero to Greece, the rough Sabine offended the sensitive tyrant, less by his military bluntness than by falling to sleep at his master's performances. But the good sense, of which Nero retained some traces to the last, was shown by his appointment of Vespasian to the command of the Jewish war (A.D. 66). Here the general of a nation that sighed for another emperor found himself amidst a people who, after rejecting their Messiah, were eager to welcome or even invite pretenders to the title. The superstition natural to a Sabine was inflamed by Jewish flatterers who applied to him the prophecies that promised the world a Saviour from Judæa; and, when he sacrificed on Mount Carmel to

* The custom had now become common, of giving the elder of two sons the cognomen of his father, and the younger a cognomen derived from the gens of his mother, a form which must not be confounded with the adoptive names in *-anus*. Thus, of the emperor's sons, T. Flavius Vespasianus, and T. Flavius Domitianus, the younger received from his mother, Domitilla, the surname which he made execrable. The Sabine prænomen of Titus, by which the elder is usually known, seems to have been common to the whole family.

the deity of the spot, the priest announced, from the inspection of the entrails, that his greatness should fulfil whatever purpose he was meditating. But he withstood all temptations to commit himself even to the followers who looked to him at every change of events in Italy, and he gave his adhesion with a soldier's loyalty to each new emperor accepted by the Senate. Meanwhile, the belief in his destiny seems to have been common to himself and the Roman people. When he sent his son Titus to congratulate Galba on his accession, the youth, whose noble aspect and disposition marked him as worthy of the highest fortune, was regarded as a candidate for adoption. On receiving news at Corinth of the death of Galba, Titus resolved not to place himself as a hostage in the hands of Otho or Vitellius; and, returning by sea, he visited the shrine of the Paphian Venus at Cyprus. There, as he consulted the oracle ostensibly about the issue of the voyage, he received intimations of the future which confirmed his father in his secret designs.

While Vitellius at Rome cast off the only restraint upon his tyranny and carelessness at the news that Vespasian had declared in his behalf, the silence amidst which the soldiers had taken the oath of allegiance convinced Vespasian that the time for action had arrived. The arguments of Mucianus, the proconsul of Syria, overcame his hesitation to commit himself at so advanced an age, his two sons, and his legions untrained in civil war, to a conflict with the victorious barbarians of Vitellius. The declaration of Tiberius Alexander, the prefect of Egypt, in his favour, at once secured the East, and threatened Rome with famine; and, while Vespasian and Mucianus were completing their preparations at Cæsarea and Antioch, Tiberius caused his soldiers first to proclaim the new emperor at Alexandria, on July 1st, A.D. 69. The example was imitated in Judæa on the 3rd, and followed at Antioch, and through all the legions of the East, by the 15th of the same month. The provinces from Greece to Armenia, with all the vassal kings, espoused the cause of Vespasian, and their resources were organized by him with the ability of a prince as well as a soldier. The Jewish war was now ended, except the capture of Jerusalem; and the conduct of the siege was left to Titus, while Vespasian distributed his remaining forces like one who already felt that on him rested the charge of the whole empire. Two armies were employed to keep the eastern provinces in order, and to guard the frontiers, while the third prepared to advance against Vitellius. The march was led by Mucianus, who collected money

and adherents at every step of his progress. At Aquileia, he was joined by the three legions of Illyricum, which had resented the death of Otho by an open mutiny against Vitellius; and to them were added the army of Pannonia and the garrisons of Dalmatia.

Vitellius was in no condition to stem the advancing tide. He divided his time between slothful repose and extravagant gluttony, to supply which the provinces contributed their dainties, at an expense of about seven millions sterling during his eight months' rule. The reign of the freedmen was renewed within the palace, while public affairs fell entirely into the hands of Valens and Cæcina. The northern soldiery were decimated and demoralized by the climate and the indulgences of Rome; and the legions were discontented, as well as weakened by the drafting out of 20,000 men to reorganize the prætorian guard. The third legion revolted: the succours demanded from Britain, Germany, and Spain, were withheld; and Africa, the only province that heartily espoused the cause of Vitellius, was distant from the scene of action. Jealousy had already sprung up between Valens and Cæcina. The former had acted alone in reorganizing the prætorians, and the latter was suspected of meditating treachery, when he led the vanguard of the enfeebled legions of Germany into the Cisalpine; and Bassus, the prefect of the Adriatic fleet, aided him in corrupting the soldiers. The conflict was precipitated by the eagerness of Antonius Primus, who, at the head of three legions, poured down from the Julian Alps, and advanced to Verona, in spite of orders from Mucianus to await his coming up. The fleet declared for Vespasian, and Cæcina would have done the same, had not his own soldiers thrown him into chains. The field of Bedriacum, on which the Vitellians had won their victory over Otho, was the scene on which the personal courage of Antonius twice saved his army from defeat, and justified his rash advance by a decisive victory. The promises by which he had secured the fidelity of his soldiers were fulfilled by the delivery of "the hapless Cremona," as Virgil had called it for its fate in a former civil war, to plunder and utter destruction; the one melancholy vestige left of the flourishing city being the temple to the mephitic deity (Mephitis) of its marshes. Valens, whose jealousy of Cæcina had delayed his march, now despaired of the cause. Sending the bulk of his army to Ariminum, he embarked at Pisa for Gaul; but the coast was already occupied by the Flavian commander, Valerius Paulinus, and, after various adventures, Valens was taken pri-

soner. Spain, Gaul, and Britain now declared openly for Vespasian, who was still detained in the East, securing the safety of the frontier, and carrying out his plan for starving out the enemy at Rome by occupying Egypt and Africa. But this cautious policy was fortunately deranged by the precipitation of Antonius Primus, who, in the elation of victory, assumed to act by his own authority. Vitellius, called away from his bestial sloth and the cruelties that were prompted by his terror, had sent on some prætorian cohorts, with a marine legion, and had himself advanced as far as their camp, at Mevania, at the foot of the Apennines, when the news reached him that the fleet at Misenum had revolted, and the sailors had raised an insurrection in Campania, which soon spread through the Samnites, Pelignians, and Marsians. "The heart of Italy was more excited by the personal struggle of two obscure adventurers than by the war of classes in the last age of the Republic." While Vitellius returned to Rome, to make a last desperate appeal for help, Antonius, after a difficult passage over the Apennines in the wet season, came down upon the Vitellian army in the valley of the Nar. Dispirited by the emperor's desertion, they were terrified into submission at the sight of the head of Valens, who was put to death at Urbino. Antonius not only suffered them to retain their arms, but made offers to Vitellius, which were confirmed by Mucianus, of an ample provision for luxurious ease in Campania, on condition of his abdication. The emperor had already settled the terms in a personal interview with Flavius Sabinus, whom he had kept at Rome, and had come forth from the palace with his family in mourning, when the fugitive soldiers who filled the city rose in tumult, and bore him back to the palace. The Senate and all the chief persons of the city had already repaired to the house of Sabinus, and were escorting him, as his brother's representative, to the palace, when they were attacked and routed by the Vitellians. Sabinus fled to the Capitol, whither his children and his nephew Domitian were also carried during the night. In the morning, a tumultuous assault was made upon the Capitol, and the temple of the three Gods, the head of the Roman world, which had been saved even from the Gauls, perished for the second time in the flames of a civil war. The assault was successful; Domitian escaped, disguised in the robes of a priest; but Sabinus was taken prisoner and put to death in presence of Vitellius, who had watched the whole in abject helplessness. This murder of course cut off all hope of accommodation, and the populace and slaves were armed to meet

the forces of Antonius, who hastened his march upon the city. The combat at the gates of Rome was decided by a Flavian division, which forced its way in through the Colline Gate, and took the defenders in the rear. "The victors entered pell-mell with the vanquished, for the gates of Rome now stood, it seems, always open, and the combat was renewed from street to street, the populace looking gaily on, applauding or hooting as in the theatre, and helping to drag the fugitives from the shops and taverns for slaughter. The rabble of the city, men and women, half-drunk, half-naked, dabbled in the blood of the dead and dying, or threw themselves into the defenceless houses, and snatched their plunder even from the hands of the soldiers. Rome had seen the conflicts of armed men in her streets under Sulla and Cinna, but never before such a hideous mixture of levity and ferocity; never before had her bastard brood, the worthless mob of the Forum, betrayed so flagrantly their contempt for the weal and honour of their country." The Vitellians were at last forced back within the defences of the prætorian camp; but the Flavians had brought their battering engines with them; and in no long time the camp was stormed, and every man found within it put to the sword. During the storm of the city, Vitellius had escaped to his wife's house upon the Aventine, intending to fly in the night to Tarracina, where his brother was still in arms. But his restless indecision brought him back to the palace, where he roamed the empty halls in terror at their very solitude. The victorious soldiers found him hidden behind a curtain, and were dragging him through the streets, with a halter round his neck, his hands bound behind his back, and his dress torn, when one of his own German soldiers struck at him, perhaps in mercy. The wounded wretch was still goaded on with the points of spears, his head kept erect by a sword beneath his chin, while he was made to witness the destruction of his own statues; and, after suffering all the insults that the rabble could inflict, he was despatched with innumerable blows at the Gemonian stairs;—a fitting end for the vile being who, after a life prostituted to the gratification of four successive tyrants, had no sooner been raised to a state of honour, than he rebelled against his benefactor, and made war upon two successive emperors, for no higher prize than to indulge his beastly appetites with the resources of the empire. His fall took place on the 21st of December, A.D. 69, almost a year from his proclamation at Cologne, and eight months from his acknowledgment by the Senate on the death of Otho: but only three months were

assigned to his reign in the annals of the empire; for the accession of Vespasian was dated from his proclamation at Alexandria on the 1st of July. During the few remaining days of this eventful year, the Senate decreed all the imperial honours to Vespasian; the soldiery plundered, with little restraint from their chiefs, who were occupied with dividing the dignities of the empire among themselves; Arrius Varus was appointed prefect of the prætorian guards; and the young Domitian, who now received the name of Cæsar, was entrusted with the government of the city, Antonius Primus hoping to rule in his name. The last show of resistance ceased with the surrender of Lucius Vitellius, whose troops were brought disarmed to Rome, where he himself was put to death. The Senate passed a decree for the restoration of the Capitol; and the arrival of Mucianus soon proved to all parties that they had a master, determined to enforce order, not only by severity, but even by cruelty. The death of Galerianus, the son of Galba's colleague Piso, followed in the next year by that of his cousin L. Piso in Africa, brought the stain of murder upon the revolution which ended a triple civil war, and restored a settled government to the empire.*

On the 1st of January, A.D. 69, the entrance of Vespasian upon the consulship, with his son Titus, who had already obtained a reputation worthy of the empire, while Domitian nominally governed Rome as prætor, was the inauguration of a new dynasty as well as of a new reign. The Roman world, trained by a century of despotism to expect and obey a master, transferred to the Flavian house the reverence which they had so long given to the Julian, with the addition of a superstitious regard, founded on the prophecies which were said to have greeted Vespasian in Judæa. The Orientals even invested him with divine attributes, and the cynical bluntness with which the Sabine veteran at first scorned the superstition did not prevent the Alexandrians, and perhaps himself, from being imposed upon by the appearance of

* Mr. Merivale has the following important remarks on our authorities for the period between the death of Nero and the accession of Vespasian:—"The account I have followed is circumstantial and consistent, and I cannot abandon lines so vigorously traced by Tacitus for the ribaldry and satire of Suetonius and Dion. Indeed the *Histories* of Tacitus, which give the narrative of these times in greater detail than it seems necessary here to follow, are, in my judgment, more to be relied on than his *Annals*. The pictures he has drawn of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, bear the full impress of truth. They exhibit characters aptly moulded by the circumstances in which they are placed, with such a mixture of good and evil as stamps them at once as genuine."

his miraculous cure of the blind and lame, who were bidden by Serapis to seek his aid. The messengers who brought the news of the victory and capture of Cremona found envoys from the Parthian king at Alexandria, offering Vespasian the aid of 40,000 cavalry; and Tacitus marks it as a splendid and happy thing, that such help should be offered and not needed. Thanks were returned to Vologeses, who was directed to send his embassy to the Senate. But these bright promises were overshadowed by the beginnings of the evil that caused the Flavian dynasty to end in a tyranny worse than Nero's; and Titus, before departing to finish the Jewish War, had to use all his power of persuasion to mitigate his father's anger at the conduct of Domitian at Rome. Vespasian was meanwhile engaged at Alexandria in expediting corn-vessels to relieve the scarcity which began to be felt at Rome; and he was further detained during the spring by adverse winds. Sailing from Alexandria in May, he touched at various places in Asia and Greece, where his personal presence might be useful, and only reached the city in the middle of the summer. The emperor may have lingered in order to reap the benefit, without the odium, of the unflinching firmness with which the government was conducted by Mucianus, who put to death the son of Vitellius, checked the follies of Domitian, and drove Antonius Primus from the city to the camp of Vespasian, who honoured his past services without suffering him to become dangerous. If Mucianus himself was growing into a position to inspire jealousy, the state of the provinces gave an opportunity for employing him elsewhere.

Nothing attests more strikingly the power of the Roman empire, imposing upon the imagination of its subjects as well as enforcing their obedience, than the quiet attitude in which the provincials watched the civil wars. Though Gaul had been so recently conquered when the great conflict began between Cæsar and the Senate, no formidable insurrection broke out till in the crisis that followed Nero's death; and then the revolt of some of the oldest allies of Rome was provoked by personal wrongs. We have seen that the offshoot of the German Chatti, who were settled, under the name of Batavi, in the delta formed by the mouths of the Maas, the Waal, and the Rhine, already contributed to the army of Cæsar that cavalry, trained in their native netherlands to swim broad and deep rivers, which took a conspicuous part in all the ensuing wars. One of the commanders of this cavalry, under Nero, was CLAUDIUS CIVILIS, a chief of the royal race, whose name seems to show that he had received the Roman citizenship as a

client of the Claudian house. Like Hannibal and Sertorius, with whom he earned a comparison by the undaunted pertinacity of his resistance to Rome, he had lost an eye. On some unknown ground of suspicion, his brother Julius Paulus was beheaded by Fonteius Capito, the legate of Lower Germany,* and Civilis himself was sent in chains to Nero (A.D. 68). The impartial justice of Galba in acquitting him was resented by the legions of the province; and, though protected by Vitellius from motives of prudence, Civilis felt that he was the mortal enemy of Rome. The opportunity of revenge was offered, not only by the march of Vitellius to Italy, but by a state of general discontent among the Belgic tribes, which was inflamed by the emissaries of Civilis. It was one of the rash acts of Antonius Primus to invoke the aid of Civilis for the cause of Vespasian; and the Batavian chief, who was only waiting for a pretext to attack the troops left by Vitellius upon the Rhine, summoned the heads of his own and kindred tribes to a banquet in a sacred grove, where the ancient ceremonies of religion were revived to consecrate the blow for independence. The Batavians were joined by the Caninefates, who lived with them in the island, and by the important tribe of the Frisians, who expelled the Roman garrisons and seized the flotilla of the Lower Rhine. Some squadrons of Gallic and German horse deserted to them, and the Gallic prisoners were dismissed to rouse their countrymen to an effort for the overthrow of the Roman power throughout Gaul. The danger was increased by the fact that the auxiliaries of the Rhenish armies were composed, contrary to the general practice, chiefly of levies from the neighbouring tribes. The result was seen when Mummius Lupercus, despatched into the island by Hordeonius Flaccus, the governor of Upper Germany, led against Civilis an army with its right wing composed of the auxiliaries of the Ubii and Treveri, while some Batavian horse were stationed on the left. The latter went over to their countrymen; the former fled; and the defeated army found refuge in the "Old Camp" of Drusus (*Xanten*). The success was followed by the mutiny of eight Batavian cohorts, who had been summoned to Rome to aid Vitellius. Marching backwards, they crushed the legion stationed at Bonn, who were deserted by their Belgic auxiliaries in the battle, and joined Civilis. Still keeping up the pretence on which he had taken arms, Civilis summoned

* It must be borne in mind that, throughout the history of this period *Lower and Upper Germany* signify the Gallic provinces so named, on the left bank of the Rhine.

the troops at Castra Vetera to take the oath to Vespasian. They remained faithful to Vitellius; and the same feeling in the army of Hordeonius broke out into a mutiny, which delayed the relief of the besieged camp. On the news of the victory near Cremona, Hordeonius administered the oath of allegiance to Vespasian to his reluctant legions; but the envoys, who were themselves Gauls, on carrying the like demand to the camp of Civilis, only had their own fidelity corrupted. Civilis took advantage of the apparent removal of the cause of war to make a sudden attack on the Romans, in which many standards and prisoners were taken, but the Germans were beaten back with the loss of their foremost warriors. Vocula, the legate of Hordeonius, succeeded for a moment in relieving Castra Vetera; but he retired almost immediately, taking with him a thousand of its defenders; and the reunion of the legions at Novesium (*Neuss*) was followed by another mutiny, in which Hordeonius was put to death, Vocula fled, and the army dispersed into disorderly bands. Three legions, however, voluntarily reunited themselves under the command of Vocula, and saved Moguntiacum (*Mayence*), the capital of Upper Germany, from the victorious insurgents, who had overrun the whole territory of the Treviri.

The news of the successes of Civilis flew through Gaul at the same time that reports were spread of an attack on the Danubian frontier by the Dacians and Sarmatians, and of a great insurrection in Britain. The Druids proclaimed another overthrow of Rome by the Gallic arms; and Civilis took the measures of an able leader to accomplish the prediction. In order to seduce the Gallic auxiliaries in the Roman army, he formed a conspiracy with Classicus, who commanded a squadron of the Treviri, another Treviran named Julius Tutor, and Julius Sabinus, a Lingon. The plot broke out on the march of Vocula to the relief of Castra Vetera; and the defection of the Gallic auxiliaries was followed by the murder of Vocula by the emissaries of Classicus, the mutiny of the legions, and the junction of the whole army with the forces of Civilis. The garrison of Castra Vetera, who capitulated on promise of their lives, were massacred, after being forced to swear fidelity to the Gauls; and Civilis cut the long ruddy locks which he had vowed to let grow till he had taken vengeance on his foes. He now formed the scheme of setting up a kingdom, with its capital at Cologne, and sought supernatural direction from Veleda, "the virgin queen and priestess of the Bructeri, who dwelt aloof in a tower on the Lippe, and whom they were wont to consult and

worship with superstitious awe." The captive Roman general, Lupercus, whom he sent to her, doubtless to be offered to the old northern deities, escaped that fate, and furnished an evil omen for the sender, by being slain by his attendants on the way. The Roman power was now utterly overthrown along the left bank of the Rhine, from its mouth to the Lake of Constance, the only fortified places that still held out being Moguntiacum, and the Helvetian capital Vindonissa, at the junction of the three Swiss rivers which unite to fall into the Rhine above Basel.* The rest of Gaul was destitute of Roman armies; but the utter defeat of Julius Sabinus by the Sequani proved how far the provincials were from being unanimous in transferring their allegiance to a Gallo-German empire.

Thus, the close of the year 69, which witnessed the establishment of a new dynasty at Rome, threatened the loss to the empire of one of its fairest provinces. Mucianus hastened to meet the danger before Transalpine Gaul should be entirely lost. While two legions were summoned from Spain, and another from Britain, three were at once sent forward from Italy, under Petilius Cerialis, while Domitian followed more leisurely to reap the honours of the war. The Gauls who had not yet joined the insurrection had now to take their part. At a congress summoned in the territory of the Remi,—whose capital (*Rheims*) became long after the sacred seat of the French monarchy—they decided on submission, and called on the Treviri to lay down their arms. The leaders of the revolt made no attempt to seize the passes of the Alps, and the Romans, crossing them in two divisions, were joined by auxiliaries from Rhætia. The revolted legionaries, whom Tutor sent to meet the 21st legion in the valley of the Rhine, seized the opportunity to desert back again; the Treviri and Lingones speedily submitted; and Cerialis, entering Treves in triumph, harangued the penitent legionaries and provincials on the blessings of the Roman yoke.†

* This great city and frontier fortress, the name of which is preserved in the wretched hamlet of *Windisch*, near *Brugg*, grew from its original site on the tongue of land between the Aar and the Reuss to an extent of twelve miles from north to south. All that now remains of it are the traces of an amphitheatre, a subterranean aqueduct, which conveyed water from Brauneggberg, three miles off, foundations of walls, with broken pottery, inscriptions, and coins, which are turned up by the spade. "Within the ancient walls of Vindonissa," says Gibbon, "the castle of Habsburg, the abbey of Königsfeld, and the town of Bruck, have successively arisen. The philosophic traveller may compare the monuments of Roman conquest, of feudal or Austrian tyranny, of monkish superstition, and of industrious freedom. If he be truly a philosopher, he will applaud the merit and happiness of his own time."

† Tac. *Hist.* iv. 74:—"In the fine speech here given to Cerialis, Tacitus is, in fact,

After a futile attempt to shake the fidelity of Cerialis by false news of the death of Vespasian, Civilis made a sudden attack upon his camp beyond the walls of Treves. The Roman, after retrieving the day by his personal exertions, atoned for having suffered himself to be surprised, by the vigour with which he improved his victory. The people of Cologne attacked the rear of the fugitives, and gave up to the Romans the wife and children of Civilis. The Fourteenth Legion from Britain made good its landing, though so narrowly that the empty transports were destroyed by the Caninefates. Hemmed in on all sides, Civilis retreated to the Batavian island, and made a last stand at Vetera Castra, protecting his position by diverting part of the waters of the Rhine. The attack of the Romans was entirely baffled, till a deserter showed a path through the morass, which brought them upon the flank of the enemy, whose skill in passing the streams enabled them to escape into the country of the Frisians and Chauci. The courage with which Civilis still fought partial actions—in one of which the prætorian galley was captured and sent as an offering to Veleda—taught the somewhat sluggish Roman general the prudence of listening to his secret overtures, and Cerialis admitted him to terms on the old pretext of his having taken up arms in the cause of Vespasian. The end of the war was announced to Mucianus and Domitian while they were yet at Lyon. The abrupt cessation of the "Histories" of Tacitus conceals all further knowledge of the fate of Civilis, while depriving us of our best authority for matters of more moment. But Dion and Plutarch have preserved an account of the last pathetic episode of this last stand for Gallic freedom, which we cannot relate better than in the words of the modern historian. After his defeat by the Sequani, "Julius Sabinus caused a trusty slave to set fire to his house and to give out that he had perished in the flames. The story obtained credit, and search ceased to be made for him, while he concealed himself in a cave in a deep forest. To his faithful spouse, Eponina, he contrived to communicate the secret. She joined him in his retreat, and continued there to live with him for the space of nine years, interrupted only by her journeys, even as far as Rome, to consult with his friends, and learn if it might be possible to procure his pardon. In that hiding-place

accounting to his own conscience for the selfish tyranny of his countrymen. We must admit, in the case of the Romans as promptly as in our own, that the supineness of the mass of their subjects in the prospect of throwing off the yoke speaks favourably for its easiness and mildness."—Merivale.

she bore her husband two sons, and at last the whole party ventured to present themselves together to the emperor. Eponina told the affecting story of her conjugal devotion, and shewing the pledges of her love, declared that she had endured to bear them in misery and darkness, that the suppliants for mercy might be the more in number. But Vespasian, it is said, was utterly unmoved. He pitilessly commanded the execution of both husband and wife. Eponina exclaimed that it was a happier lot, than to live in the guilty enjoyment of his blood-stained sovereignty." Whatever doubts attend the details of the story,* it is well used by Thierry to point the moral of the fall of the Gallic nation :— "Such was the last blood shed for the cause of ancient Gaul, the last act of devotion to a social order, a government, a religion, the return of which was neither possible nor desirable." And, in a somewhat different sense, the remark may be applied to the victory, which Titus completed in the same year, at the opposite extremity of his father's empire, over a people whose religion the Romans scorned and hated as much as the Druidism of the Gauls. But the destruction of Jerusalem cannot be viewed by a Christian writer apart from its connection with the establishment of the spiritual system which was to fulfil the object, while superseding the necessity, of the sanctuary chosen by Jehovah upon earth.

Jerusalem was taken early in September, A.D. 70, and it was in the summer of the following year, about the second anniversary of Vespasian's accession, that Titus returned to Rome, and celebrated a joint triumph with his father. The restoration of peace in the East and West enabled Vespasian, like Augustus, to close the temple of Janus, which had stood open since that emperor's German Wars, or, to use the epochs named by Orosius, from the birth of Christ to the overthrow of the Jewish nation. It is this new aspect of tranquillity, after so many years of war upon the frontiers, and sufferings at the heart of the empire, that gives its peculiar character to Vespasian's otherwise uneventful reign. For this he was admired by the people, and eulogized by a new generation of court poets, such as Silius Italicus, as if the rude Sabine soldier had been a second Augustus ; his true merit being that he guarded the frontiers with military skill and firmness, and enforced at

* These doubts affect the details only. We cannot refuse to accept the main fact, when Plutarch tells us that he saw one of the sons at Delphi. A motive has been sought for the seemingly wanton execution of Sabinus in his pretended descent from Julius Cæsar.

home the sober frugality of which he himself set the example. Though the corruption of the Roman people was too deep for an effectual cure, they had learnt that the senseless worship of wealth and luxury by their princes and nobles was their own degradation and misery; and, even the higher classes, exhausted by the pursuit of pleasure, were ready to welcome an invigorating change. It was the feeling of a new life that invested with an enthusiastic regard the ungraceful form and features, the rude but regular habits, and the sprightly but coarse conversation of the emperor. One saying recorded of him may serve as a specimen at once of his cynical humour and of his contempt for flattery; at the point of death, he whispered to his attendants: "Ah! methinks I am becoming a god!" Niebuhr has pronounced the judgment that "Titus Flavius Vespasianus, with all his faults, was the true restorer of the state, a fact which has never yet been sufficiently acknowledged. He did indeed things which are a stain on his character that can never be wiped off; but if we take him as he was, and consider what could be expected of him, we shall find great excuses for his faults. . . . His government was thoroughly beneficial to the Roman world. . . . It is a fact beyond all doubt, that, considering the time in which he lived, Vespasian was an excellent, straightforward, and just man, in a negative sense, for he did not make himself guilty of tyranny; and in his reign there occur but few cases of extortion. . . . He reclaimed his subjects by his example from their luxurious way of living,—a remarkable reform. . . . Vespasian governed the empire with care and conscientiousness, and restored the finances. He showed no mistrust towards the governors of the provinces; but at the same time protected the subjects against them whenever it was necessary."

One of the first acts of his reign was the censorship in which he purified the Senate. That august body had now been reduced to two hundred members, many of them worthless usurpers of the places left vacant by death and banishment. While the emperor acted with a just severity, his son Titus, who was his colleague in the censorship, is charged with using the opportunity to proscribe the objects of his suspicion. Vespasian frankly accepted the Augustan policy of preserving the Senate's dignity, and using it as the instrument of government. For several years he refused, not only the title of *Pater Patriæ*, but even the tribunitian power. While restoring discipline to the army, his conduct to the provinces was too much like the administration of martial law at the

caprice of the supreme Imperator. If Spain was rewarded for its fidelity to Galba and himself by the Latin citizenship, Greece was reduced to the tributary state as the penalty of its flattery of Nero, and its fate was shared by Samos, Rhodes, Lycia, and Byzantium. The dependent kingdoms of Thrace, Cilicia, and Commagene, were reduced to Roman provinces. These measures tended to restore the revenue, which had been sacrificed by the indiscriminate extension of the franchise, and pillaged in every way during the reign of extravagance and licence under Nero. The restoration of the finances was one of Vespasian's greatest works, and that not in the narrow spirit of parsimony sometimes attributed to him, but as a means to the dignity and splendour, as well as the security of the empire. To repair the waste of the past, to meet pressing expenses, and to place the state on a sound financial basis for the future, Vespasian is said to have declared that he needed the sum of forty millions of sesterces. The immediate result of his efforts was to restore an orderly economy: their lasting monuments were seen in the rebuilding of the Capitol, the erection of the temple of Peace, to commemorate the tranquillity of his reign, the building of a new Forum, and the provision for the favourite enjoyments of the populace, in the Baths of Titus, and above all, that most stupendous of all the monuments of antiquity, the FLAVIAN amphitheatre or COLOSSEUM.* Uncultured as Vespasian was in Greek learning and polite accomplishments, he exercised a munificent patronage of letters, chiefly for the sake of providing a solid education for the upper classes. The celebrated QUINTILIAN was the first rhetorician who enjoyed the regular salary allotted by Vespasian to public teachers, and he first received the consular insignia from Domitian. The system, borrowed from the Greek kings of Egypt, strengthened the government by its control over the education of the young, at a certain cost of independence, which may account for the hostility with

* It seems unnecessary to repeat the oft-repeated descriptions of these edifices. A full account of them will be found in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, and in the article *Roma* in the *Dictionary of Geography*. Gibbon's eloquent description of the sports of the amphitheatre is too well known to need quotation. It should be observed that Vespasian, while making so magnificent a provision for the hunts of wild beasts and sea fights (*venationes* and *naumachiæ*) was averse to gladiatorial combats. Both the Baths of Titus and the Colosseum were erected within the site of Nero's golden house, which was demolished by order of Vespasian; the colossal statue which gave its name to the former edifice being alone preserved, but with the head of Titus substituted for that of Nero. Such was the rude Sabine's idea of artistic fitness!

which it was regarded by Tacitus. The result of scorning the proffered alliance was seen in the fate of the philosopher Helvidius Priscus,—the greatest blot on Vespasian's character for clemency. It is true, however, that Helvidius gave him no small provocation by an impracticable resistance to a power which it would have been both hopeless and useless to overturn. The son-in-law of Paetus Thrasea, and the sharer of his Catonic stoicism, Priscus was exiled by Nero when he put Thrasea to death. Recalled by Galba, he seems to have fancied that some measure of republican liberty might be extorted from a new dynasty, or at least that he was bound to deliver his own soul by unseasonable protests. He is said to have had a private grudge against Vespasian, who long bore his attacks, though with growing impatience, replying on one occasion to the assertion of the Senate's right to elect the Prince with the threat, "Either my son shall succeed me or I will have no successor." At length Helvidius was banished, and the sentence was followed, upon some new provocation, by a hasty order for his death, which Vespasian attempted in vain to recal. Domitian, however, made war upon the philosopher's memory and family, banishing his widow Fannia, and putting to death Herennius Senecio, because the latter wrote a life of Helvidius at the request of the former; while his son, Helvidius Priscus, was one of those victims of the tyrant, whose fate Tacitus records as also the disgrace of an obsequious Senate.* Vespasian's enmity to the philosophers was the dictate of policy rather than passion; and the edict for the banishment of the whole of the Stoic and Cynic sects was enforced with a contemptuous moderation. When the Cynic Demetrius, who, with others of the emperor's chief opponents, was sentenced to deportation to an island, persevered to the last in his invectives, Vespasian exclaimed in scorn, "I will not kill a *dog* that barks at me." But the retort must not be recorded without a reflection on the necessity which drives even well-meaning tyrants to make such war upon the theorists whom one of them used to brand as "ideologists."

The firm and quiet course of Vespasian's laborious administration was not interrupted by the rise of some insignificant pretenders; and, after reigning for almost exactly ten years, dating from his proclamation at Alexandria, on July 1st, A.D. 69, he died, in his seventieth year, exhausted by his life of toil and the cares of government, without any positive disease, on the 23rd of June, A.D. 69. He was quietly succeeded by his son, TITUS Cæsar

* Tac. *Agric.* 45:—*Nostræ* duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus.

Vespasianus, surnamed "the delight of the human race." Before examining the claims which his brief reign gave him to such an epithet, we must turn aside from the records of human action to one grand exhibition of divine power which occurred just two months after the emperor's accession. The History of the World demands a special record of that catastrophe of nature, which, besides its awful grandeur, and the change it effected in the face of one of the fairest regions of Italy, involved at the time of its occurrence circumstances of an interest only inferior to that which has been revived by the discovery of its effects in our own age. This was the first great eruption of Vesuvius upon record, involving the destruction of the Greek cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii,—a scene beheld with fatal curiosity by the great naturalist Pliny, and recorded by his nephew, one of the most elegant of Latin writers,—and a catastrophe which wrapt in a winding sheet of ashes the living forms of daily and domestic life, in one of the momentary phases of its activity, to be disinterred seventeen centuries later, as a vivid illustration of life under the Cæsars. The connection of the catastrophe with the two Plinies makes it convenient to introduce here some notice of names so conspicuous in Roman literature. The visitor to the city of Como (the ancient Novum Comum) which stands at the southern end of its beautiful lake (Lacus Larius) sees in front of the cathedral two statues, with inscriptions in which the citizens record their pride in the memory of their illustrious compatriots, Caius Plinius Secundus, and his nephew C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus. The family belonged to Como, where its importance is still attested by inscriptions, and the younger Pliny is known to have been a native of the town, though it is not certain whether his uncle was born there or at Verona. The birth of the elder took place under Tiberius, in A.D. 23; and, as was usual with the youth of wealthy Italian families, he was taken to Rome at an early age, to attend the best teachers of rhetoric and philosophy. Here he commenced that course of omnivorous study and literary activity, which made him one of the marvels of antiquity. When serving, as the commander of a troop of cavalry, in the German wars of Claudius, under L. Pomponius Secundus, he visited the whole frontier of Germany, from the shores of the Chauci to the sources of the Danube, and, in addition to the notes which he collected, composed, in the intervals of his military duties, a treatise on the cavalry javelin exercise (*de Jaculatione Equestri*). Returning to Rome with Pomponius in A.D. 52, he applied himself to the study of jurisprudence, and pleaded causes.

But the line marked out for him by nature was not that of a Cicero or a Quintilian; and he had fortunately no inducement to stay at Rome and tempt, like Seneca, the perilous times of Nero. Among the fruits of his retirement, spent probably for the most part at his own city, were "The Student" (*Studiosus*), prescribing the course to be followed for the training of an orator from the very cradle—a task perhaps undertaken for the sake of his nephew, who was born in A.D. 61—and a grammatical work in ten books, entitled "Doubtful Discourse" (*Dubius Sermo*). Towards the close of Nero's reign, Pliny resumed public life as procurator in Spain, where he was still absent when the death of his brother-in-law C. Cæcilius in A.D. 71, left his nephew to his charge, and, in his absence, the youth was placed under the tutorship of Virginius Rufus, whom we have seen played so patriotic a part in the civil wars of A.D. 69. Returning to Rome about the end of the following year, Pliny adopted his nephew, whose letters speak of him with the reverence due to a parent and the profoundest admiration for his industry and learning. To this source we are indebted for one of those vivid and elegant pictures—which no other writer of letters has surpassed—of the daily life of the unwearied student, who was at the same time employed by Vespasian, for Pliny had formed the emperor's acquaintance in Germany. It was his practice to begin spending a portion of the night in studying by lamplight, at the festival of the Vulcanalia (towards the end of August), at first at a late hour of the night, in winter at one or two o'clock in the morning. Before it was light, he betook himself to the emperor Vespasian,* and, after executing such commissions as he might be charged with, returned home and devoted the remainder of the early morning to study. After a slender meal, he would, in the summer-time, lie in the sunshine while some one read to him, he himself making notes and extracts. He never read any book without making extracts in this way, for he used to say that there was no book so bad, but that some good could be got out of it. He would then take a cold bath, and after a slight repast sleep a very little, and then pursue his studies till supper-time. During this meal some book was read to him or commented on by him. At table, as might be supposed, he spent but a short time. Such was his mode of life when in the bustle and confusion of the city. When in retirement in the country, the time spent in

* An incidental testimony to the industry of the emperor, who, as we learn from other sources, had himself called an hour before dawn, in order to read his despatches.

the bath was nearly the only interval not allotted to study, and that he reduced to the narrowest limits; for during all the process of scraping and rubbing he had some book read to him or himself dictated. When on a journey, he had a secretary by his side, with a book and tablets, and in the winter season made him wear gloves, that his writing might not be impeded by the cold. He once found fault with his nephew for walking, as by so doing he lost a good deal of time that might have been employed in study. By this incessant application, persevered in throughout life, he amassed an enormous amount of materials, and at his death left to his nephew 160 volumes of notes and extracts (*electorum commentarii*), written extremely small on both sides. While procurator in Spain, when the number of these books was considerably less, he had been offered 400,000 sesterces for them by one Largus Licinius. With some reason might his nephew say that, when compared with Pliny, those who had spent their whole lives in literary pursuits seemed as if they had spent them in nothing else than sleep and idleness. But when, on the other hand, we compare such a life either with the activity of the old Romans, in the camp and in the forum, or with the healthful alternation of intellectual work with physical exercise, mental diversion, and social life, practised by the best students of our own age, we are constrained to confess that there were grave defects in the industry we admire, defects which go far to account for Pliny's want of judgment in the use of his vast crude materials of knowledge. The fruits of his studies were embodied in his thirty-seven books of "Natural History," under which title he includes every department of knowledge and art connected, directly or indirectly, with the physical universe.* It embraces astronomy, meteorology, geography, mineralogy, zoology, and botany; but treated in such a way that, among other digressions, he gives in one place an account of human inventions and institutions, and in another the history of art is introduced à propos of the materials employed by artists, bronze, marble, pigments, and precious stones. Touching, as Pliny states in his Preface, upon twenty thousand points of information, derived from two thousand volumes, by authors who were for the most part not read even by professed students, the work is an invaluable mine of the knowledge of the ancients, to those at least who learn how to force their way through the superincumbent strata of worthless matter, to track the ill-arranged

* There is a rare old translation of the work in racy Elizabethan English, by Holland, London, 1601.

passages, and to detect the innumerable errors and misrepresentations of older authorities, the inevitable result of attempting such an encyclopædical compilation. There is no indication of original research or of the power to make it. While Pliny resembles Aristotle and Bacon in his desire to bring into one focus all human knowledge of created things, he was as inferior to the Greek philosopher in accurate observation and analytic power, as he was incapable of constructing, like the Englishman, an "organ" for the discovery of truth. He resembles Bacon in an omnivorous appetite for scientific facts, without the power of testing their scientific value, and in the fate by which each fell a victim to unseasonable curiosity in observation. It was fortunate for all posterity that such a writer as his nephew, then only a youth of eighteen, was at hand to describe the convulsion of nature amidst which Pliny perished.

In the first year of Titus (A.D. 79), Pliny was admiral of the fleet stationed, as usual, at the promontory of Misenum, the northern headland of the Bay of Naples. The mountain which formed the background of nature's most beautiful amphitheatre had as yet none of the terrific grandeur with which imagination now invests it even when most quiescent. Its smoking cone had not been thrown up from the almost level line which marked its outline against the azure sky; and from the sea-shore to its summit the eye ranged over an unbroken slope of the richest verdure,—on the north side forest trees and evergreen shrubs, the oak, chestnut and ilex,—on the sunny southern slopes, vines and fruit trees, which flourished in the light soil formed by the ashes of long-forgotten eruptions. The geographer Strabo, writing at the time of Augustus, describes Vesuvius as "surrounded by fields of the greatest fertility, with the exception of the summit, which was for the most part level, and wholly barren, covered with ashes, and containing clefts and hollows, formed among rocks of a burnt aspect, as if they had been eaten away by fire; so that a person would be led to the conclusion that the spot had formerly been in a state of conflagration, and had craters from which fire had burst forth, but that these had been extinguished for want of fuel." The fugitive bands of Spartacus had actually taken refuge in one of these extinct craters, and several gay Greek cities flourished along the coast, unconscious of their danger. At the north-west foot of the mountain lay HERCULANEUM, with its little port of Retina (*Resina*), and on the southern side, POMPEII stood on a rising ground, which was then close to the sea, and was in special favour as a residence

with the Roman nobles, whose villas studded the whole coast of what Tacitus describes as "the most beautiful of bays, before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius changed the face of the country." The letters of Cicero refer to his favourite "Pompeian villa." About four miles further to the south, beyond the river Sarnus, lay Stabiæ. Sixteen years before this period (A.D. 63) the inhabitants of the coast had been warned by a terrible earthquake, that the subterranean fires were not yet "extinct for want of fuel;" and the excavations at Pompeii have shown that the citizens were still busy in repairing the overthrow of their chief buildings, when they were overtaken by the final catastrophe.

The younger Pliny describes the great eruption from the point of view which invested it to him with such mournful interest. On the 24th of August, A.D. 79, his uncle was at his villa at Misenum, occupied as usual in study, when his eye was enticed from his books by a cloud of unusual form, which hung in the still air over Vesuvius. It was flat like a table, and connected with the summit of the mountain by a well-defined thin stem, which gave its whole form the appearance of a pine tree. The cloud, in fact, issued from the mountain itself; and it changed its colour, being black, white, or spotted, according as it was composed of ashes or earth. Ordering his cutter to be manned, the admiral invited his nephew to accompany him for a nearer view of the strange sight; but the youth, who once incurred a rebuke for walking when he might have been reading, was too intent upon some composition, which his uncle had himself prescribed.* A call of duty was added to curiosity, in the appeals of the people of the coast for help. At Retina the affrighted sailors urged Pliny to turn back, but he sailed on, and as he approached the shore at the foot of the burning mountain, the ashes, mixed with burning coals, fell upon his deck, and a shoal suddenly formed beneath his keel. He steered for Stabiæ, and landed at the villa of Pomponianus, whom he found embarking in fright. Restoring his friend's courage by his own calmness, Pliny took his bath, and came to the supper table, where he conversed with his wonted cheerfulness, assuring the alarmed company that the lurid flames that began to light up the darkness of the night arose from the villages which the inhabitants were abandoning on the mountain slope. He then went quietly to sleep; but the attendants, terrified by the showers of pumice-stone, which were already filling

* "Respondi, studere malle me; *et forte ipse quod scriberem dederat.*" Mr. Merivale well remarks that "the apologetical whisper in the last clause is exquisite."

the courts, roused him, to join Pomponianus, and they fled from the house now rocking with the earthquake, to the open fields with pillows tied on their heads as a protection from the showers of stones. The night came to an end; but the horror of the scene was increased by the preternatural darkness caused by the canopy of smoke, which covered the whole bay as far as Misenum, while the light ashes are said to have been wafted in one direction as far as Rome, and in the other to Africa, Egypt, and Syria.* By the light of torches and the flashes of the burning mountain, the fugitives made their way to the shore, only to find the sea tempest-tost by the heaving bottom, which permanently altered the whole coast; and it was impossible to embark. Pliny had laid himself down to rest upon a sail, when his attendants, terrified by the flames, which seemed rolling down upon them, preceded by a sulphurous stench, took to flight, leaving him with only two slaves. Some who looked back said that they saw him attempt to rise, but he sank again, suffocated, as his nephew conjectures, by the choking gases, the more easily as his lungs were naturally weak. His body was afterwards found with no marks of injury, even the dress being undisturbed. He died at the age of fifty-four.

While the philosopher thus perished at the comparatively remote town of Stabiæ, a scene was passing at Pompeii, which no eye-witness has described. The impression made on us by the imagination of the novelist, whose consummate skill has wrought the memorials of that catastrophe into one vivid and tragic picture, is far less deep and permanent than the emotions developed by the repeated study of those memorials themselves,—the forum and public buildings laid in ruins for 1800 years, but with some of the marks of repairs in progress as fresh as if the workmen had just left them; the streets with their soft pavement scored with the marks of carriages that seem to have passed but an hour ago, and their walls scrawled with rude drawings and notices that make us look round for the boys who have just run away;—the houses, with their deserted courts and chambers so perfect, as to enable us to reconstruct the pattern of the Græco-Roman mansion, and to adorn its panels with copies of pictures as fresh as when first painted; the remains of their inhabitants caught in hasty flight, stifled in their refuges,—skeletons still decked in hideous mockery with their jewels, the form of the fair girl

* It is a well-attested fact that, in later eruptions, the ashes of Vesuvius have been carried as far as Egypt and Constantinople.

moulded in the ashes that entombed her alive,—the bony hand of the fugitive still clutching the purse that he perhaps went back to save. But enough:—the highest wisdom was content to record the only parallels in history—the flood, and the fate of the cities of the plain—and to anticipate the final catastrophe which they faintly shadowed forth, in the simple words "they ate and drank, they married and were given in marriage, and *knew not*, till it came and took them all away." In the case of Pompeii, we are told that the destruction was the more complete, as the people were gathered in the theatre, while at Herculaneum, which was overwhelmed in a ruin as complete, the inhabitants had longer time to escape. There was some difference, too, in the manner of their destruction. It is commonly supposed that Herculaneum was overwhelmed by a stream of lava; but this is an error, and in fact the emission of lava during the eruption was but slight. "The substance with which Herculaneum is covered is a kind of volcanic tufo, formed of accumulated sand and ashes, but partially consolidated by the agency of water, which is often poured out in large quantities during volcanic eruptions."* Its close proximity to the volcano caused that compactness of the materials which, with the obstacles caused by the villages of *Resina* and *Portici*, built over the ancient city, have impeded the excavations on its site; while the greater distance and elevation of Pompeii subjected it only to the lighter ashes, through which the excavator easily reaches the remains that they preserved comparatively uninjured. Traces are found of efforts made by the people to dig down to their buried dwellings, probably in search of treasure, with a success proved by the small number of very valuable objects left behind;† but these efforts seem to have been abandoned the more speedily owing to fresh outbursts of the mountain; and the sites of the ancient cities had long been forgotten, when the ruins of Pompeii were accidentally discovered in the year 1748. It is the province of the classical antiquarian to describe the rich harvest of information, of which much still remains to reap.‡

* Daubeny on Volcanoes, p. 222; Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, art. *Herculaneum*.

† The few skeletons found, in spite of the numbers known to have perished, indicate the efforts made to recover the remains of the dead for sepulture.

‡ The chief accounts of the discoveries at Pompeii are in the great work of Mazois, continued by Gau, *Les Ruines de Pompeii*; Sir William Gell's *Pompeiana*; and the more recent works of Breton and Overbeck. An admirable popular description, complete up to the date of its publication, with a mass of valuable information on matters connected with the objects discovered, is contained in the little work entitled

A Jewish patriot would have needed little superstition to believe that the God who had descended in flames and earthquake upon Sinai was coming out of his place to avenge the conflagration of his house on Zion, especially when Rome was again visited by a fire which raged for three days and again consumed the Capitol, followed by a plague, the awful nature of which is apparent through the incredible exaggeration, that 10,000 persons perished daily for some time * (A.D. 80). But the Romans had a compensation for their sufferings, and a means of propitiating the offended deities, whether of Italy or Judæa, in the magnificent games given by Titus at the dedication of the Colosseum, which was completed in this year. The eyes of the populace, scarcely able to comprehend the vastness of the edifice, were greeted with the novel spectacle of an army of dwarfs, representing

"that Pygmæan race,
Beyond the Indian mount, warred on by cranes,"

—a scene described in the verse of the contemporary satirist.† Women figured as Amazons among the gladiators; and 50,000 animals were slaughtered in the arena, which was then converted into a lake, for the exhibition of the great sea-fight between the Corinthians and Corcyreans.‡ The spectacles—continued for a hundred days, and ending in a scramble for tickets entitling their holders to rations of bread and meat,—raised Titus to the height of popularity; but their profuse extravagance and barbarous novelty suggest a doubt whether a longer life might not have doomed him to rank with Nero, whom he resembled in morbid sensibility, and, unless common reputation belied him, in his youthful vices. The tears shed by Titus when the festival was done, whether from overwrought excitement, or, as his admirers said, from vexation at the waste of time, were interpreted as a foreshadowing of death, the seeds of which were believed to have been sown in his weak frame by poison administered in early life. He resorted in vain alike to the rites of oriental superstition, and the springs of the Sabine mountains, to ward off the early fate which, if we may believe Suetonius, he piteously declared that he had not deserved, and expired on the 13th of September, A.D. 81, at the age of forty.§

Pompeii, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (2 vols. 1830), and reprinted in Knight's Shilling Series.

* The fire of A.D. 64 had also been followed by a pestilence. Rome had not the good fortune of London, in having the plague burnt out.

† Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii., 167—170.

‡ The Baths of Titus, also begun under Vespasian, were dedicated in the same year.

§ He was born on the 30th of December, A.D. 40.

His reign had lasted for the brief space of two years and a quarter; but he had been associated with his father in the government ever since his return from Judæa. The Romans were consoled for his early loss by the proverb, "They whom the gods love die young;" the Christian writers regarded him with favour as the instrument of the most signal of divine judgments; but the Jews saw the avenging hand of God in the great calamities and early close of his reign. "By them the memory of the Flavian princes was naturally held in the deepest abhorrence. They asserted that Vespasian commenced a cruel persecution of the presumed lineage of the royal David. The disasters of the doomed principate of Titus they regarded with grim exultation. They gloated over his shattered health, which they attributed to divine vengeance, and inserted among their legends a wild account of the nature of his sufferings. The conqueror of Jerusalem, they said, had desecrated the temple of the Most High with orgies suited to the shrine of the Paphian Venus. He had pierced the veil with his sword, before tearing it down to wrap the sacred vessels, and transport them to Rome. Assailed on his voyage homeward, and nigh to perishing by tempest, he had impiously exclaimed, 'The God of the Jews, who drowned Pharaoh, has power on the waters, but I am more than his match on land.' Jehovah suffered him to gain the shore, and there, in scorn of the scorner, sent a gnat to creep into his nostrils and lodge itself in his brain. For seven days the restless insect gnawed the vital tissue. One day, when the tortured prince passed by a blacksmith's forge, the thunders of the hammer seemed to startle and arrest it. Four pieces of silver daily did the sufferer give, to have the noise continued in his ear without ceasing. At the end of thirty miserable days the insect became accustomed to the clang and resumed his ravages. Phineas, the son of Erouba, was present with the chief nobles of Rome at the death of the emperor. The Jewish witnesses reported that the head of the deceased was opened, and the creature was there discovered as big as a swallow, with a brazen beak and claws of iron."* Such puerile legends would scarcely have been invented, if their authors could have avenged themselves by a true account of crimes committed and sufferings endured by Titus. But even with his own people his reputation was not spotless.† The

* Salvador, from the Talmud, quoted by Merivale, vol. vii. p 59.

† Suetonius informs us that the general opinion was against Titus up to the time of his accession. Niebuhr remarks,—"The feeling towards him afterwards completely changed; but this *amor et deliciæ generis humani* is nevertheless a strange pheno-

credit which he early gained as a military tribune in Britain and Gaul was clouded by stories of his precocious vice, which made his destined subjects apprehend the finding him a second Nero; and even the fame which he brought back from Judæa was darkened by a suspicion that policy could make him cruel to Romans as well as Jews, for which the death of Cæcina gave some ground. His intrigue with Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa I.,* was doubly offensive to the Romans from her being a Jewess; and her dismissal, immediately upon his accession, was the pledge of the resolution, which he seems honestly to have formed, to rule from that moment so as to please them. If we cannot echo the panegyrics of his admirers, nor refrain from doubting what might have been his course when his profusion had exhausted his father's treasures, and whether his tender sensibility would have been turned to tyranny by opposition, we may at least give him credit for having kept his resolution while he lived. At his entrance on the pontificate, he declared that the hands of the priest ought to be free from blood, and vowed that he would perish sooner than destroy; and not one political execution stained his brief annals. The law of *Majestas* slumbered, and the infamous trade of the *delatores* was suspended. Not that he was unprovoked: two patricians, convicted by the Senate of conspiracy, were pardoned, and the intrigues of Domitian called forth only new efforts to conquer him by affection. The emperor himself undertook to repair the losses caused by the eruption of Vesuvius, and the fires of Rome; and, besides giving up the proceeds of confiscated estates to which there were no heirs, he devoted the ornaments of the imperial palaces to this noble use. His mourning people testified that he had committed no crime, and had fulfilled every duty. Their regret was doubtless quickened by the prospect which opened with his successor. Titus, indeed, left a daughter, who was married to her cousin, Flavius Sabinus, and more settled monarchies have witnessed the admission of weaker titles than the united claims of the son of Vespasian's elder brother and the daughter of his elder son. Titus had proposed a mar-

menon. It seems to have been extremely easy to please the circle by whom he was surrounded, and as his real happiness consisted in his possessing their favour, he tried to win it by munificent presents out of the well-stocked treasury which his father had left him, and the administration of which Vespasian had reserved for himself."

* This was Berenice who, at the hearing of St. Paul before Festus, sat "in great pomp," by the side of Agrippa II., the brother with whom she was then living in incest. Act. xxv. 23.

riage between his brother and his daughter; and credit must be given to Domitian, a reformer of manners like Claudius,* for regard to Roman principles in his refusal; though we are told that he did not scruple to seduce his niece, as soon as she was betrothed to Sabinus. But, when he refused, the succession to the honours of Vespasian naturally passed on to him as the next heir. "The daughter of a Roman house could not take the inheritance of her father, which was in law the property of the family, and went along with the liability to maintain the family rights, and perform the proper functions of a citizen. To accept the office of Princeps or Imperator, of Censor or Pontiff, was not less impossible for Julia than to assume the chiefship of a patrician house." Titus had always spoken of Domitian as the partner of his power, and his destined successor, though Domitian endeavoured to supplant him. His evil nature had failed to disguise his impatience for his brother's death, which he was suspected of hastening;* and it seems clear that he deserted Titus on his death-bed, and hastened to Rome to secure the support of the prætorians, in case the Senate should show reluctance to acknowledge him. When Titus declared upon his death-bed, that there was only one act of his life that he repented, it was believed that he referred to the indulgence of fraternal love and forgiveness, which handed over the Roman world to the tender mercies of Domitian.

The united houses of the Julii and Claudii had ended, after a century of power, in a Domitius: the ordinary length of a generation sufficed to extinguish the plebeian dynasty of the Flavii in the still more execrated person of a DOMITIAN.† The resemblance of their names is not greater than the likeness of their tyrannies; but the morose ferocity and solitary habits of Domitian form a striking contrast to the reckless gaiety and insatiable vanity of Nero. Both were cursed with that morbid sensibility, in which we have seen that Titus also shared,—prone to pass by a strange reaction into cruelty; but in Domitian it assumed the character of a suspicious impatience of all companionship. The prince, who was so averse to the sight of blood, that he proposed to forbid the sacrifice of oxen, occupied himself in his solitary chamber with impaling flies on his *stilus;* so that the witty Crispus replied to

* One story was that he poisoned him: another, that he caused him to be immersed in a bath of snow on pretence of subduing the fever. "I presume," says Mr. Merivale, "that this was in fact the same vigorous cold-water treatment which had saved Augustus and killed Marcellus!"

† His full title was Titus Cæsar Domitianus Augustus.

the inquiry, "Is any one with Domitian?"—"Not even a fly." No one would affect to form an impartial estimate of the character of Domitian, any more than of the other tyrants, from the indiscriminate blackness of the anecdotes collected by Dion and Suetonius: and the senatorian antipathy of Tacitus for the Cæsars cannot but have been quickened by the resentment of a son towards the supposed murderer of his father-in-law. But yet the few vigorous strokes in which the biographer of Agricola draws the tyrant's portrait make the same irresistible impression of truth as a likeness by a great master:—the nature prone to an anger the more irrevocable from his power of concealing it;—the spirit possessed by that malignant temptation of our fallen nature, to hate the person we have injured;—the countenance which could alike conceal joy as well as fear, and affect sympathy with the sufferers whose hatred he knew that he had earned;—the cold-blooded cruelty which delighted to gloat with his own eyes upon the sufferings of his victims, to see and be seen by them and note their very sighs, while the settled redness of that stern face fortified him from a sign of shame at beholding the paleness of the senators whose humiliation was his delight;*—the hardened heart, which could watch, by his messengers, the last moments of the man from whose death he hoped to profit, and could accept as an honourable testimony the inheritance which of itself conveyed the reproach that "none but a bad prince would be named by a good father as his heir." The portrait of the historian, and the constant tradition of antiquity, confirm each other, and justify the judgment of Niebuhr:—"Caligula and Nero were monsters; the former, indeed, was a madman. The cruelty of Domitian lay within the bounds of human nature; it was that of a thoroughly bad man, and arose from the human propensity to envy others, and to delight in their misfortunes." The same historian points out the mistake of looking with contempt on such a man as Domitian:—"There are bad men in history, who ought not by any means to be treated in that way." Domitian was by no means wanting in ability; and

* Tacitus marks the contrast to Nero's mode of dealing with his victims, who, as we have seen, were usually ordered to despatch themselves at home:—"Nero tamen subtraxit oculos, jussitque scelera, non spectavit." The last words of the above sentence are justified by the whole tone of the passage of Tacitus, and even, we think, implied in the phrase *tot hominum pallor ibus*. Domitian was distinguished from all former tyrants for his complete rupture from all the imperial traditions of government through the Senate. Nay more, instead of aiding in laying firm foundations for the whole Flavian dynasty, he was ready to overthrow, if he had been permitted, first his father, and then his brother, to hasten his own accession.

there seems no good reason to accept the story of Suetonius, that his education was neglected during the period of Vespasian's poverty. He was a patron of literary men, Quintilian, Statius,* and Martial, for example; and, like Titus, who wrote Greek poems and tragedies, Domitian was an author; the paraphrase of Aratus, usually ascribed to Germanicus, is probably his work.

Domitian was born at Rome in the year of his father's consulship (October 25, A.D. 51). He was ten years younger than Titus, and just upon thirty years old when he was proclaimed by the prætorians, and invested with the imperial dignities by the Senate. The foretaste that he gave of his licentiousness and tyranny, during his nominal government of Rome after the proclamation of Vespasian, compelled his father and brother to keep him in the background; and he lived in retirement with a troop of courtezans at his villa near the Alban Mount, amusing his leisure with composition and with the recitation of his own poems, and taking every opportunity to conspire for his own elevation. With the self-deception common to solitary and selfish men, he seems to have looked upon the accidental position he occupied at Rome, before the return of Vespasian and Titus from the East, as if he had secured the empire: and, when at length he succeeded to the purple, he exclaimed with exultation, "That he had himself bestowed it upon his father and brother, and now he received back his own gift from them." After going through the decent form of pronouncing the funeral oration of Titus, and disparaging the darling of the people with faint praise, he entered upon a course of government which at first sight seems inconsistent with the character imputed to him.

The key to the paradox is supplied by Mr. Merivale, with his usual ability:—"The personal character of Domitian reflects with peculiar fidelity the temper of the age, and affords a key to much of its history. The degeneracy of the sons of Vespasian paints the decline of the Roman people. . . . . The deterioration was more marked in the younger of the two brothers, inasmuch as he was tried and tempted at an earlier age. . . . The contradictions which appear in the character of the prince are the same we observe in the people generally. Such were, his desire for military distinction, combined with caprice and timidity in the pursuit of it; his literary tastes and leanings, associated with jealous impatience of

* The freedom with which this poet was allowed to censure the tyranny of Caligula and Nero may be probably explained by the jealousy of the new dynasty towards the Cæsars.

the free exercise of letters; his softness and effeminacy of disposition, issuing in jealous cruelty; his love of law and discipline, distorted by wanton freaks of tyranny; his mixture of gloomy austerity with childish horse-play." And yet both people and emperor seemed unwilling to give way to this degeneracy without a struggle. We have already noticed the reaction of disgust from the extravagant profligacy which came to its height under Nero, —a reaction of which the rough Sabine soldier was a fit leader. It seems strange to say that his principles were more fully adopted by the more vicious of his two sons; and yet such was the case, at least with Domitian's professions and plan of government. His profound power of dissimulation led him to believe that he might at once indulge his own private licence, and obtain the honour of restoring that pristine simplicity of manners to which the Romans never ceased to look fondly back from the lowest depths of their corruption. Domitian was sincerely anxious to reform his people, on the condition that he need not reform himself, and he set about the work with the genuine pedantry of a tyrant.

Beginning with the most sacred centre of religious purity, he instituted an inquiry into the conduct of the Vestal Virgins, two of whom were convicted of having broken their vows. So many ages had elapsed since the full penalty had been exacted for the crime, that Domitian seems to have hesitated to shock public feeling; and he boasted of his clemency in permitting the culprits to put themselves to death and their paramours to go into exile. But in a third case, at a later period of his reign, the vestal Cornelia was buried alive, and a Roman knight, her alleged paramour, was scourged to death, both protesting their innocence.* The laws against adultery and uncleanness were revived in all their strictness; and Domitian deserves the credit of being the first to legislate against the practice of making eunuchs, which had grown up under the empire. New laws were enacted for curbing the irregularities of stage-players. With equal zeal Domitian watched over the outward solemnities of the national religion, and made it one of his first cares to commence the rebuilding of the Capitol and the other temples which had perished in the fire under Titus. The restoration of the Capitol was finished in A.D. 83.

Among the measures of Domitian for promoting public morality in the provinces, we are told of an edict forbidding the cultivation of the vine in Ionia, on the ground that the use of wine promoted turbulence and sedition. But the measure seems to have been

* Pliny has left us an affecting account of Cornelia's interment (*Epist.* iv. 11).

part of a general attempt to check the use of arable land for other crops, both in Italy and the provinces. We have not ourselves so long learned the folly of this sort of legislation to condemn it with severity. In other respects the provinces were governed with firmness, though with the same pedantic caprice. "The defects of Domitian as a governor were those of eccentricity rather than feebleness; his ideas were crude and ill-conceived, misapplications of accredited theories, political anachronisms; in short, the errors of imperfect education, struggling in its meshes, casting about here and there for advisers, but rejecting the control of favourites. It was observed of Domitian by a competent critic, that he was well served by his ministers; and the course of our history will show conclusively, that of all the Cæsars he held himself most free from their control and dictation; two facts which speak with equal force for the good sense and natural ability of a despot."*

In the character thus sketched there are not a few points of resemblance to that of Claudius; like whom, also, Domitian was ambitious of military success. It is a remarkable coincidence, that the beginning of his reign was distinguished by a campaign in Germany and by the final conquest of Britain; only the parts were transposed, the emperor himself commanding on the Rhine, and the subjection of our island being completed by his ablest general, and the one of whom he was most envious. The expedition into Germany was designed to indemnify the emperor for his disappointment at the peace with Civilis. It will be remembered that he had advanced with Mucianus only as far as Lyon, when the war was ended by Cerialis. An opportunity seemed, indeed, to be offered by an attack of the Chatti upon Moguntiacum while Cerialis was engaged in the Netherlands; but before Domitian could reach the scene of action, the enemy had retreated behind the Rhine, and Vespasian forbade further operations. It was as emperor, in the second year of his reign, that Domitian resumed the enterprize (B.C. 83). The campaign is treated with contempt by Suetonius and Dion; but there seems no reason to doubt that Domitian advanced against the enemy, who resorted to their old tactics of retreat, and consented to give tribute as a sign of nominal submission to the power which they had long since learnt to respect. Domitian returned next year and claimed a triumph, which his detractors pronounced as fictitious as that of Caius; and he seemed to transfer to the Flavian dynasty the brightest honours of the Julian, when he assumed the proud title of

* Merivale, vol. vii. p. 121.

Germanicus. Satisfied with this honour, Domitian abstained from further interference in Germany, though invited to arbitrate between the contending tribes, whose mutual wars were the safeguard of the Roman frontier. Even Tacitus permits himself to exult over the slaughter of 60,000 of the Bructeri, slain by the hands, not of the Romans, but of their own countrymen for the benefit of the Romans, "which is still more gratifying." Meanwhile the favour gained with the army by even the show of military success enabled Domitian to recal CN. JULIUS AGRICOLA, who having now completed the conquest of Britain, might seem to his jealous fears ready to repeat the part of a Galba or a Vespasian.

This general, whose successes have conferred less lustre on his name than the fortune which gave him Tacitus for his son-in-law and biographer, was born at the colony of Forum Julii (*Fréjus*) in the Gallic province, on the 13th of June, A.D. 37. His father, Julius Græcinus, a senator distinguished for eloquence and wisdom, was put to death by Caligula for refusing to become the accuser of M. Silanus; and the infant was brought up by his admirable mother, Julia Procilla, at Massilia, where he enjoyed the double benefit of Greek culture and provincial moderation. The spirit of the old Roman matrons is seen in the testimony borne by Agricola, that his mother restrained him from pursuing the study of philosophy more ardently than was permitted to a Roman and a senator. About the age of twenty-two he began his military career on the field of his future fame, under Suetonius Paulinus, whose command in Britain carries us back nearly to the point of our last notice of the island (A.D. 59).

The newly-acquired province of Southern Britain was committed by Claudius, after the death of Ostorius Scapula, to Aulus Didius (A.D. 51), who was succeeded in the third year of Nero by Veranius (A.D. 57). The former general attempted nothing new, and the enterprises of the latter against the Silures were interrupted by his death, leaving the army in a high state of discipline to his successor, Suetonius Paulinus, the conqueror of Mauretania and afterwards the general of Otho at Bedriacum. Prepared to emulate the exploits of Corbulo in the East, Suetonius joined the quarters of the Fourteenth Legion at Segontium (*Caernarvon*), with the design of hunting down the Druids in their last retreat. The infantry was transported across the Menai Strait on rafts, the Batavian cavalry swimming by the side of their horses, and holding by the bridle. The fierce array of the Britons on the shore of Mona, intermingled with furious women and Druids imprecating curses,

struck the Romans with a panic, but only for a moment, and their victory was followed up the more fiercely for the check. The Druids were consumed in their own fires; their sacred groves cut down; and the order disappears even from among the cherished relics of Cymric nationality (A.D. 61).

Meanwhile a formidable insurrection had broken out in the province itself, on the state of which an interesting light is thrown by the causes alleged for the revolt. The Iceni, having submitted after their defeat by Ostorius Scapula, were subjected to the usual invasion of another army of tribute-collectors and speculators; and such was the rapid advance of Roman manners that the people, whom we think of as painted savages, were tempted to borrow at exorbitant usury, not only to satisfy the officials, but to indulge in luxuries. Overwhelmed with interest heaped on interest, like the early plebeians, they mortgaged their lands and bodies to their creditors; and the finishing stroke was given to their distress by no less a person than Seneca, who suddenly called in an immense advance that he had made in Britain. An outrage, at which every Briton (Celt or Saxon) is still indignant, fired the train of discontent. Prasutagus, the king who had been allowed to retain a nominal sovereignty, died, leaving a widow, BOADICEA, and no children but daughters. A Roman officer claimed the late king's patrimony, enforced the demand by scourging the queen, and subjected her daughters to the last insults. Boadicea displayed her own wounds and her abused daughters before the tribe, who rushed to arms to avenge their wrongs. The legions, as we have seen, were absent, the colony undefended. Along the whole estuary of the Thames, the Roman settlements were laid in ruin. The colonists—their terror increased by prodigies—fled for refuge to the temple of Claudius at Camulodunum, which was stormed on the second day by the united force of the Iceni and Trinobantes, and all the captives massacred with horrid and insulting tortures. The nearest Roman force was the Ninth Legion, under Petilius Cerialis (afterwards the conqueror of Civilis), stationed probably near the Wash. Marching up to the scene of action, the wearied infantry were cut to pieces, the cavalry alone escaping to their camp, which the Britons had not the skill or patience to attack. Meanwhile Suetonius returned by forced marches, with the Fourteenth Legion and the best soldiers drawn from the Twentieth at Deva (*Chester*), to Londinium, which Tacitus describes as "famed for the vast concourse of traders, and her abundant commerce and plenty." Intent on securing his communications with the continent, Sueto-

nius could not risk a battle, even to defend the commercial capital, which, as well as Verulamium, was sacked and burnt. The spot which the Roman general chose for his final stand was probably near Camulodunum, where "in a valley between undulating hills, with wood in the rear, and the ramparts of the British town not far perhaps on his right flank, he had every advantage for marshalling his slender forces; and these were increased in number more than in strength by the fugitives capable of bearing arms, whom he had allowed to cling to his fortunes: 10,000 resolute men drew their swords for the Roman empire in Britain. The natives, many times their number, spread far and wide over the open plain before them; but the narrow front of the Romans could be assailed by only few battalions at once, and the waggons which conveyed their accumulated booty, and bore their wives and children, thronged the rear, and cut off almost the possibility of retreat."* Boadicea, with her daughters, rode in her war-car along the British host, appealing to revenge and patriotism, while Suetonius animated his men with a soldier's plainness to oppose the force of discipline to the hosts of savages and women. When the Britons had spent the fury of their first charge upon the unshaken legions, the Roman wedge pierced their columns as an armed prow cleaves the waves. No quarter was given to man or woman. The slaughter of 80,000 Britons avenged the 70,000 Romans who had perished in the massacre; and "the British warrior-queen" saved herself by poison from falling into the victor's hands. The legions, reinforced from Germany, spent the remainder of the campaign in exacting vengeance, and a famine crushed the remaining strength of the Iceni. The representations of the procurator Classicianus to Nero led to the recal of Suetonius in the following year (A.D. 62). Under the milder government of Petronius Turpilianus, the province began anew the course of civilization which had made such rapid progress in twenty years; and the foundations were laid of that prosperity, which, amidst all later changes, has been handed down in unbroken succession to our own times. Patriotic sympathy with the injured Boadicea and her brave warriors need not blind us to the inestimable bless-

* Merivale, vol. vi. p. 55, following the view expounded by Mr. Jenkins in the *Archæologia* for 1842. The more common opinion places the battle in the valley of the Fleet (an open stream within our own memory) to the north-east of London, where the name of *Battle-Bridge*, which commemorated the tradition, was most absurdly changed into *King's-Cross*, in honour of a plaster caricature of George IV., long since removed.

ings which Britain reaped from her admission to the fellowship of the Roman world.

The peace which it now became the policy of Nero to preserve in Britain was only disturbed, at the time of the civil war, by a mutiny of the Twentieth Legion, which drove Trebellius Maximus, the successor of Petronius, out of the island (A.D. 69). Agricola now again appeared in Britain, sent by Vespasian to command the disaffected legion; and he served with distinction under Vettius Bolanus, and his successor Petilius Cerealis (A.D. 70). This general, and his successor Julius Frontinus (A.D. 75), resumed offensive operations, and, among other successes, the Silures in South Wales were finally subdued. In A.D. 78, Agricola, whose services had been rewarded with the consulship (A.D. 77) and the government of Aquitania, was sent by Vespasian to complete the conquest of Britain, a task which he fulfilled in seven campaigns, under the three Flavian emperors (A.D. 78-84). In the first year, he finished the work from which Suetonius had been recalled by the Icenian revolt, subduing the Ordovices in North Wales, and crushing the last remains of resistance in Mona. In the next year, he completed the conquest of the Brigantes, and carried the Roman arms to the line between the Tyne and Solway Firth, along which he erected a series of forts for defence against the Caledonians and Meatæ (A.D. 79). The southern division of the island being thus entirely subdued, Agricola devoted the intervals of the campaigns to the statesman's work of training the people to the arts of peace, and imbuing the youth with Roman learning and Roman tastes. Convinced that a taste of the pleasures of civilized life was the surest means of reducing the wild and scattered warriors to repose, he taught them to build temples, houses, and markets. Rewards and reproofs stimulated a competition in the acquisition of Roman learning and eloquence, in which the natural capacity of the Britons soon placed them above the Gauls. The Roman toga was next assumed; nor was it long before they entered on the career of Roman vice and Roman luxury—its porticoes, baths, and banquets,—"innovations," says Tacitus, "which the inexperienced called politeness and humanity, when in fact they were part of their bondage."

In his third campaign, Agricola advanced to the narrower isthmus between the Firths of Clyde and Forth,* and drew another line of forts against the Caledonian highlanders (A.D. 80). So marked

* The common text of *Agric.* 22, which is only a conjecture, makes him reach the Firth of Tay.

was the division, that Tacitus speaks of the retreating natives as being thrust into another island. The fourth year (A.D. 81) was given to well-earned repose, and the fifth (A.D. 82) to the complete subjugation of the country within the line. From the Mull of Galloway, Agricola beheld the coast of Hibernia (*Ireland*); but, though he was told that a single legion would suffice for its conquest, his ambition could not be satisfied without penetrating the wild mountains whose tops were seen above the horizon from his line of forts. The Caledonians, on their part, were gathering for an assault upon his lines; and even prudence would warn him to anticipate the attack. He moved along the east coast, drawing supplies from his attendant fleet, while the active enemy harassed his flank and rear, and, but for Agricola himself, would have cut off the Ninth Legion in their camp. This sixth campaign resulted probably in the overrunning of the eastern lowlands between the Forth and the Grampians; and it was in the seventh and last (A.D. 84) that those mountains witnessed the great battle in which the Caledonians were overthrown, and in the account of which Tacitus has summoned all his eloquence to embody the different views of Roman conquest held by a general of the empire, and by the chieftain of a free people, making their last stand in the last corner of the earth that still remained unconquered. By the genius of the historian, the unknown Galgacus is placed at the head of the champions of Scottish freedom. The victory was complete enough to be boasted as a conquest, but the scattered mountain tribes of Caledonia remained really unsubdued. It is still doubted whether Tacitus means to affirm that the fleet of Agricola circumnavigated Britain; but thus much is clear, that the Romans sailed into the Pentland Firth, fixed the northern limit of the island, and looked down upon the Orkneys, in which they recognized the "Ultima Thule" of their poets. But before the fleet returned from effecting this discovery, Domitian had despatched to Agricola his letter of recal; and the victorious general returned to Rome in the following year, to receive the triumphal ornaments, and to disarm, were it possible, the jealousy of his capricious master. The dignified moderation of his conduct kept him safe for nine years, and he died at last, not without a suspicion of foul play from Domitian, in time to be spared seeing the worst excesses of the monster's tyranny. If we should be tempted to doubt whether the panegyric of Tacitus has drawn his hero in too bright colours, we should remember the historian's grateful confession,

how much of his practical wisdom he owed to the teaching and example of Agricola.

The year of Agricola's recal and of the emperor's return from Germany forms the epoch of Domitian's undisguised tyranny (A.D. 84). The Senate appointed him Censor for life, and designated him to ten successive consulships. The people were gratified by new games, the Capitoline, in honour of the restoration of their sanctuary; but the contemporary satirist* declares that the festival was founded in the blood of the noblest Romans. The pressure of want, due to the profusion of Titus, the rebuilding of a large part of Rome, the continued largesses to the mendicant populace, and the German and British wars, joined with the jealousy of Domitian to demand wealthy and noble victims. The reign of proscriptions and informers recommenced, and the freedmen and flatterers of the emperor marked down the victims at their pleasure. The censorship of Domitian was exercised with a strange mixture of reforming zeal and personal animosity. In A.D. 88 he celebrated the Secular Games with great splendour. The edict issued in the following year against the philosophers, astrologers, and magicians, betrayed his superstitious fears as much as his jealousy of intellectual power. The claim to deification during his life was put forward more openly than by any other emperor, except Caius; and disrespect to the emperor was treated as blasphemy. While the foul orgies of Isis and Cybele, so long resisted, were at last naturalized at Rome, new measures of hostility were taken against the Jews and Christians; for the latter were still regarded at Rome as a Jewish sect, and their "second great persecution" by Domitian, *as Christians*, is not clearly made out. Among the Roman nobles accused and punished on the charge of favouring Jewish superstition the most conspicuous were the consular Acilius Glabrio, and T. Flavius Clemens, the first cousin of Domitian, being the son of Vespasian's brother Sabinus. Glabrio, who had also offended the censor of Roman manners by fighting with beasts in the amphitheatre, was again exposed in the arena, and, coming off victorious, was sent into banishment. Clemens was put to death in the very year of his consulship, and his wife Domitilla, the emperor's niece, was banished, the sentence striking the more terror since their two sons, of whom we hear no more, had been brought up by Domitian under the tuition of Quintilian, as if they were the destined

* Juvenal, whose unsparing strokes at Domitian afford us incidentally much valuable information.

heirs of the empire. This event occurred in the last year of Domitian, when his jealousy had become a perfect passion, and the informers had established at Rome a perfect reign of terror. Before reaching the welcome close of all these horrors, we have to notice the wars which kept the Danubian frontier in disturbance, till it was pacified by Trajan.

While the frontier of the Rhine was secured, as we have seen, by the respect of the Germans for the power of Rome, and by their own intestine wars, and while on the Upper Danube the Marcomanni, still forming a powerful kingdom under Vannius, preserved friendly relations to the empire;—the Mœsians, who were settled on the right bank of the Lower Danube, were constantly threatening the Thracian frontier, under the impulsion of new tribes of barbarians pressing on their rear. "Rome had surrounded the borders of her empire with a zone of half-reclaimed barbarians, but the cries of these dependents for assistance revealed the existence beyond them of another zone, far broader, of wholly unbroken communities, whose names had not yet been bruited in Italy." At the time of the civil war for the succession to Nero, Tacitus tells us of the irruption into Mœsia of the Sarmatians named *Roxolani*, in whom some ethnographers find the name of those same RUSSIANS, whose attack on the same frontier has kindled a great war in our own time. Mucianus, on his march to Italy, was compelled to detach a force to meet the danger, and for the moment the invaders were repulsed with great slaughter. But he had scarcely established Vespasian in the empire, before he was called to meet a new irruption of a more formidable enemy, whom we have already seen breaking into Pannonia under Tiberius. These were the DACIANS, whom the Greeks called Getæ, a great nation, whose numerous tribes, dwelling in the vast region on the north of the Danube, from the Theiss to the Euxine, seem to have had a common sanctuary and place of assembly in the mountains of Transylvania. The invaders were driven back beyond the river by the army which Mucianus promptly placed under the command of Fonteius Agrippa. But, in the first year of Domitian, they once more appeared united under the military command of a chief who bore the title of DECEBALUS, that is, the *Strength of the Dacians*,* and who ranks among the

* In Sanskrit, the great type of the Indo-European languages, *Dhâvaka-bala*, that is, *Dacorum Robur*. This is the explanation of the Sanskrit scholar Leo, following the view already noticed, that the Dacians were an Aryan race, akin to the Thracians. Dr. Latham, who regards the Dacians as a branch of the Scythians, identifies the

barbarian enemies of Rome with Arminius, Caractacus, and Civilis. Pouring his hosts, some of whom he had trained in Roman tactics, across the Danube, he routed the legion to which the defence of Mœsia was entrusted under Oppius Sabinus, capturing its eagle; and ravaged the province as far as Mount Hæmus (A.D. 86). Domitian made great preparations in Italy, Illyricum, and Macedonia; while the barbarian ironically demanded, as the price of peace, a poll-tax to be assessed on every Roman citizen. Domitian affected to take the field in person; but Pliny represents him as enjoying himself on the rivers of Pannonia in his barge, which was towed up and down to avoid the noise of oars. He soon returned to Rome, while his prætorian prefect, Cornelius Fuscus, was enticed by Decebalus across the Danube, and lost his life and an eagle in the defeat of another legion (A.D. 87). The disaster was retrieved in the following year by Julianus, who again crossed the river and defeated the Dacians at Tapæ. The indecisive character of the victory is veiled under a fantastic story of the stratagem invented by Decebalus to check the pursuit.* Julianus, however, followed up his success with a vigour which, we are told, led to repeated overtures from Decebalus, before the emperor would grant him terms of peace. But the terms conceded,—leaving Decebalus in possession of unbroken power, and not even requiring his presence to receive the crown of a vassal, which the emperor placed upon his envoy's head,—carry the conviction that the first fair pretext was seized for bringing the war to an end, when the former disasters had been retrieved, and Domitian had himself earned laurels on the Middle Danube. Assuming the character of a sovereign over the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Sarmatians (in Bohemia, Moravia, and north-western Hungary), he claimed their succours for the Dacian War, and, on their refusal, marched in person to chastise them. His success was satisfactory enough—to himself at least—for him to claim a triumph over Germany as well as Dacia, though he was satisfied with an ovation over the Sarmatians. Such was the official account of these transactions; but a very different version of the whole Danubian war is suggested by the brief words in which Tacitus

name of Decebalus with that of *Dizabulus*, the first king named in Turkish traditions; and Bergmann (*Les Gètes*, p. 40) derives the name from the Scythian words *Dakhivalhus*, that is, the *Falcon of the Day*. See Merivale, vol. vii. p. 103.

* He is said to have cut down a forest to the height of men, and to have placed armour on the stumps. Is it possible to believe that a Roman army could be deceived by such a trick?

enumerates the military disgraces which, by calling aloud for such a general as Agricola, would alarm Domitian's jealousy:—"So many armies lost in Mœsia and Dacia, in Germany and Pannonia, by the rashness or cowardice of their commanders; so many generals defeated and captured with so many cohorts; till the question was no longer one of fixing the boundary of the empire at the river's bank, but about the safety of the winter quarters and holding our own ground. Thus losses were prolonged by losses, and every year was marked by deaths or wholesale massacres."* Eutropius expressly states that a legion was cut off with its commander in Sarmatia. It appears in truth as if there had been a pressure on the whole line of the Lower and Middle Danube, which would have antedated the ruin of the empire, had not another general, as great as Agricola, soon risen to repulse the barbarians. For it was a noteworthy coincidence that MARCUS ULPIUS TRAJANUS was the new consul, when Domitian returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph, in January A.D. 91. The people were gratified with a new profusion of games; and, if we may believe the poets of the day, senators, knights, and people all feasted together at Cæsar's table and beneath his roof. The soldiers were bribed with a donative, on the pretext of which large sums were extorted from the provinces, under the name of "coronary gold." Monuments were erected: a triumphal arch, which, while it stood, rivalled that of Titus; and an equestrian colossal statue in gilt bronze, which, placed on a lofty pedestal in the centre of the Forum, towered above the surrounding houses, representing the emperor, with his sword sheathed, his right hand stretched out in the attitude of command, and his left supporting a figure of Minerva, while his charger trampled on the forehead of the captive Rhine. The list of honours might be prolonged; but we prefer to adopt the comment which was scrawled upon the innumerable smaller arches erected by the emperor in his own honour: Αρκεῖ, *It is enough.* The cost of all these splendours was visited upon the nobility and eminent citizens in confiscations and proscriptions. Asia and Africa likewise furnished pretexts for such triumphs as words could celebrate. The surrender of a counterfeit Nero by Tiridates, not without a threat of war, which is another proof of vigour at Rome, was magnified into the submission of Parthia by the court poets, who glorified at the same time the measures taken to chastise a revolt of the Nasamones of the Numidian desert. "Once more Silius emulated the lofty flights of

* Tac. *Agric.* 41.

Virgil, and declared that to his patron, as to Augustus, the tribes of the Ganges tendered their slackened bows, the Bactrians offered their emptied quivers. Again the exploits of a Roman emperor were likened to the triumphant progress of Hercules and Bacchus. The sources of the Nile, the summits of Atlas, were at last surmounted; the sun and stars were left behind in the panting race." In briefer language, the emperor himself repeated the precedent given by a former Cæsar for a modern formula of imperialism:— "*I have forbidden the Nasamones to exist!*"

The complacency of the victor was rudely shaken by the revolt of L. Antonius Saturninus, the commander of the legions in Upper Germany, who appears to have risen as the champion of the oppressed senators. He procured the salutation of Imperator from his two legions, and invited the aid of the Germans beyond the Rhine. But, at the moment when the river was rendered impassable by the breaking up of the ice, Norbanus, the legate of Domitian in Gaul, fell upon Antonius, who was routed and slain, before Domitian, who had promptly taken the field, could reach the Rhine. There was still left for himself the congenial work of vengeance. Whether from generosity or policy, Norbanus had destroyed the papers of Antonius; an act which serves to indicate a widely ramified conspiracy. But the tyrant was not to be thus baulked; nor was it for nothing that he had brought with him a train of senators, whom he was afraid to leave behind at Rome. A new series of proscriptions, but differing from those of Sulla and the triumvirs in the prohibition of any lists of victims, began with the exposure of the head of Antonius on the Rostra. Precautions were at the same time taken against military revolts by removing the military chest from the camp, apparently to some central station, and forbidding two legions to be united in their winter quarters. Domitian had formerly bidden for the support of the soldiers by raising their pay fourfold, to 480 *denarii* a month; his jealousy now compensated for the extravagance by a dangerous reduction in the army. "These jealous measures," says Mr. Merivale, "show how deep a gloom of distrust was thickening before Domitian's vision. Hitherto he had been content, perhaps, to indicate to the delators a few among the high nobility, who, if condemned with a decent show of judicial process, would be acceptable victims offered to the necessities of the *fiscus*. Now, however, a feeling more potent than cupidity seized and mastered him. In dire alarm for his power and life, he saw an enemy in every man of distinction in the city or the camps; and the short career which

yet remained to him became one continued paroxysm of terrified ferocity."

Among his chief victims were Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio, who had dared to write the lives of Pætus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus, the victim of Vespasian, as his son, the younger Helvidius Priscus, was of Domitian. The books of Rusticus and Senecio were burnt by the executioners in the comitium and forum: "as if they supposed," exclaims the indignant pleader for Rome's ancient liberty, "that those fires could consume the voice of the Roman people and the liberty of the Senate and the sympathies of the human race, especially as they had lately exiled the professors of philosophy, and every good art itself, that nothing honourable might anywhere meet the eye. We gave, in truth, a great example of endurance; and, as the old times saw how far liberty could reach, so did we the lowest depth of slavery, when spies debarred us from the intercourse of speech and hearing. Nay, we should have lost our very memory, with our voice, had it been as much within our power to forget as to be silent!"

The relief which Tacitus declares that the age felt, when it breathed again under Nerva and Trajan, after enduring such a yoke for fifteen years, "a great space of human life," is shared by the historian as he approaches the end of the annals of the Cæsars; and we may be excused from recounting all the frivolous pretexts for all the murders, down to that of Flavius Sabinus, the son of Vespasian's elder brother, whom a herald had accidentally addressed as *Imperator* instead of consul. Nor need we dwell upon the terrors and omens which, during the last eight months, wrapt the tyrant's soul in the gloom of superstition, remorse, and constant fear, while his person was secluded in his Alban villa. The secrets of that abode were kept so well, that conjecture had full scope as to the closing scene. All we know is, that the tyrant fell a victim to a conspiracy of the palace, in which his wife Domitilla is said to have taken part on learning that he had doomed her to death; that the blow was struck by Stephanus, a freedman of the murdered Clemens; and that Domitian, after a frightful struggle with his powerful assailant, was despatched by the other conspirators rushing in. Thus was the earth rid of this monster, at the age of forty-four, when he had reigned just five days more than fifteen years. (September 18th, A.D. 96.)

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CLIMAX OF THE EMPIRE.—NERVA, TRAJAN, AND THE ANTONINES. A.D. 96 TO A.D. 192.

"And wise Aurelius, in whose well-taught mind
With boundless power unbounded virtue joined,
His own strict judge, and patron of mankind."—Pope.

THE NEW EMPIRE HAS A CONSTITUTIONAL CHARACTER—HAPPINESS OF THE NEW ERA—UNION OF MONARCHY AND LIBERTY—ACCESSION OF *NERVA*—HIS CHARACTER AND ORIGIN—CLEMENCY AND GOVERNMENT OF NERVA—DISCONTENT OF THE PRÆTORIANS—NERVA ADOPTS TRAJAN—HIS DEATH—ACCESSION OF *TRAJAN*—HIS EXTRACTION AND CHARACTER—HIS SETTLEMENT OF THE GERMAN FRONTIER—HIS ENTRY INTO ROME—HIS MAGNANIMITY AND FIRMNESS—TITLE OF "OPTIMUS"—FIRST DACIAN WAR, AND SUBMISSION OF DECEBALUS—SECOND DACIAN WAR—TRAJAN'S BRIDGE OVER THE DANUBE—DEATH OF DECEBALUS AND CONQUEST OF DACIA—THE FORUM AND COLUMN OF TRAJAN—DACIA A ROMAN PROVINCE—CONQUESTS IN ARABIA—GOVERNMENT OF TRAJAN—DIGNITY AND FREEDOM OF THE SENATE—CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE—TRAJAN'S ECONOMY AND MAGNIFICENCE—NATURAL DISASTERS AT ROME—PARTHIAN AGGRESSIONS IN ARMENIA—TRAJAN GOES TO THE EAST—EARTHQUAKE AT ANTIOCH—CONQUEST OF ARMENIA AND ASSYRIA—CAPTURE OF CTESIPHON—TRAJAN ON THE PERSIAN GULF—HIS RETREAT TO ANTIOCH, AND DEATH IN CILICIA—EPOCH FROM WHICH THE EMPIRE BEGAN TO RECEDE—ACCESSION AND ORIGIN OF *HADRIAN*—HIS EDUCATION AND EARLY CAREER—HIS ALLEGED ADOPTION BY TRAJAN—HIS SYSTEM OF POLICY—THE CONQUESTS OF TRAJAN ABANDONED—HADRIAN'S RETURN TO ROME—DANGERS ON THE FRONTIERS—HADRIAN IN MŒSIA—HIS FIRST PROGRESS: GAUL: THE RHINE: BRITAIN: THE "VALLUM ROMANUM": MAURETANIA: ASIA: ATHENS: SICILY: ROME: CARTHAGE—HADRIAN'S SECOND PROGRESS—HIS RESIDENCE AT ATHENS, AND BUILDINGS THERE—HADRIAN AT ALEXANDRIA AND ANTIOCH—HIS WORKS AT ROME—THE "EDICTUM PERPETUUM"—ADOPTION AND DEATH OF CEIONIUS COMMODUS VERUS—AURELIUS ANTONINUS IS ADOPTED BY HADRIAN, AND HIMSELF ADOPTS M. ANNIUS VERUS AND L. AURELIUS VERUS—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF HADRIAN—GREAT MERITS OF HIS GOVERNMENT—ACCESSION OF *ANTONINUS PIUS*—HIS ORIGIN AND FAMILY—ASSOCIATION OF M. AURELIUS IN THE EMPIRE—CHARACTER OF THE TWO ANTONINES—THE BASIS OF THEIR POWER WAS NOT DESPOTIC—STATE OF THE FRONTIERS—THE "VALLUM ANTONINI" IN BRITAIN—EXCESSES OF FAUSTINA—HAPPY LIFE AND DEATH OF ANTONINUS—ACCESSION OF *MARCUS AURELIUS* THE PHILOSOPHER—HIS "MEDITATIONS"—HIS ASSOCIATION OF LUCIUS VERUS IN THE EMPIRE—THE PARTHIAN WAR—VICTORIES OF AVIDIUS CASSIUS—GOVERNMENT OF AURELIUS—THE BARBARIANS ON THE DANUBE—PESTILENCE BROUGHT FROM THE EAST—THE EMPERORS AT AQUILEIA—DEATH OF VERUS—WAR UPON THE DANUBE—VICTORY OVER THE QUADI—THE THUNDERING LEGION—VICES OF COMMODUS AND FAUSTINA—REBELLION AND DEATH OF AVIDIUS CASSIUS—AURELIUS AT ANTIOCH, ALEXANDRIA, AND ATHENS—HIS TRIUMPH SHARED WITH COMMODUS—PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS—NEW WAR UPON THE DANUBE—DEATH OF AURELIUS—ACCESSION OF *COMMODUS*—HE PURCHASES PEACE FROM THE BARBARIANS—PLOT OF LUCILLA AGAINST HIS LIFE—RAGE OF COMMODUS AGAINST THE SENATE—STATE OF THE PROVINCES AND FRONTIERS—REVOLT OF MATERNUS—THE MINISTERS PERENNIS AND CLEANDER—PROFLIGACY OF COMMODUS—HIS PERFORMANCES IN THE AMPHITHEATRE—HIS ASSUMPTION OF DIVINITY—HIS MONSTROUS ARROGANCE—DEATH OF COMMODUS—EPOCH OF THE DECISIVE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE—ROMAN AND GREEK LITERATURE IN THE SECOND CENTURY.

The assassination of Domitian had very different results from the suicide of Nero. The one was followed by a change of dynasty:

the other ushered in a revolution. The magnitude of the change is concealed by our habit of regarding the empire as one continuous form of government; but the despotism which the Cæsars had veiled under constitutional forms was really overthrown and replaced by a monarchy based, however imperfectly, on the principles of the ancient commonwealth. The ultimate moral basis of the claims of the Cæsars to be the masters of Rome and of the world was that power, fate, or fortune—call it what you will—which genius had created, which success had ratified, and which their growing arrogance, scarcely keeping pace with the adulation of their subjects, had developed into divine pretensions. We have seen how it came to pass that this divine right was transferred to the Flavian dynasty, though unconnected with the Cæsarean family, either by birth or by adoption. It perished with the death of Domitian, whose successor was chosen on the lower but sounder principle of political convenience. The Senate, in making the election, and Nerva, in accepting it, formed that compact between prince and people, which has a far higher antiquity than its supposed invention by constitutional theorists. This is a fact never to be forgotten by those who claim, as a merit of the imperial system, the happiness which ancient and modern historians vie with one another in describing as the portion of the world under the new government. Thus Gibbon declares, in a memorable passage, that "if a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of the civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty, and were pleased with considering themselves as the accountable ministers of the law. Such princes deserved the honour of restoring the Republic, had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom." The felicity of the period is doubtless exaggerated by the historian's philosophic sympathy with the Antonines, and his candour adds the admission of its insecurity, which must have embittered, in the minds of these monarchs themselves, "the reward that inseparably waited on their success; the honest pride

of virtue; the exquisite delight of beholding the general happiness of which they were the authors. They must often have recollected the instability of a happiness which depended on the character of a single man. The fatal moment was perhaps approaching, when some licentious youth, or some jealous tyrant, would abuse, to the destruction, that absolute power which they had exerted for the benefit of their people. The ideal restraints of the Senate and the laws might serve to display the virtues, but could never correct the vices, of the emperor. The military force was a blind and irresistible instrument of oppression; and the corruption of Roman manners would always supply flatterers eager to applaud, and ministers prepared to serve, the fear or the avarice, the lust or the cruelty, of their masters."

That such an end—which was realized in the sixth of these new emperors, the son of the virtuous Aurelius—should have threatened from the very first, was due to the impossibility of reviving among a degenerate people the living spirit of that constitution which Nerva and Trajan laboured to restore. Tacitus confesses that his joy at the new springing of a happy age is tempered by the reflection that, by nature the remedies of human weaknesses are slower than the ills themselves; and, just as bodies grow slowly and swiftly perish, so what is good in the minds and pursuits of men is more easily crushed than recalled to life. But yet, the vast amount of happiness and prosperity, which the Roman world enjoyed for nearly a hundred years, is to be traced to that new state of things, which the historian sums up with his characteristic terseness, that, "*Nerva Cæsar mingled things which had hitherto been incompatible—the principate and liberty.*"

Nerva was, in fact, the free choice of the Senate, acting as the organ of the people; neither designated, on the one hand, by any pretensions of birth, great services, or high genius; nor, on the other, raised up by the power of the Prætorians. The Senate were so much better prepared for the crisis than they had been at the death of Nero, as to prove that their chiefs could hardly have been strangers to the plot for Domitian's death. The Prætorians—far less powerful in comparison with the legions than before their disbanding by Vitellius, and less closely connected with the people of Rome and Italy, and never enthusiastic for the Flavian princes, who had kept them under firm discipline—observed a sullen attitude of expectation, hoping perhaps soon to work their will with the Senate's nominee. And if there was no Otho to throw himself into their arms, so there was no Galba, or Vitellius, or Vespasian, driven to rebellion

by fear or the voice of their own soldiers. The legions of the Danube, whose muttered threats form some testimony to the character which Domitian had earned when he led them, are said to have been appeased by the eloquence of the sophist, Dio Chrysostom. Only on the Rhine was there a commander eminent enough to have been saluted Imperator ;* but Trajan—probably by a previous understanding—declared for the choice of the Senate, and had not long to wait for his reward. The election seems to have been governed by motives not unlike those which guide a conclave of cardinals. The senators found a member of their own body, not so eminent for ability, or even for character, as to provoke their jealousy, but whose accomplishments and moderation made him a dignified and faithful representative of the order, and old enough to secure his elevation being an experiment.

MARCUS COCCEIUS NERVA is said by Eutropius to have been of the middle nobility. His family had come over, about the beginning of the century, from Crete, where they had been planted in a remote age by an Italian ancestor. Hence one historian regards him as the first example of that foreign extraction of the emperors, which became so common with his successors; and panegyrists compared him with the first Tarquin. He was "the son of an official, the grandson of a jurist, the great-grandson of the minister of Augustus." M. Cocceius Nerva, the "optimus Cocceius" of Horace,† acted, as the friend of Antony, with Mæcenas as Octavian's, in the reconciliation of the triumvirs (B.C. 40), and was consul in B.C. 36. The great jurist, M. Cocceius Nerva, whom we have seen ending his faithful service to Tiberius by starving himself to death (A.D. 33),‡ was probably the son of the former, and he was certainly the father of the jurist who is mentioned by the name of "Nerva filius ;" and this last was probably the father of the emperor. Nerva is said to have been born at Narnia, in Umbria; and, brought up in the traditions of his family, he became an accomplished writer and public speaker. He was consul with Vespasian in A.D. 71, and again with Domitian in A.D. 90, but he had held no proconsular command. His want of military reputa-

* The prefects of the legions on the Rhine, on the Danube, and in Syria, formed, as Mr. Merivale observes, "a military triumvirate, in whose hands the fate of Rome now actually resided." But "the chief of the army of Syria lay at too great a distance to compete, at least at the moment, with either" of the other two : "the commander on the Rhine had generally the most decisive influence ; and it was fortunate for the feeble emperor that he possessed at this juncture in his lieutenant, Trajan, the most devoted as well as the bravest of partisans."

† *Sat.* I., v., 28, 32.

‡ See p. 380.

tion, and the easy self-indulgence of his habits, preserved him from the jealousy and dislike to which Galba had fallen a victim. His bodily infirmities were in advance of his age, which is variously stated at 63, 65, or even 70. "The senators hoped to guide him, the soldiers could hardly fear him; but his personal appearance was agreeable and imposing, and in the charm which soonest wins and retains longest the admiration of the populace, he might hope to rival Augustus and Tiberius, Nero and Titus." *

While the Senate conferred upon Nerva the tribunitian power and other honours of the imperial dignity, the body of Domitian, which his nurse Phyllis had lifted from the floor of the chamber where he fell, was privately interred in the temple of the Flavian family. No one ventured even to suggest his apotheosis; his statues were overthrown, and his name effaced from the public monuments. The surviving victims of his proscription were recalled from exile; and the punishment of the delators was commenced. But Nerva, with a clemency not unmingled with timidity, preferred security to vengeance; and, besides abolishing the trials for *majestas*, he delivered the leading men from the constant danger of being betrayed by their own followers, by enacting that the evidence of a slave should not be received against his master, nor even that of a freedman against his patron. He took a vow, in the presence of the assembled Fathers, that no Senator should be put to death during his principate; and, in the review of his brief career, Nerva was able to declare that he had done no deed to prevent him from abdicating in safety. The extent of his clemency towards the agents of the late tyranny provoked dissatisfaction from those who were impatient to avenge their wrongs. One evening, Junius Mauricus, who had just returned from banishment, found himself supping at the emperor's table in the company of Veiento, one of the worst of the delators. The conversation turned upon the recent death of Catullus, another of Domitian's creatures; and Nerva asked, "Were Catullus now alive, what would his fate be?" "He would be supping with us," replied Mauricus.

Among the measures by which Nerva endeavoured to revive the spirit of the old republic, was a division of land among the poor citizens and a public provision for their children. The sale of the furniture of the palaces, and other articles of imperial luxury, gave an example of republican simplicity, while supplying the cost of these public benefactions, and of his presents to his friends. The

* Merivale, vol. vii. p. 194.

games of the amphitheatre were restricted within more moderate limits of expense and bloodshed; while the popular taste was gratified by the restoration of the mimes which Domitian had proscribed. It remained to be seen how long this moderate policy could be maintained by a timid and infirm old man against the jealousy of his fellow-senators and the disaffection of the prætorians. That the former danger was not very formidable was proved by the easy suppression of the conspiracy of Calpurnius Crassus, a descendant of the triumvir, whose life Nerva spared, only banishing him to Tarentum.

The temper of the prætorians raised a more formidable difficulty. They demanded the punishment of Domitian's assassins, who had been hitherto left unnoticed; and, by no authority but their own, they seized and executed some of the chief actors in the tyrannicide. Nerva had too just a sense of the imperial dignity to submit tamely to such an outrage. The offer of his own life to the soldiery had failed to appease the mutiny; and he resolved to call in a stronger arm to vindicate the majesty of the law. In writing to Trajan, he is said to have adopted the prayer which Homer puts into the mouth of Apollo's outraged priest:—

"Oh! may the Greeks repay my tears by thy avenging darts!"

Before there was time for an answer to arrive, Nerva convened the citizens at the Capitol, and proclaimed Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajanus his adopted son and associate in the empire (October, A.D 97). This assumption by the emperor of the right to use, in relation to the state, the adoptive power of the head of a Roman family, was acquiesced in by the Senate, and gave a precedent for the establishment of an hereditary succession. The mere knowledge that the emperor had for his colleague a resolute soldier, in command of a formidable army, though so far distant as the Rhine, sufficed to overawe the prætorians. But the power thus secured was only enjoyed by Nerva for three months. He died on the 23rd of January, A.D. 98, after a reign of just sixteen months. A most interesting memorial of his personal appearance is preserved in the sitting marble statue of the Vatican, one of the noblest remains of Roman sculpture.

The brief reign of Nerva is but a preface to the brilliant period of the newly organized empire. His chief work was to create a title for his successor, more fit to command the respect of history than if he had owed the purple to his legions. It was reserved for Trajan to build upon this foundation that edifice of prosperity and glory, of which Tacitus declares that "Nerva Trajanus daily aug-

ments the felicity of the empire, while the security of the state, hitherto but a hope and prayer, has acquired the confidence and strength of a prayer fulfilled." That prayer is breathed with the greatest fervour in one of those interesting letters from the younger Pliny to Trajan, which prove the esteem in which the new emperor was already held by the most distinguished Romans; though in the "Panegyric" which Pliny, as consul, delivered in the Senate in the third year of Trajan, we could willingly exchange much of fulsome adulation for information upon the services that the prince had hitherto performed.

The name of Trajan marks his descent from one, and probably his adoption into the other, of two houses, the *Ulpian* and the *Traïan*, neither of which had acquired hereditary distinction. His father, like himself, was a native of the colony of Italica,* settled by the elder Africanus on the Bætis, which gave birth also to the contemporary poet, Silius Italicus. The elder Trajan distinguished himself under Nero in the Parthian and Jewish wars, and commanded the tenth legion at the storming of Joppa; services for which he was rewarded by Vespasian with the consulship and the government of Asia. He appears to have survived his son's accession, and to have been deified upon his death.† His greater son was born at Italica, on the 18th of September, probably in A.D. 52, so that he had completed his forty-fifth year at his accession.‡ Trained to arms under his father's eye, he served through the campaigns in the East; and it was probably no great loss to the future prince, that his constant presence in the camp left him little leisure to cultivate the rhetorical pursuits then in favour at Rome. "Modesty or discretion led him to conceal deficiencies rather than affect accomplishments he did not possess;" but he could both speak and write well enough for all the requirements of his station. The straightforward utterance of the soldier, as the occasion required, is described as "talking, rather than speaking;" his extant letters are effective, if not ornate; and he had a sufficient taste for literature to write memoirs of his own time, especially of the

* The ruins of this city stand about six miles N.W. of Seville, on the opposite side of the Guadalquivir. It flourished under the Goths by the name of Talika, till a change in the bed of the river drove its inhabitants to migrate to Seville; and this, though a far more ancient city under the name of Hispalis, recognized Italica as in some sense its parent, by applying to its remains the name of Old Seville (*Sevilla la Vieja*).

† An extant medal bears the inscription "DIVI NERVA ET TRAJANUS PATER."

‡ There is, however, much doubt about his exact age; and Dion makes him only forty-one.

Dacian wars. These memoirs are lost: but we have more reason to regret the determination of Tacitus to postpone to his old age the design, which he never lived to complete, of illustrating in a full history the brief panegyric on Nerva and Trajan, which we have quoted from his "Agricola."* Trajan possessed the external advantages of a handsome countenance, a tall and noble figure, and a commanding presence, to a degree rarely surpassed by any sovereign. Like Vespasian, he retained in his social habits and pleasures something of the soldier's coarseness; but he could always rise from his sensual indulgences, bringing undiminished power to his duties in the council or the field.

After his consulship in A.D. 91, he obtained commands first in Spain, and afterwards in Lower Germany, where his quiet vigilance added to his military reputation, without exciting the envy of Domitian; and it was at Cologne that he received the news of his undisputed recognition by the Senate. In accepting the empire, Trajan fully recognized its new constitutional basis, and repeated the vow of Nerva, that no senator should suffer death during his reign. The tranquillity of Rome permitted him to remain a full year upon the Rhine, perfecting the defence of the frontier, and preparing to extend, if occasion should offer, the boundary of the empire. He planted the colony of Ulpia Trajana near the site of the old station of Castra Vetera; built a bridge across the Rhine at Mayence; and founded colonies beyond the right bank, one of them (Aquæ) on the site of Baden-Baden. But his greatest and last work on this frontier of the empire, which he never revisited, was the mound and ditch which he drew from the Rhine to the Danube, to enclose that angle of outlying territory, which had received, for reasons formerly explained,† the name of Agri Decumates (*the Tithed Lands*). The Senate had already honoured him with the favourite imperial title of *Germanicus*, together with the tribunitian power; but he declined the appellation of *Pater Patriæ*, till he should have earned it by a life that approved itself to his fellow-citizens. His progress to Rome was marked by abstinence from all exactions from the provincials, and he entered the city with a studied absence of all pomp (A.D. 99). "His entry into Rome was a moral triumph. Martial, in a few graphic touches, brings vividly before us the man, the place, and the people. Pliny exerts himself to describe more elaborately the extreme condescension and affability of the prince, who deigned to approach the

* The date of Tacitus's death is unknown, but he appears to have survived Trajan.

† See p. 342.

home of law and freedom on foot, unattended by guards, distinguished only by the eminence of his stature and the dignity of his bearing; allowing the citizens of all grades to throng about him; admitting the greetings of the senators, on his return as emperor, with the same graciousness with which he had accepted them when he went forth as a fellow-subject; addressing even the knights by name; paying his vows to his country's gods in the Capitol, and entering the palace of the Cæsars as the modest owner of a private mansion. Nor did Trajan stand alone in this exhibition of patriotic decorum. His wife, Plotina, bore herself as the spouse of a simple senator; and, as she mounted the stair of the imperial residence, turned towards the multitude, and declared that she was about to enter it with the same equanimity with which she should wish hereafter, if fate so required, to abandon it. Her behaviour throughout her husband's career corresponded with this commencement. Nor less magnanimous was the conduct of Trajan's sister, Marciana, who inhabited the palace in perfect harmony with the empress, and assisted her in maintaining its august etiquette. Trajan himself renewed by word of mouth the oath he had before made in writing, that he would never harm the person of a senator, an oath which he continued faithfully to respect. But he was not unmindful of his parent's adjuration, and sought out for condign punishment the mutineers who had trampled on Nerva's weakness. Such was his confidence in his authority over the soldiers, that he ventured to reduce the customary donative to one-half the amount to which his predecessors had raised it. Not a murmur was heard, even in the camp of the prætorians; and when he handed to the prefect the poniard which was the symbol of his office, he could boldly say, *Use this for me, if I do well; if ill, against me.* We have seen that the lenient or feeble Nerva, though he revived the edicts of Titus against the delators, had failed to satisfy the fury of his nobles in punishing them. Trajan had no such weakness, and showed no such moderation. Giving the rein at last to the passions of the sufferers, he executed what, according to Pliny's account, we might call a *razzia* upon the remnant of the culprits. Pliny describes the extraordinary spectacle of a number of these people dragged in chains through the circus before the assembled citizens, with every circumstance of deliberate insult; and when the most obnoxious had been selected for capital punishment, the rest were shipped for exile beyond sea, on the craziest barks, in the stormiest weather."* As for Octavian, so for

* Plin. *Panegyricus;* Merivale, vol. vii. pp. 219—221.

Trajan, the Senate invented a title which had never yet been conferred upon a citizen; one connected with divine associations, but which a man might bear without impiety; and the epithet of OPTIMUS had this honour even above *Augustus*, that it did not pass from Trajan to his successors. The equal honour, but different character, of the founder and restorer of the empire, came to be expressed in the most flattering desire that the Senate could utter for a new prince:—"May you be happier than Augustus, and better than Trajan!"

In the year after the delivery of Pliny's Panegyric, Trajan took the field against the Dacians (A.D. 101). His soldier's spirit urged him to wipe off the disgrace and tribute incurred by Domitian, and to conquer the barbarians on the least secure frontier of the empire: policy demanded occupation for the disaffected legions of the Rhine: and the war offered a solid recompense in mines of gold, silver, and iron, as well as from the accumulated spoils of the Dacian raids beyond the Danube. It was no light undertaking to plunge into the country covered on the west by the marshes of the Theiss and Maros and on the south by the Carpathian chain, with only the three great passes of the Iron Gate, the Volcan, and the Rothenthurm, and to reach the strongholds of Decebalus in the highlands about the sources of the Maros. Domitian's generals had been content with desultory operations in the summer, leaving the Dacians to cross the frozen marshes and Danube in the winter on their plundering raids. But Trajan had another manner of making war. An army of from 60,000 to 80,000 veterans, collected from the Danubian provinces, and in part from the legions of the Rhine, was assembled at Segestica (*Sissek*), the common arsenal of Mœsia and Pannonia, whence a flotilla carried them down the Save to its confluence with the Danube at Singidunum (*Belgrade*). His communications being secured along the line of this river, Trajan prepared to penetrate into the valley of the Maros, along which the enemy's chief towns were built. Two points were chosen for the passage of the Danube, above and below the spot where the spurs of the Carpathians, on the one side, and of the Balkan, on the other, come close down upon the river, which here rushes over ledges of rock through a magnificent gorge for about thirty miles. To the west of this gorge, a bridge of boats was thrown across the broad and tranquil river at Viminacium (*Kastolatz*), and to the east another, opposite the mouth of the little river *Tjerna*, at *Old Orsova*. These two points became the regular passages of the Danube, and from both military roads may still be traced to

Karansebes, at the junction of the *Temes* and the *Bistra*. The gorge of the latter stream leads up to the pass of the Iron Gate, by which the Carpathian chain is crossed into the valley of the Maros, and by this route the united army of Trajan penetrated to the royal residence of Sarmizegethusa.*

But this success was little more than an introduction to the next campaign. The Dacians, retreating up the valley of the Maros, suffered a great defeat at Tapæ, an unknown site; and their king Decebalus, pursued into his mountain fastnesses about the sources of the Maros, consented to form an alliance with Rome. His submission is represented on the celebrated column of Trajan. The war, begun in A.D. 101, had lasted through the whole of the following year; and it was not till A.D 103 that Trajan returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph, and to assume the surname of DACICUS. The appearance of the Dacian envoys in the Senate House, in the attitude of suppliants for the ratification of peace, gave a proof—had such been needed—that this was no repetition of the mock triumphs of a Caligula or Domitian.

But the Dacians were not yet subdued; and, besides minor infractions of the treaty, they crossed the Theiss, and attacked the Iazyges Metanastæ, who were under the protection of Rome. Trajan was prepared for the renewal of hostilities. His military genius had created a complete line of defence against the barbarian tribes of Central Europe, from the Rhine and the Main across the Odenwald and Black Forest to the Upper Danube, and thence along the right bank of the river to the Euxine. A part of this system was to connect the Middle Danube, the scene of his recent operations, with the lower course of the river. "At one spot, the gorge, namely, of the Danube, just below Orsova, popularly known as the Iron Gate,† the mark of Trajan's hand may be discovered in a scar which indents for some miles the face of the cliff, forming a terrace about five feet in width. We cannot believe that the way was actually so narrow, but additional width may have been gained by a wooden gallery, supported on a pro-

* This city, the name of which is explained as *Zarmi-tzeket-Kusa* (*a house covered with skins*), was afterwards the Colonia Ulpia Trajana Augusta, and the capital of the province of Dacia. It stood on the river Sargetia (*Strel*, or *Strey*, a confluent of the Maros), where its ruins are seen at *Vahely*, also called *Gradischte*, about five miles from the pass of the Iron Gate.

† This must not be confounded with the pass of the Iron Gate in the Carpathian chain.

jecting framework."* The operations which Trajan commenced in the spring of A.D. 104 had for their basis a much greater length of the river than before. The rivers *Schyl* and *Alouta* (the ancient Rhabon and Aluta), which flow southward through Wallachia into the Danube, pierce the chain of the southern Carpathians by the passes of the *Volkan* and *Rothenthurm*, the latter giving direct access to the strongholds of the Dacians in the mountains of Transylvania. The remains of an ancient bridge over the Danube at *Gieli*, about 220 miles below Belgrade, and of a Roman causeway up the valley of the Alouta to the Rothenthurm pass, seem to leave no doubt that Roman armies have penetrated Dacia by this route; and the general opinion of antiquaries used to identify the piers and towers still standing in the river at Gieli with the celebrated bridge constructed for Trajan by the architect Apollodorus. But in recent years that opinion has been changed by the remains discovered at *Severin*, a little below Orsova, where the river, issuing from the Iron Gate, expands to a width of 1300 yards, and shows, when the water is very low, a number of piers answering to the account of Dion. That historian, who was governor of Pannonia 120 years later (though the superstructure of the bridge had by that time been overthrown), describes it as having a total length of 4770 Roman feet (about 4570 English), the span of each arch being 170 Roman feet (about 163 English), and the height no less than 150 (about 144 English). The piers were most massive structures of stone, to resist the pressure of floods and ice; and the superstructure was of wood. The work, which will bear a comparison with the grandest triumphs of modern engineering, might well make good the boast of an inscription supposed to have belonged to it, though found at a different spot:—

SUB JUGUM ECCE RAPITUR ET DANUVIUS.†

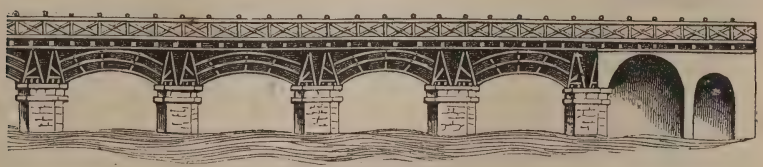
The building of Trajan's bridge, and the other preparations which he pressed on during its construction, appear not to have been completed before the end of the second year (A.D. 105). Meanwhile Decebalus, finding that the emperor would be content

* "The construction of this road is described by Mr. Paget in his *Hungary and Transylvania*, ii. 123. It is ascertained to be the work of Trajan from an inscription on the cliff overhanging the road at a place called Ogradina. The inscription, slightly supplied by Arnett in a memoir (Wien, 1856), points to the year 101. *Trajan, trib. pot.* iv. *cons.* iv. (while he was Germanicus, but not yet Dacicus) *montis et fluvii anfractibus superatis viam patefecit.*"—Merivale, vol. vii., p. 233.

† An authentic picture of the bridge is happily preserved for us on Trajan's column;

with nothing short of a complete conquest, tried every device of barbarian cunning. An emissary whom he employed to assassinate Trajan was arrested, and confessed the treacherous design under torture; and a Roman officer, named Longinus, who had fallen into his hands, put himself to death rather than suffer Trajan to be embarrassed by the demands made as the price of his freedom. It says much for the Romans and their emperor, that the self-sacrifice of Regulus could be repeated in this age. Early in A.D. 106, Trajan crossed the Danube, and rapidly subdued the whole country between that river and the Carpathians. While Sarmizegethusa, which had been held by a Roman garrison ever since the former war, afforded a base of operations on his left, his main body penetrated by the Rothenthurm pass into the very heart of the Dacian strongholds. Decebalus retired, disputing post after post, till he was deserted by his Sarmatian allies, the mailed cavalry whose prowess Darius had long since experienced, and whose figures are seen upon Trajan's column. On that monument, too, we may still read the "counterfeit presentment" of the final scene, when, the last stronghold of Decebalus being stormed, the king and his nobles set fire to their houses, and killed themselves by sword or poison amidst the conflagration. The head of Decebalus was sent to Rome, probably to prove to the people that so inveterate an enemy was really dead. The treasures, which he is said to have buried beneath a river's bed, putting to death the slaves who had done the work, were nevertheless discovered to Trajan. After defraying the expenses of the war, and providing rewards for the veterans, there was enough left for the celebration of Trajan's triumph, with games in which 11,000 beasts were slain and 10,000 gladiators fought,* and for a magnificent architectural monument of the Dacian conquest. The

but the apparent differences from Dion's account have occasioned much controversy.

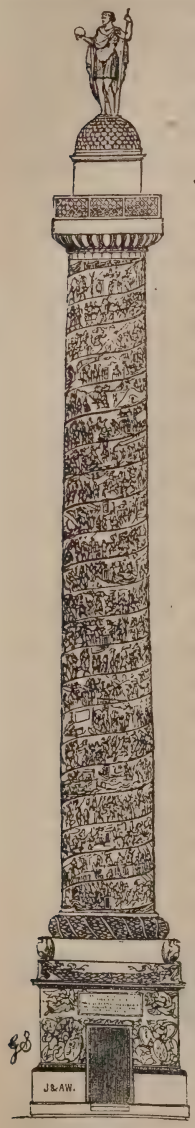


TRAJAN'S BRIDGE.

Nor indeed, considering the close resemblance of the remains at Gieli to those at Severin, can the position of the bridge be regarded as settled beyond doubt.

* It is worth while to observe how the revival of the old martial spirit was attended by the renewal of these gladiatorial exhibitions, which the Flavian emperors had discouraged.

ridge between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills — which rose above the level of the low ground occupied by the original Forum and the Fora constructed by successive Cæsars, forming a sort of barrier between the heart of the city and the Campus Martius—was excavated to afford the site for a new Forum, surpassing all the others in magnificence.* This *Forum Trajanum* has perished, with its *Basilica Ulpia*, its two great libraries, the one Greek and the other Roman, its porticoes with their gilded cornices, balustrades, and images, and its colossal equestrian statue of the emperor; its arch of triumph bears the name of Constantine, who appropriated a predecessor's memorial as his own; but the magnificent Doric column, which stood in the centre of the Forum, by far the finest example of that sort of monument in all the world, still rises to the height of 128 feet, its shaft, composed of nineteen stones, exhibiting to our view the record of Trajan's victories in Dacia, in a continuous spiral band of bas-reliefs, containing no fewer than 2500 figures. The golden urn, in which the ashes of the founder were deposited in the base, ensured the violation of his tomb; and his colossal statue had long been thrown down from the summit, before Pope Sixtus V. replaced it by the image of St. Peter, a sign of the change from imperial to Papal Rome, and an undesigned satire on the religious ideas which could make scenes of war the pedestal for the chief of the Apostles. Such were the monuments of the conquest of Dacia. The country itself was reduced to a Roman province, which was divided on the east by the Tyras or Danaster (*Dniester*) from the Sarmatians,† and on the west by the Tibiscus (*Theiss*)



COLUMN OF TRAJAN.

* "The fact of this connection between the Quirinal and the Capitoline seems to be put beyond a doubt by the inscription on the base of the Trajan column, which purports to have been erected to show how deep was the excavation made for the area of the Forum." (Merivale, vol. vii. p. 243.) The column was also designed to be the emperor's sepulchre.

† Ptolemy carried the boundary only as far as the Hierasus or Parata (*Pruth*), the

from the kindred Iazyges, while on the north it extended to the Great Carpathians; thus embracing eastern Hungary, with the Banat and Transylvania, within the circuit of the Carpathians, and between them and the Danube the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, where the descendants of the Dacians still claim the name of Romans (*Roumani*).* Besides founding four colonies in Dacia, Trajan added security to the conquest which he commemorated, by building in Mœsia the city of Nicopolis ad Iatrum (*Nicopoli* on the *Iantra*), celebrated thirteen centuries later for the defeat of the Hungarians by Bajazet (A.D. 1396). The province, after being long overrun by the Goths, was finally surrendered to them by the emperor Aurelian, who withdrew the Roman inhabitants to the south bank of the Danube, salving his pride by giving their new abode the name of Dacia (A.D. 270).

While Trajan was thus carrying the empire in Europe to the boundary of the Sarmatian steppes, his lieutenant, Cornelius Palma, added to its security in Asia by subduing the Arabian tribes, who troubled the south-eastern frontier of Syria. The strong cities on the eastern border of Palestine and Arabia Petræa, —Gerasa in Mount Gilead, Bostra (Bozrah), Philadelphia (Rabbath-Ammon), and Petra,—were included within the province, and from this period chiefly we may date the splendid remains of Roman architecture that adorn their sites. The occupation of these cities secured the great caravan routes between Egypt and the East; and it was now that Petra, in particular, rose to the splendour still attested by its rock-hewn temples and other edifices in the Roman style. The conquests of Cornelius Palma were made in A.D. 106; and for the next seven years Trajan occupied himself with the internal government of the empire. The extent to which his personal care embraced the details of administration in the provinces is attested by his correspondence with Pliny, who went out as governor of Bithynia in A.D. 103. His numerous "rescripts" to the magistrates created a large body of legislation, though chiefly relating to minor matters; and his personal administration of justice was alike firm and impartial. Augustus had maintained the dignity of the Senate from aristocratic predilection and policy, while using the forms of the constitution for his own aggrandisement: Trajan returned to the same policy in the more liberal spirit of restoring as much freedom as was compatible with the

modern boundary between Moldavia and Russia, while some modern enquirers find traces of Roman settlements as far as the *Don*.

* The name of *Wallachs* signifies strangers.

established monarchical government, which had become a necessity of the state. He abandoned the system of the emperor's annual election to the consulship, and only held the office five times during his reign of nineteen years. That the freedom of election which he restored was no mere form, was proved by the necessity for reviving the laws against bribery; and the respect due to the Senate's deliberations was enhanced by abolishing the vote by ballot in that assembly. After every allowance is made for flattery, we cannot doubt that Trajan's relations to the Senate deserved the panegyrics of Martial and Pliny. The former declares him to be not a *master* but an *imperator*,* and *the justest senator of all;* and the latter echoed his friend's wishes in the words, *You command us to be free: we will.* More than one instance is recorded of his magnanimous disregard of suspected conspiracies, and he kept his vow to put no senator to death; but, when Calpurnius Crassus, who had been pardoned by Nerva, was detected in a new plot, Trajan allowed the indignation of the Senate to take its course, and Crassus suffered by the sentence of his colleagues. But it was only as they were represented in the Senate, that the people enjoyed any portion of political freedom, and all combinations for social or trading objects, or other purposes of mutual help—clubs or guilds, as we should call them—were suppressed as "factions" dangerous to the state.† The Romans of the second imperial century had, in fact, been brought by the operation of the first to a state of incapacity for political freedom; and their happiness under this new era consisted in the provision which the emperor most liberally made for their material wants and enjoyments, his untiring attention to their petitions, and wisdom in developing the resources of the empire, his abstinence from arbitrary exactions, and the relief from taxation which his economy enabled him to afford. This economy, too, instead of degenerating into meanness,

* The title seems here to be used in its constitutional sense for the commander of the commonwealth's armies, as contrasted with *dominus*. Mr. Merivale points out that, in the *Panegyricus*, "Pliny repeatedly contrasts the titles of *dominus* and *princeps*, and that when, in his letters from Bithynia, he addresses Trajan as *dominus*, he speaks as a military officer to his chief. But the word was already used as a courteous salutation to a superior."

† Mr. Merivale mentions an interesting example of Trajan's intolerance of such associations even in the provinces:—"When Pliny, as prefect of Bithynia, proposed to enrol an association of workmen at Nicomedia for the speedier extinction of fires, he feels it necessary not only to consult the emperor on the subject, but to explain the precautions he would take to prevent abuse. Trajan absolutely rejects the proposal, declaring that no precautions can avail to prevent such associations from degenerating into dangerous conspiracies."

furnished resources for those splendid and useful public works, which bear the impress of Trajan's hand in every province of the empire, and caused it to be said that *he built the world* over.* The capital itself was adorned by him with many other buildings besides the *Forum Trajanum;* but these gains were balanced by some losses. "While the magnificent emperor was intent on raising the abode of the Romans to the level of their fortunes, inundations and earthquakes, the most ancient and inveterate of her foes, were making havoc of many of her noblest buildings: the fragments still remaining of Nero's brilliant palace were consumed by fire, the Pantheon was stricken by lightning; and the calamities which befel the mistress of the world might point a moral for a Christian writer of much later date, who ascribed them to the judgment of God on a persecutor of his holy religion."† Of this blot on Trajan's rule we shall have to speak in the ensuing chapter.

After seven years of peaceful progress, Trajan was again called into the field, to secure and extend the eastern frontier of the empire. We have had repeated occasion to notice the efforts of the Parthian kings to add Armenia to their dominions, or to seat one of their own family on its throne; and we have seen the Parthian Tiridates accepting the diadem from the hands of Nero, with the consent of Vologeses, king of Parthia. Pacorus II., the son of Vologeses, had assumed an attitude of hostility, and his brother and successor, Chosroes, set up his nephew as the successor of Tiridates. Trajan, though now sixty-two years old, seized the opportunity to establish the supremacy of Rome in the East on the ruins of the effete monarchy of Parthia. Proclaiming that Armenia was a dependency of Rome, and not of Parthia, and rejecting all overtures from Chosroes, the emperor reached Antioch towards the end of A.D. 114. His stay in the oriental capital was signalized by two events conspicuous in the history of the world. Antioch was laid in almost complete ruin by an earthquake, and the inhabitants, with the crowds that had flocked from all the East to the emperor's court, were driven to encamp, in the depth of winter, upon Mount Casius. Trajan himself barely escaped by creeping through a window, with the aid of a man whose gigantic form was magnified by Roman superstition into a protecting deity. It was probably while Trajan was occupied with his preparations for the

* Eutrop. viii. 2. Such inscriptions are seen, for example, at the port of Ancona, the mole of Cività Vecchia, and the bridge over the Tagus at Alcantara. Trajan also built bridges over the Rhine, the Euphrates, and the Tigris.

† Orosius, vii. 12; Merivale, vol. vii. p. 252.

campaign, that Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch, was brought before his tribunal, and condemned to be cast to the lions at Rome; an event to which we have to recur in the ensuing chapter.

Advancing through Lesser Armenia, Trajan received the homage of the petty princes. At Elegia (probably *Iz Oghlu*) above Samosata on the Euphrates, Trajan summoned to his presence the Parthian claimant of the Armenian throne. Parthamisiris—this was his name—came into the midst of the Roman camp, and laid his diadem at the feet of Trajan, expecting it to be restored to him as it had been by Nero to Tiridates. But he found himself in the power of a foe, who, with the energy of the old republican generals, had revived their unscrupulous policy. Required to acknowledge, as a conquered captive, before the emperor's tribunal, the cession of all Armenia, which he had been compelled to make in a private interview, Parthamisiris proudly declared that he had come of his own free will, like Tiridates to Nero. He was sent away from the camp under an escort of Roman cavalry; but soon afterwards he was again arrested and put to death. Armenia submitted without a blow, and was reduced to a Roman province; and Trajan advanced northwards into the sub-Caucasian regions, where no Roman imperator save Pompey had preceded him, receiving the submission of the Iberians, the Albanians, and the tribes on the Cimmerian Bosporus, and thus touching the eastern frontier of those Sarmatians whom he had already encountered in the West as allies of the Dacians.

It remained for him to attempt the overthrow of Parthia. Having received the submission of Abgarus, king of Edessa,* and other princes of Upper Mesopotamia, and taken Nisibis, the capital of Mygdonia, he prepared to advance into Assyria Proper, a region into which no Roman general had yet followed the track of Alexander. It was either in the autumn or during the winter of A.D. 115, that he constructed a bridge across the Tigris, which gave him access to the region of Adiabene. While the Parthians were paralysed by intestine divisions, he subdued the native tribes as far as Mount Zagrus, and created the new province of Assyria, lying between that mountain range and the Tigris, and corresponding to the modern Kurdistan. The imagination of a Roman historian, who represents all the tribes from the Euphrates to the Indus as vibrating with the shock of this new war, seems to give no unfair idea of what Trajan would have attempted had he been young. In the spring of A.D. 116, a flotilla descended the Euphrates to the point

* See p. 151.

where it approaches nearest to the Tigris; and here, the ancient canals having long since become useless, the light vessels were drawn overland on rollers covered with greased skins, and launched on the Tigris above Ctesiphon. The royal city at once opened its gates, and in the Parthian capital Trajan was saluted by his troops *Imperator* and *Parthicus*. Chosroes fled to Susa, so hotly pursued that his daughter and his golden throne were taken. The oriental spirit of ambition, which has always seemed contagious in those regions, appears for a moment to have fired the cautious and aged emperor. Leaving his lieutenants to complete his conquest, he sailed down the Tigris to the Persian Gulf; and, as he saw a vessel setting sail for India, he is reported to have exclaimed, "Were I yet young, I would not stop till I too had reached the limits of the Macedonian conquest." But an insurrection had already broken out in his rear. The Greek city of Seleucia, indignant at losing the freedom which even the Parthians had respected, had revolted, and cut to pieces an army with its legate. The city had been again stormed, and almost destroyed; but it was no part of Trajan's system to imperil armies in the occupation of disaffected provinces, and he was content to leave Parthia under a vassal king, Parthamaspates, whom he invested with the diadem at Ctesiphon. The boast of a complete conquest of Rome's last great enemy was belied by the successful resistance of the petty fortress of Atra (*El Hadr*) on the road from Ctesiphon to Singara; and Fronto, who wrote in the next reign, observed that the victorious emperor's return was neither unmolested nor bloodless. The Jews once more broke out into revolt in Cyprus, Cyrenaica, and Egypt;* and Trajan returned to Antioch oppressed with gloom and enfeebled by sickness, which seems to have been contracted in the marshes of Atra. Leaving his army at Antioch under his legates, he proceeded towards Rome; but his disease took the form of dropsy, and he died at Selinus in Cilicia, on the 8th of August, A.D. 117. "His reign, extended beyond the term of any of his predecessors since Tiberius, numbered nineteen years and a half, and he had reached the age of sixty-five years, spent in almost uninterrupted activity. Trajan was the first of the Cæsars who had met his death at a distance from Rome and Italy, the first whose life had been cut short in the actual service of his country. Such a fate deserved to be signalized by an extraordinary distinction. The charred remains of the greatest of the emperors were conveyed to Rome, and suffered to repose in a golden urn,

* See Chapter XL.

at the foot of his own column, within the precincts of the city."* The Senate honoured the prince, who had so well preserved the character of their colleague, with an apotheosis, and commemorated his divinity by a temple in the Ulpian Forum and new games called the Parthian. He shared with Julius alone the honour of burial within the sacred limits of Rome, whose empire he extended to its furthest bounds; and his death marks the epoch from which its limits began to recede. "The momentary success of the insurgents of Cyprus and Cyrene had prompted a general assurance that the conquering race was no longer invincible, and the last great triumphs of its legions were followed by a rebound of fortune still more momentous. The first act of the new reign was the formal relinquishment of the new provinces beyond the Euphrates. The *Parthian* tottered back with feeble steps to his accustomed frontiers. *Arabia* was left unmolested. *India* was no longer menaced. *Armenia* found herself once more suspended between two rival empires, of which the one was too weak to seize, the other too weak to retain her." Up to the last moment the emperor, who had followed more closely than any of his predecessors in the footsteps of Alexander, had made no direct provision to secure his empire from the like fate. But the best fruit of his efforts to restore the discipline of the armies and the authority of the Senate was seen in the peaceful succession of a prince admirably qualified to carry out the moderate policy of defending and consolidating the empire which had now reached its limits.

PUBLIUS ÆLIUS HADRIANUS was the compatriot, kinsman, and ward of the emperor whom he succeeded. The cognomen of his family marked their origin, not from the great Etruscan city which gave its name to the Adriatic Sea, but from a lesser Hadria, in Picenum, an offshoot of the former. From that city some member of the plebeian *Gens Ælia* (which produced, among other conspicuous families, the distinguished Galli and the notorious Sejanus) went, like the ancestor of the Trajans, to Spain with Scipio, and found a new home in the colony of Italica. Here the Trajan who was the grandfather of the emperor gave his daughter Ulpia in marriage to Hadrianus Marillinus, who became a senator of Rome; and their son, Hadrianus Afer, the first cousin of the emperor Trajan, was the father of the future emperor. Hadrian was born at Rome on the 24th of January, A.D. 76, in the eighth year of Vespasian's reign. In the tenth year of his age, the death of his father left him to the guardianship of

* Merivale, vol. vii. 390.

Trajan and of a Roman knight named Cælius Attianus. The youth studied at Athens with such success, that he equalled the most distinguished of the Greeks in every department of learning, in the most subtle artifices of rhetoric, in the special sciences of mathematics and medicine, and in the arts of music, painting, and sculpture. "His memory," says Victor, "was prodigious, his application incredible." To these intellectual acquirements he united the training in bodily exercises and arms which became a Roman noble, and was ardently addicted to hunting. His gracious bearing was as conspicuous as the majestic figure and manly beauty which still strike us with admiration in his statues; and it deserves notice that he is the first of the Romans who is represented with a beard. Assuredly he was in no danger of sinking into a literary dilettante, if it be true that he was still only fifteen when he began his military career, under the eye of Trajan, in Upper Germany. He was serving as military tribune in Pannonia when Nerva died, and he was deputed by the army of the Danube to carry their congratulations to Trajan at Cologne (A.D. 98); and soon afterwards the influence of the empress Plotina obtained for Hadrian the hand of Trajan's great niece, Julia Sabina. In the year 101 he was made quæstor, in virtue of which office he was the channel of communication between the emperor and the Senate. He served with distinction in both the Dacian wars; and the reward of a diamond ring was regarded as an omen of the destiny which soothsayers had promised from his very birth, though Trajan was always unwilling to designate a successor. He served the prætorship in A.D. 107, and was appointed to the government of Pannonia, where he distinguished himself as much for the firmness of his discipline, as for his success in repulsing an invasion of the Sarmatians (A.D. 108). Raised to the consulship in the following year, he continued to enjoy the favour of the court, and especially of the empress Plotina, who obtained for him the government of Syria about the time of Trajan's expedition to the East. Hadrian followed the emperor throughout the campaign, and was left at the head of the army and of his province at Antioch, when Trajan departed for Italy (A.D. 117).

Such a career, joined to such personal qualifications, matured by the experience of middle age—for Hadrian was now forty-two—could point to no other conclusion than that which Plotina is said to have incessantly pressed upon the dying emperor. It is alleged that her importunity succeeded at the last moment, but so late that her own hand traced the signature which Trajan was too weak

to affix to his letter to the Senate, declaring that he adopted Hadrian, subject to their confirmation. Any doubts that the army at Antioch might have felt were removed by a double donative, and Hadrian hastened to deprecate the jealousy of the Senate at his proclamation by the army, by soliciting their confirmation of Trajan's choice, and declaring that he would assume no honours but such as they should decree him when he had earned them. While his accession was hailed by the Senate with acclamation, the prætorian cohorts were secured by their prefect Attianus, to whom Hadrian wrote, in the consciousness of his strength, forbidding his opponents to be molested. The new reign formed a new epoch. To the free and vigorous life which Nerva and Trajan had restored to the constitution, Hadrian added a well-considered policy, such as no emperor had framed since Augustus. As a soldier, he saw that the conquests of Trajan beyond the Euphrates could not be maintained; as a new prince, he felt the danger from generals employed in distant commands; and as a statesman, trained in all known wisdom, he yearned for the peaceful development of the empire. Therefore, before he left the East, he withdrew his armies from Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Parthia, retaining only, as necessary to the security of Syria, the province of Arabia, as Trajan had called the district gained in Arabia Petræa. He entrusted Syria to the government of Catilius Severus, a man who had acquired no dangerous reputation; while, of Trajan's two most distinguished legates, Martius Turbo was employed in the new Jewish War, and Lusius Quietus in the distant government of Mauretania. Returning to Rome in A.D. 118, Hadrian celebrated, in Trajan's name, a magnificent triumph over Parthia, and employed the spoils of war in profuse largesses and a remission of all arrears of taxes.

It was only by vigour in repelling aggression upon the frontiers, that Hadrian could carry his peaceful policy into effect. While, at the western extremities of the empire, Britain was threatened by the Caledonians, and Mauretania by the Moors, the new province of Dacia was invaded by hordes of Scythian cavalry. That province, already fast becoming Romanized, was now essential as an outwork for the defence of the Danubian frontier against the sea of barbarism that was surging and threatening in Central Europe; and even Trajan had resorted to the expedient of purchasing the forbearance of the Sarmatian tribes beyond the Pruth and Dniester. A reduction in this payment seems to have been the immediate cause of a fresh irruption of the Roxolani, to repel which Hadrian took the field in person (A.D. 118). His departure

was the signal for the outbreak of a conspiracy, among the leading generals and senators who were jealous of Hadrian's elevation, to assassinate him while absent from Rome. The conspirators were seized and put to death by the Senate without the emperor's consent or even his knowledge; but the danger seems to have prevented any serious operations against the barbarians. Hadrian only advanced as far as Mœsia; pacified the invaders, as it seems, by granting their demands; and committed Dacia to the care of his most trustworthy legate, Martius Turbo. If we may believe Dion, he destroyed Trajan's bridge for the better security of Mœsia (A.D. 119).

Returning to Rome, he hastened to efface any alarm caused by the shedding of senatorian blood during his absence by renewing his vow to condemn no senator to death; and he resumed his course of deference to the Senate and liberality to the people. It was now that he formed the design, worthy of a great prince and of a philosophic enquirer, to visit all the provinces of his vast empire, to investigate their condition and resources, to become acquainted with the peoples, to inspect the machinery of government, and to impress his own views upon the officials. "If"—says the modern historian—"If other chiefs of wide-spread empires have begun with the same bold and generous conception of their duty, it may be doubted whether any have so persevered through a period of twenty years." As became an Imperator, Hadrian marched at the head of his legions, generally bareheaded and on foot, preserving strict discipline, inspecting camps and fortifications, holding frequent reviews, and, in one word, preparing at all points for war as the best attitude for preserving peace. His presence swept away the unsoldier-like indulgence which had crept into the fixed camps, and Dion states that the rules of discipline laid down by Hadrian still remained in force after an interval of eighty years.

The emperor's first progress was directed to the Western Provinces, with which he was least acquainted. He passed through Gaul to the Rhine, where the ancient historian tells us that "he set a king over the Germans," referring doubtless to a chief appointed over some tribe that sought his mediation.* Next he crossed over to Britain, and viewed with his own eyes that marvellous advance in wealth and civilization, at which the Roman writers of the age express their delighted surprise. Though we have certain records of only one colony of Roman citizens (Colchester), and two permanent military stations (Caerleon and

* Spartian. *Hadr.* 12.

Chester), that native quickness of the British Celts, which Agricola had preferred above the more plodding imitation of the Gauls, had led them to construct roads and cities, villas, and baths, after the Roman fashion, and to learn the language, literature, and rhetoric of Italy. "Britain is said," exclaims Martial, "to sing our verses;" and Juvenal alludes, in a vein of irony, to the report, that Thule talked of hiring a rhetorician. London had already obtained her commercial pre-eminence; but the seat of government, throughout the whole period of the Roman dominion in the island, was at York (Eboracum). Thither Hadrian repaired to make arrangements for the security of the northern frontier, which was perpetually disturbed by the Caledonians. The contemporary writer Fronto makes a brief allusion to some disaster that had befallen the Roman arms in that quarter, of sufficient consequence to be named with the Jewish rebellion; and it is probable that the Tyne formed the limit of security to the province. The passage of that river by Hadrian was commemorated by the city which bore the name of the Ælian Bridge (Pons Ælii, *Newcastle*), and here he determined to fix his permanent frontier. We have seen that Agricola had drawn two lines of forts across the contracted parts of the island; the one from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth, almost exactly along the 55th parallel of north latitude; the other just one degree further to the north, between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Without abandoning the military occupation of the latter line, Hadrian chose the former for the erection of a continuous rampart, with a fortified station at every fourth or fifth mile. This is not the place for the antiquarian discussions respecting that great work, the *Vallum Romanum*, popularly called the *Picts' Wall*,* the name of which is made a "household word" by our coals (so called) from Wall's End (*Segedunum*), on the estuary of the Tyne. Along the course of that river, on its northern side, the remains of the rampart may be traced nearly due westward, till it crosses the watershed dividing the Tyne from the Irthing and the Eden, and is carried to the north of these rivers as far as Carlisle (*Luguvallum*), whence it was drawn on the southern side of the Eden to Bowness on the Solway Firth, the whole length being a little less than 68½ miles.

* To assist the reader in remembering the distinction between the two lines, it may be well to mention here that Lollius Urbicus, the general of Antoninus Pius, raised a rampart along Agricola's northern line of forts, between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and the remains of this, the *Vallum Antonini*, now bear the name of *Graham's Dyke*.

The fortification consists of two distinct parts, a *stone wall* (the proper *Picts' Wall*), and an earthern rampart or *vallum*, each with its ditch; the former line being generally sixty or seventy yards in advance of the latter to the north. The earthern *vallum*, which is about three miles shorter than the wall at each end, terminating at Newcastle on the east and at Drumburgh on the west, consists of three lines. In the centre there is a ditch, with an earthern rampart running along its inner (or southern) edge; and the general system of Roman fortifications leaves little doubt that this was the first nucleus of the whole work. Two earthen ramparts of larger dimensions run parallel to this, at equal distances of about twenty-four feet north and south of the ditch. We know that the Emperor Severus visited Britain in A.D. 208, and constructed a rampart from sea to sea; and, if we were to keep to the letter of our authorities, the stone wall would be ascribed to Hadrian and the earthern rampart to Severus.* But of course the question cannot be decided on such narrow grounds; and, while some ascribe the whole work to Hadrian, others divide it between Agricola, Hadrian, and Severus; and a third view makes Hadrian the constructor of the original ditch and rampart, supported within by the larger rampart, the outer earthern rampart having been added by Severus, and the stone wall finally built in the time of Theodosius and Stilicho.† The increased security which the Romanized Britains enjoyed behind the shelter of this rampart enabled the Roman governors to strengthen their military posts to the north, and prepared for the advance of the frontier in the next reign to the further line traced by Agricola. Passing through Gaul and Spain, Hadrian crossed the straits to Mauretania, where his restoration of tranquillity, which seems to have been endangered by the treason of Lusius, caused the Senate to vote a thanksgiving in his honour. We next find him, by what route we are not informed, on the frontier of Parthia, arranging some new causes of difference in a personal interview with Chosroes. Thence he returned through Asia Minor, and across the Ægæan to Athens, where he probably spent the winter of A.D. 122-3, and commenced the splendid works, with which it was his delight to adorn the intellectual capital of his empire. Touching, on his voyage home, at Sicily, he beheld a sunrise from the summit of Etna; and after he

* Spartianus calls the work of Hadrian a wall (*murus*); and Eutropius describes that of Severus as a rampart (*vallum*).

† The most recent authorities on the subject are the Rev. J. C. Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, Lond. 1853, 4to.; and Merivale, vol. vii. pp. 434-436.

reached Rome, he crossed the sea again to Carthage. "None, perhaps, of our princes," says Spartianus, "ever traversed so rapidly so large a portion of the world."

This rapid progress, however, could not satisfy the philosophic emperor's desire to enjoy the intellectual society of the great oriental capitals, and to adorn them with the memorials of his presence. In the year 125 he began a second progress, which lasted for ten years (to A.D. 134), with perhaps some intervals spent at Rome. For more than half that period he resided at Athens, where he undertook the gigantic work of restoring the city to its pristine magnificence, with the addition of edifices which should rival those of Pericles. "We must picture Athens to ourselves, at this period,"—says Mr. Merivale—"as a dirty city in decay: we must imagine the combination of a site of unrivalled magnificence, of mingled slope and level, formed by nature for enhancing to the utmost the graces and harmonies of constructive art, with a throng of mouldering fanes and neglected mansions, which alternated, along its straggling avenues, with low and squalid cabins, scarcely raised above the filth and rottenness accumulated around them; on which every rent and stain of time was rendered painfully conspicuous by a sun of unclouded splendour, except when obscured by whirlwinds of dust generated on the bare limestone rock, treeless, grassless, and waterless."* One quarter of the city was so completely renovated by the emperor as to receive the new name of Hadrianopolis, and the arch (which still stands) connecting this quarter with the rest of Athens, bears on one face the inscription, "This is the city of Hadrian and not of Theseus;" on the other, "This is Athens, the ancient city of Theseus." Among other splendid architectural works at Athens, Hadrian undertook the completion of the great temple of the Olympian Jove, in the Corinthian order, which had been commenced by Pisistratus, and a few columns of which still stand in solitary grandeur on the plain overlooked by the Acropolis. But Hadrian had learnt, in the studious youth he had spent at Athens, to admire its intellectual still more than its material glories, and he now resumed his intercourse with the philosophers who upheld the pre-eminence of the University of the World. The moderation of true philosophy disposed him to listen to the "Apologies,"† by

* Merivale, vol. vii. p. 446, where the sanitary condition of ancient Athens is thus noticed:—"No great city was ever so badly placed for due abstersion by natural outfall. The brook Ilissus was a mere open sewer, which stagnated in a marsh. No wonder that the poets avoid all allusion to it."

† Lest any reader should be misled by the common meaning of this word, like the

which the Christian orators, Quadratus and Aristides, secured his toleration of Christianity.

After a residence of no less than six years at Athens, Hadrian was led to Alexandria by the freer and more novel spirit of speculation which prevailed in the lecture-rooms of its Museum. The schools of Athens were content with the dogmatic teachings of the recognized sects, within which—with all their differences from one another—they agreed that all truth lay. But "through Alexandria ran the current of Eastern thought, which now set most strongly westward. The Greek philosophy domiciled in the capital of the Ptolemies was stirred to its depths by converging streams from Syria, Persia, and India. Judaism and Christianity were established side by side with the gross idolatry of the Copts, and the elemental worship of the Sabæans. The fantastic theosophy of the Gnostics, of which the local and the spiritual filiation are equally unknown to us, exercised an unacknowledged influence wherever the human mind was deeply moved by the problems of man's relation to the Deity. Into this new world of conflicting opinions Hadrian threw himself with vehemence and ardour. He made himself at home in the discussions of the Alexandrian schools, and was more entertained than enlightened by the wayward imaginations which they paraded before him. The impression made upon him is discovered from a letter in which he described to Servianus the intellectual aspect of the place. 'I am now become fully acquainted,'—he says—'with that Egypt which you extol so highly. I have found the people vain, fickle, and shifting with every breath of opinion. Those who worship Serapis are in fact Christians; and they who call themselves Christian bishops are actually worshippers of Serapis. There is no chief of a Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no Christian bishop, who is not an astrologer, a fortune-teller, and a conjuror. The patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, is compelled by one party to worship Serapis, by the other Christ.'"* Better information concerning the true state of Christianity makes it unnecessary to discuss the emperor's superficial judgment; but we can hardly wonder at his

king who remarked on Bishop Watson's celebrated work, "I never knew that the Bible needed an *apology!*"—it may be stated, once for all, that the word was used by the early Fathers in its proper Greek sense of a *defence*—generally addressed, it is true, to a superior, and especially to the emperors—in reply to the calumnies and cavils of the opponents of Christianity. It is now used, in the nomenclature borrowed from German theologians, for the whole department of Christian Evidences, under the name of *Apologetics*.

* Merivale, vol. vii. pp. 467-8.

contempt for the turbulent factions of Greeks, Copts, and Jews. The licence of the Alexandrian mob did not respect even the dignity of Hadrian himself, and he was bitterly offended at their ungrateful return for his splendid public works and his benefactions to the professors of learning; and especially at their heartless ribaldry upon the death of his favourite Antinous, who was drowned in the Nile. After ascending the river as far as Thebes, and wondering at the vocal Memnon,* he left Egypt for Antioch, where the frivolous and licentious people treated him with open insult, which Hadrian punished by making the former capital of the East a dependency of Tyre. He returned homewards through Asia Minor, marking his steps by the erection of those edifices which procured for him all over the empire the title of *Restorer*. Before leaving Asia, he restored to the Parthian king the daughter whom Trajan had made captive. Of the great war which broke out in Palestine upon his departure (A.D. 132), and which led to the final destruction of Jerusalem, we shall have to speak again. (See Chapter XL.)

Having passed the winter of A.D. 133-4 at Athens, Hadrian finally fixed his residence at Rome, and spent his few remaining years in the diligent administration of the empire, the amendment and consolidation of the law, the foundation of a Roman University under the name of the Athenæum, and the decoration of the capital with splendid buildings. His double temple of Rome and Venus was the largest sanctuary yet erected in the imperial city; and his Mausoleum, on the right bank of the Tiber (the Moles Hadriani), though now stripped of all its ornaments, still forms a majestic mass under the name of the *Castle of S. Angelo*. "The Mole of Hadrian was, next to the Colosseum, the most distinguished specimen of the style of architecture which we designate as Roman, whencesoever really derived; which, by raising tier upon tier of external decorations, after the number of stories required within, adapted to civil and domestic purposes the monumental grandeur of the Grecian." But the monument prepared for the emperor's dead body was surpassed by the living work in which he reduced to order one chief branch of Roman law, —the collection of the *Edicta* of the magistrates and emperors, made by the prætor Salvius Julianus, and promulgated as the *Edictum Perpetuum* of Hadrian.

Meanwhile the emperor, childless and prematurely infirm,

* Among the inscriptions scrawled upon the statue is one recording the visit of the empress Sabina.

found the necessity of appointing an heir the more pressing, as his residence at Rome exposed him more directly to the jealousy of the nobles. He first adopted L. Ceionius Commodus Verus (A.D. 135), whose questionable character is of little importance in history on account of his early death (Jan. 1, A.D. 138). Hadrian's next choice commanded universal approval; for TITUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS added to great ability the experience of half a century of life, and he was beloved for his gentle disposition. As he too was childless, he was required to adopt his nephew M. Annius Verus, better known in history by his new name of M. Aurelius Antoninus, now a youth of seventeen, with whom was associated in the adoptive act L. Aurelius Verus, the infant son of Hadrian's deceased colleague.* These arrangements were scarcely completed, when Hadrian succumbed to a long-standing disease, apparently dropsy, amidst paroxysms of pain which overpowered his temper, and caused him to beseech his attendants to despatch him. He died on the 10th of July, A.D. 138, after a reign of nearly twenty-one years, in the sixty-second year of his age. The celebrated verses to his departing soul breathe the spirit of self-possession, not unmixed with levity, which may be taken as a type of his career.† All the ancient annalists, as the modern historian observes, "indicate more or less clearly the conflicting elements in his varied character, his earnestness and his levity, his zeal for knowledge and frivolity in appreciating it, his patient endurance and restless excitability, his generosity and his vanity, his peevishness and his good-nature, his admiration of genius, and at the same time his jealousy of it." But there was no master hand, like that of Tacitus, to draw his portrait; and if we turn from the feeble delineations of the man to the unquestionable evidence of his deeds, we find an administration, "in which he undoubtedly reconciled, with eminent success, things hitherto found irreconcilable; a contented army and a peaceful frontier; an abundant

* The adoption of Antoninus Pius was made on Feb. 25th, A.D. 138.

† We subjoin these verses with the criticism and the elegant translation of Mr. Merivale:—"To me the force and character of this simple ejaculation consists in its abruptness, brevity and uncouthness, like the verses we make in a delirious dream. Polished and paraphrased by modern translators, it becomes a trifling commonplace hardly worthy of the considerable poets who have exercised their talents upon it.

"Animula, vagula, blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca—
Pallidula, rigida, nudula—
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos?

"Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
Guest and partner of my clay,
Whither wilt thou hie away—
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one—
Never to play again, never to play?"

treasury and a lavish expenditure; a free senate and a stable monarchy; and all this without the lustre of a great military reputation, the foil of an odious predecessor, or disgust at recent civil commotions. But the merit of Hadrian is above all conspicuous in the decision with which, the first of Roman statesmen, he conceived the idea of governing the world as one homogeneous empire. Suddenly, but once for all, he discarded even in theory the tradition of a Roman municipality, as the master and possessor of all the soil of the provinces. He recognized in theory both conquerors and conquered as one people, while he left their practical equalization to the gradual and spontaneous influences which were plainly working thereto. He visited every corner of his dominions, and greeted in person every race among his subjects, making no distinction between Roman and Briton, African and Syrian. * * On the whole, I am disposed to regard the reign of Hadrian as the best of the imperial series, marked by endeavours at reform and improvement in every department of administration in all quarters of the empire. The character of the ruler was mild and considerate, far-seeing and widely observant, while the ebullitions of passion which clouded his closing career were confined at least to the small circle of his connexions and associates. His defects and vices were those of his time, and he was indeed altogether the fullest representative of his time, the complete and crowning product, as far as we can judge, of the crowning age of Roman civilization."

The succeeding reign, if less distinguished by commanding ability, was conspicuous in the Roman annals for the faultless character of the emperor. Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Arrius Antoninus — for such was the accumulation of names derived from his several ancestors*—succeeded to the empire under the name of T. Ælius Hadrianus Cæsar Antoninus Augustus; and, being honoured by the Senate with the title which marked their sense of his affection for his adoptive father, he has become ordinarily known by the style of ANTONINUS PIUS. The jealousy with which the leading Senators had always regarded Hadrian, inflamed by the report that, in the irritability of his last illness,

* Nothing of importance is known about any of these ancestors. Respecting the great cognomen of *Antoninus* (evidently derived from the *gens Antonia*), which came to vie as an imperial title with *Augustus*, being borne by fourteen emperors in succession, we only know that the emperor had for his maternal grandfather a certain Arrius Antoninus, whom the biographer Capitolinus describes as a "homo sanctus, et qui Nervam miseratus esset, quod imperare cœpisset." (Capit. *Anton. Pi.* i.)

he had doomed several of them to death, caused an opposition to his deification, which was only overcome by the urgency and promises of Antoninus; and the title which marked the emperor's filial affection was also a memorial of his respect for the order. He began his reign by repeating the vow of his three predecessors, to put no Senator to death; and the Senate, people, and army renewed the acclamations with which they had greeted his association by Hadrian in the empire.

Like the three last princes, Antoninus derived his descent from a provincial family, his paternal ancestors having come from Nemausus (*Nismes*) in Gaul; but he was born at Lanuvium in Latium, on the 19th of September, A.D. 86. He was brought up at Lorium, in Etruria, and gave early promise of high distinction. Sprung from the ranks of the nobility, he held the consulship in the third year of Hadrian (A.D. 120), who named him as one of the four consulars by whom justice was administered in Italy. He next held the prefecture of Asia, whence he returned to Rome to enjoy that intimacy with the prince, which ripened into his adoption. His wife Faustina had borne him four children; two sons, who died before his elevation, and two daughters, one of whom, Annia Faustina, he gave in marriage to the youthful M. Annius Verus, who had become by adoption M. Ælius Aurelius Verus Cæsar Antoninus, and whom he associated with himself in the government. "In noble simplicity of character, and devotion to the good of the state they were called to govern, the Antonines deserve to be classed together. For three-and-twenty years they sate side by side in public, and were nominally colleagues in the empire; but, while the elder governed by virtue of his mature age and tried abilities, the younger trained himself reverently after his parent's example, with assiduous and painful self-examination. Though vying with one another in their noble qualities and the excellence of their administration, in their temper and education there was a marked difference. Aurelius became, by study, reflection, and self-exercise, the most consummate product of the ancient philosophy, while Pius is a singular instance of an accomplished Roman contenting himself with the genuine practice of virtue, and disregarding the questions of the Schools."*

A history which has for its main object to trace the practical exhibition of God's government of what, even during the usurpation of the rebellious Spirit, is still His world, cannot but assign

* Merivale, vol. vii. p. 498.

a conspicuous place to characters which seem designed to show to what heights heathen virtue could attain in places as dangerous as they were exalted, in contrast to the miserable wickedness of many a Christian ruler. Nowhere, perhaps, can we find a nobler standard of moral excellence more nobly realized than in the character which Marcus Aurelius draws of Antoninus Pius—a panegyric, the general truth of which is confirmed by the concurrent voice of heathen and Christian writers, not even the most eager retailers of scandal having a word to say against him:—"In my father I noticed mildness of manners and firmness of resolution, contempt of vain-glory, industry in business, accessibility to all who had counsel to give on public matters, and care in allowing every one his due share of consideration. He knew when to relax, as well as when to labour; he taught me to forbear from licentious indulgences; *to conduct myself as an equal among equals;** to lay on my friends no burthen of servility; neither changing them capriciously, nor passionately addicting myself to any. From him I learnt to acquiesce in every fortune, and bear myself calmly and serenely; to exercise foresight in public affairs, and not to be above examining the smallest matters; to rise superior to vulgar acclamations, and despise vulgar reprehension; to worship the gods without superstition, and serve mankind without ambition; in all things to be sober and stedfast, not led away by idle novelties; to be content with little, enjoying in moderation the comforts within my reach, but never repining at their absence. Moreover, from him I learnt to be no sophist, no schoolman, no mere dreaming bookworm; but apt, active, practical, and a man of the world; yet, at the same time, to give due honour to true philosophers; to be neat in person, cheerful in demeanour, regular in exercise, and thus to rid myself of the need of medicine and physicians. Again, to concede without a grudge their pre-eminence to all who especially excel in legal or any other knowledge; to act in all things after the usage of our ancestors, yet without pedantry. . . . . My father was ever prudent and moderate; he neither indulged in private buildings, nor in excessive largesses, or extravagant shows to the people. *He looked to his duty only, not to the opinion that might be formed of him.* He was temperate in the use of baths, modest in dress, indifferent to the beauty of his slaves and furniture. Such, I say, was the whole character of his life and manners: nothing harsh, nothing excessive, nothing rude, nothing that be-

* This passage shows how thoroughly the Antonines recognized the *republican* character of their empire.

tokened roughness and violence. It might be said of him, as of Socrates, that he could both abstain from and enjoy the things which men in general can neither abstain from at all, nor enjoy without excess." Such is the picture drawn by the reverence of one who ascribed every excellence of his own character to his success in imitating such a pattern; and while the Christian historian laments that Aurelius is branded with the ignominy of a persecutor, he will remember that, alone of all the great emperors of this age, Antoninus Pius is free from that stigma. The very philosophy which was the boast of Aurelius betrayed him into a pedantic intolerance, for which there was no place in the serene practical goodness of Antoninus. While, too, we recognize in both princes, for the first time in the annals of the empire, the purpose of governing with a single view to the happiness of their people,—the realization of that idea, scarcely ever put forward but as the veil of tyranny, a *paternal* government,—we shall find the reason of this great exception to the practice of absolute monarchs in the fact, that the basis of their power was not despotic. They never forgot that their authority, however great, was held from the free Senate of a free people; not by the caprice of an indulged soldiery; not by the holy right of a vicegerent of the Almighty; nor by the mysterious title which stamps a successful adventurer as the child of destiny. In this sense, at least, the Antonines were no Cæsars.

Antoninus took up his residence at Rome, and never left the neighbourhood of the city during the whole twenty-three years of his reign; but his vigilance reached the remote frontiers, on many parts of which there were incessant hostilities with the barbarians. The peaceful emperor seems to have been content with defence, abstaining from the quest of glory. But in some quarters an enterprizing general would carry forward the frontier, like Lollius Urbicus in Britain, who drew a new earthen rampart —the *Vallum Antonini*—along Agricola's further line of posts, between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. At the other extremity of the empire, a king was imposed upon the Lazi beyond the river Phasis; Rome mediated between the Scythians and the Greek cities on the northern shore of the Euxine, and the mere terror of her name was still able to check the Parthian schemes upon Armenia. So stedfast, however, was the adherence of Antoninus to the policy of not extending the boundaries of the empire, that he declined the voluntary offers of submission, which several barbarian chieftains brought to him at Rome. His reign

was one of those periods which have been pronounced happy because they are barren of events, and the placid temper of the prince gave him the full enjoyment of the felicity of his people. Simple in his personal habits, he lived with the nobles on terms of courteous equality; and he showed equal magnanimity in forgiving conspiracies against his life or the malicious tricks of private enemies, and in forbearing with the people, when in a time of dearth they pelted him with stones. The only drawback on his happiness was the licentious conduct of his wife Faustina, whose irregularities he overlooked for the three years that she shared the imperial dignity, nor did he withhold the honours of an apotheosis after her death (A.D. 141). His happy life was ended by a fitting euthanasia. In his seventy-fifth year he was seized with gastric fever at his favourite residence of Lorium in Etruria, and with his last breath he gave to the tribune of the guard a watchword in which was embodied the whole character of his own life—*Equanimity* (March 7, A.D. 161). He was buried in the mausoleum of Hadrian, which he had completed. The apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina is represented on the base of the column erected by the emperor, a work similar to that of Trajan, though on a smaller scale. To him also the city of Nismes, from which his ancestors came to Rome, is believed to owe the amphitheatre and aqueduct (the *Pont-du-Gard*), which form the finest remains of Roman architecture out of Italy.

The last official act of Antoninus Pius was to order the insignia of the imperial sovereignty to be carried to the chamber of his adopted son and colleague, who is usually designated in history by the simple name of MARCUS AURELIUS. This great prince cannot be better introduced upon the scene than by the eloquent words of the modern historian:—"Of all the Cæsars whose names are enshrined in the page of history, or whose features are preserved to us in the repositories of art, one alone seems still to haunt the eternal city in the place and posture most familiar to him in life. In the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which crowns the platform of the Campidoglio, imperial Rome lives again. Of all her consecrated sites, it is to this that the classical pilgrim should most devoutly repair; this, of all the monuments of Roman antiquity, most justly challenges his veneration. For in this figure we behold an emperor, of all the line the noblest and the dearest, such as he actually appeared; we realize in one august exemplar the character and image of the rulers of the world. We stand here face to face with a representative of the Scipios and Cæsars,

with a model of the heroes of Tacitus and Livy. Our other Romans are effigies of the closet and the museum; this alone is a man of the streets, the Forum, and the Capitol. Such special prominence is well reserved, amidst the wreck of ages, for him whom historians combine to honour as the worthiest of the Roman people." The fifth emperor of the new series was, like his four predecessors, of provincial extraction. Like Trajan and Hadrian, he derived his origin from Spain; but, like Antoninus, he was born in Italy. His great-grandfather, Annius Verus, a native of the municipium of Succubo in Spain, attained to prætorian rank at Rome, where his son, Annius Verus, became consul for the third time in A.D. 126, and was appointed by Hadrian to succeed Similis as prefect of the prætorians. His grandson, the future emperor, was born at Rome, on the Cælian hill, on the 20th of April, A.D. 121. The death of his father, in the year of his prætorship, left the boy to the care of his grandfather, through whose position at court he was brought under the emperor's notice. Hadrian made him a knight at the age of six, and a Salian priest at eight, and was wont to pay his tribute to the boy's truthfulness by saying that he should not be called *Verus* but *Verissimus*. On the completion of his fifteenth year, Marcus received the dress of manhood, and was betrothed to the daughter of Ælius Verus, Hadrian's first associate in the empire. But the death of Ælius Verus raised the youth, as we have seen, to the dignity of the adopted son of Antoninus. The intended alliance with Ælia was broken off, and the youthful Cæsar was betrothed to his first cousin Annia Faustina, the daughter of Antoninus. The marriage took place seven years later (A.D. 145). Meanwhile, by the care of Antoninus, Aurelius, now seventeen years old, was aided by the best professors in the pursuit of those studies to which he was ardently devoted. The manly and martial exercises of a Roman noble were of course not neglected in his training; and he began, from his association in the empire, to take a part in its affairs; but all his leisure was spent in his study, which he is said never to have quitted but for two nights. Like the two Catos, he followed the philosophy of the Stoics, whose distinctive dress and strict discipline he adopted as early as his twelfth year. But what distinguished Aurelius above all the students of antiquity was the consistent and unwavering resolution with which he modelled his life upon those precepts, the sum of all the wisdom of the schools, which he learnt from the books of others, or embodied in his own. We have already seen, by his own emphatic

testimony, how much of his truest wisdom he owed to the training and example of Antoninus in the practical duties of life. His celebrated work of "Self-Communion," as the Greek title may be translated,*—generally known as the *Meditations of M. Aurelius Antoninus*—which is no formal treatise upon ethical philosophy, but a record of his thoughts and feelings, made with all the freshness of the occasion that prompted each—vindicates to all ages the title under which he was addressed by the Christian apologist, Justin Martyr, of "Verissimus, the philosopher," a title which became his well-known epithet. His studies were pursued under the most distinguished teachers to be found at Rome, the philosophers Diognotus, Apollonius, and Junius Rusticus, and the rhetoricians Herodes Atticus and Cornelius Fronto; and even after his elevation to the purple, he attended the lectures of Sextus of Chæronea, the grandson of Plutarch.

Marcus Aurelius was in his eighteenth year at the death of Hadrian. Two years later he was made consul (A.D. 140), and in A.D. 147, at the same time that Faustina bore him a daughter, he received the tribunitian power, and thenceforth took a constant part in the cares and dignities of empire. At the death of Antoninus, he had nearly completed his fortieth year; and his adoptive brother, L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus Verus, was thirty-one. No mention was made of the latter in the last act by which Antoninus designated his successor, nor in the Senate's confirmation of the appointment; but Marcus showed wisdom as well as magnanimity in conferring upon Verus an equal share in his imperium. While he gratified his affection for one who had been brought up with him as a brother, he might well be glad to devolve some of the arduous duties, demanded by the growing dangers on the frontiers, upon a young and active colleague, who seems as yet to have betrayed but little of the vicious nature inherited from his father. Thus, for the first time in the history of the empire, there were two *Augusti;* and for the first time, too, an heir who actually succeeded his father was "born in the purple,"† M. Aurelius Commodus, the last of the Antonines (August 31st, A.D. 161).

The tranquillity of the time of Antoninus Pius has been well compared to

"The torrent's stillness ere it dash below;"

and the reign of Aurelius, instead of fulfilling the hopes of uni-

* Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν. The work was written in Greek, in twelve books.

† This phrase, *Porphyrogenitus*, denoted a child born to a reigning emperor.

versal peace under the rule of a serene philosophy, marks the beginning of the empire's downward career. The barbarian forces which were destined to end the period of Roman domination had already become more and more menacing upon the Danubian frontier; and the Parthians, so long restrained by the lesson they had received from Trajan, suddenly appeared as aggressors. Upon the death of Antoninus, Vologeses III. crossed the Euphrates, and destroyed a legion at Elegia. Even before the news reached Rome, Verus, after his betrothal to Lucilla, the daughter of Aurelius, had been sent to conduct the expected war; but he was loitering in Apulia, while the Parthian cavalry were spreading devastation throughout Syria. But the province fortunately possessed a commander fit to contend against the storm, and in whom the name of Cassius, already renowned of old in the Parthian wars, obtained new lustre. Even when Verus reached the province, he remained at Antioch, indulging in the licentious pleasures of the grove of Daphne, or betraying his ill-humour at the saucy populace, while the war was conducted with brilliant success by Avidius Cassius. It was not, like Trajan's, a mere military progress. The Parthians had resumed all their ancient valour, and their resistance was prolonged for no less than five years (A.D. 162—166). The most sanguinary of the battles fought were those of Europus and Sura, on the Euphrates. But the Romans were completely victorious. The conquests of Trajan were recovered. Seleucia was sacked: the royal palace at Ctesiphon was burnt: Babylon was reached by Cassius: and in Armenia, Artaxata was retaken by Statius Priscus. The Parthian king purchased peace by the restoration of the province of Mesopotamia. Verus, who had only once quitted the delights of Antioch, in order to meet his bride at Ephesus (A.D. 164), returned to celebrate the triumph which Aurelius reluctantly shared. The epithets given to both emperors, *Parthicus*, *Armeniacus*, and *Medicus*, commemorated the last brilliant triumphs of the empire. Parthia seems to have been almost exhausted by this, her last great struggle with the arms of Rome; and the confused annals of her remaining kings offer no points of interest except the wars in which Severus and Caracalla crushed the remnant of her power, and prepared for the successful revolt of the old Persian nationality under Ardshir, or Artaxerxes, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 226).

The domestic government which Aurelius had meanwhile conducted at Rome was distinguished by his deference for the Senate —whose judicial functions he enlarged, and whose meetings he

regularly attended—and for his choice of the ablest and most virtuous ministers and prefects. Such were the rhetoricians, Junius Rusticus, prefect of the city, and Cornelius Fronto, the former tutor of both emperors,* the jurist Salvius Julianus, who was also prefect of the city, and the distinguished soldier, Helvius Pertinax, whose involuntary experiment of empire was more unfortunate even than Galba's. But immediately after the triumph, which Aurelius consented to share with Verus, in order to cover his unworthy colleague with the lustre of his own reputation, he was called from the calm tenour of his course to deal with danger on the frontiers, and a new disaster in the heart of Italy. The attacks of the barbarians along the whole line of the Danube had only been staved off by bribery till the return of the legions from the East: and the appearance of the Scythian *Alani*, who became so formidable at a later period, indicates the pressure of distant tribes from the East.† It was impossible to entrust Verus with this new war after his conduct in the East; and while he was occupied with the vile ministers of luxury whom he had brought back from Syria. But a still worse evil had followed in the track of the returning legions. That murderous passion, the inheritance of our fallen race from Cain, which has made war the means of compassing our desires, is ever scourged by a natural retribution of which slaughter on the field of battle is the least part. The hosts of rude men and dissolute camp-followers, crowded together in masses which are ever producing physical and moral pollution, subject to the extremes of want and dissipation, of exhausting fatigue and enervating rest, and gathering up the germs of en-

* The literary remains of this celebrated man are thus characterized by Mr. Merivale :—"The discovery of the remains of Fronto, consisting of a large number of letters between him and his pupils Aurelius and Verus, together with a sketch of contemporary history (*Principia Historiæ*), and some miscellaneous fragments, has lowered rather than raised the reputation of a man who, in his own age, was considered a second Cicero. His history is a vapid panegyric, his letters idle prattle. He was, perhaps, very old at the time of writing them; but, at best, they cast a fatal shade over the literary character of the age."

† The name signifies *Mountaineers*, from the Sarmatian *ala*, a *mountain*. The chief seat of the Alani seems to have been about the eastern extremity of the Caucasus, in *Albania*, which appears to be another form of the same name. Included vaguely among the Scythian tribes, they were probably a branch of the Massagetæ, or Turkomans. They first appeared in Media and Armenia under Vespasian; and it would seem that a branch of the nation had now made a circuit round the northern shores of the Black Sea to the Danube. More than two centuries later the mass of them were compelled to join the great westward movement of the Huns, separating from whom again, they united with the Vandals in the invasion of Spain and Africa, where they became merged in the name of their more powerful allies.

demic disease in their movements from place to place, cannot fail to engender and propagate all forms of pestilence. Thus the Syrian army brought back from the East a virulent pestilence (apparently the true Oriental Plague), which spread along their line of march, extended through several provinces, and so devastated the whole of Italy, that villas, towns, and lands were everywhere left without inhabitant or cultivator, and fell to ruin, or relapsed into wilderness. Such is the account of the Christian historian, Orosius, who regards the visitation as a punishment for the persecution which had already broken out, he says, in Asia and Gaul; while the Romans, in search of victims on whom to lay their sufferings, were the more exasperated against the Christians, as their expectation of the approaching end of the world furnished a pretext for charging them with a malignant joy in the calamities that might destroy it. The philosophy of Aurelius himself seems to have been swept down by this tide of passion; for we may probably assign to the year 167 the first of the two great persecutions which disgraced his reign, that in which Justin Martyr died at Rome and Polycarp at Smyrna. It is a melancholy spectacle to behold the prince, whom Justin had addressed as "the philosopher," propitiating the gods in whom he can scarcely have believed with strange ceremonies borrowed from every part of his empire, while he rejected the faith commended to him by the apologist. He delayed his departure for seven days to perform the ceremonies of lustration, and took the field at last at the head of an army decimated by pestilence. Three years are said to have been needed for the restoration of the legions to their proper number.

As Aurelius could no more trust Verus with the government of the city than with the sole conduct of the war, both emperors left the city together (A.D. 167). At Aquileia they learnt that the Marcomanni had retired across the Danube; and the Quadi offered to accept a king from the Romans. Verus was now eager to press forward; but Aurelius restrained his rashness, and they returned to Rome. Meanwhile the slaves were enlisted to recruit the forces which were again thinned by pestilence as fast as they mustered at Aquileia. The efforts made to combat the disease were directed by the celebrated physician GALEN, who had also the special charge of the infant Cæsar Commodus. It was either towards the end of 168 or early in 169, that the emperors rejoined the army, and crossed the Julian Alps. But the weakness of their troops from pestilence compelled them to

retire into the Venetian territory, where Verus was seized with apoplexy, and expired at Altinum, at the age of 39 (A.D. 169). Aurelius returned to Rome to pay the honours of an apotheosis to the brother whose faults he had never ceased to bear with, and then hastened back to his army at Carnuntum. Though no longer embarrassed by the indolent reluctance of his colleague, the philosopher found himself wanting in the qualities of a great general; and the officers, on whose advice he unreservedly threw himself, found fault at one time with his severity, at another with the studies with which he relieved his military cares during a five years' war. Of the details of this long contest with the united forces of the German, Sarmatian, and Scythian tribes, the Marcomanni and Quadi, the Iazyges and Alani, and many others, we have little information. The winter was the favourite season for the inroads of the barbarians; and Dion has left us a vivid account of a battle upon the frozen Danube, where the Romans could only keep their footing by standing upon their shields. The decisive battle at length fought with the Quadi in the year 174 has attained peculiar celebrity from the ascription of the victory to a sudden storm, which supplied the Romans with water at the same time that it discomfited the barbarians. That some such event occurred is attested by the sculptures on the column of Aurelius (a monument similar and but little inferior to that of Trajan), which represents Jove sending forth rain and thunderbolts.* We might leave the poet Claudian to conjecture whether the deliverance was earned by the piety of Marcus or by the incantations of the Chaldæans in his army, had it not been claimed, both in ancient and modern times, for the prayers of a body of Christian soldiers, who were thenceforth designated as the Thundering Legion. It is the less needful to insist here upon the vital distinction between the real miracles, which formed the divine credentials of the first teachers of a new faith, and their pretended repetitions after the completion of the historic testimony to the truth had left no more room for them, or on the uniform failure of the latter before those tests which only clear the former of all doubt, since this particular wonder is now given up even by those Protestants who insist on the perpetuity of miraculous powers in

* The column, which is adorned, just like that of Trajan, with a spiral bas-relief of the victories of Aurelius over the Marcomanni and Sarmatians, is represented on medals as surmounted by a statue of the emperor, which had long disappeared, when it was replaced by Sixtus V. with the image of St. Paul, as Trajan's column was crowned with that of St. Peter.

the church.* But we need not hesitate to believe that there was in the Roman army a band of Christian soldiers, whose religion made them the most faithful servants even of a persecuting emperor, and who gained their famous title by their proof of what has been confirmed by every age down to our own, that pure devotion is the most fruitful spring of genuine heroism. One such victory, however, was quite inadequate to quell the immense hosts of Germans and Sarmatians, whom the increasing pressure of the Scythian tribes urged, wave upon wave, across the feeble barrier of the Danube; and the emperor was called from the scene of action by domestic troubles and the foulest treason.

His elder son Annius died after a long decline; and Commodus, though the pupil of the sage Fronto, began from early youth to display his vicious nature. The empress Faustina, not content with imitating the vices of her mother, and receiving the same forbearance, is said to have conspired against her husband's power and life, at the very time when she accompanied him to the field and was saluted by the victorious legions as the Mother of Camps. Perceiving how the fatigues of war had told upon the health of Aurelius, enfeebled by his sedentary life, she is said to have offered her hand to Avidius Cassius, whose imagination had long been inflamed with the idea of emulating his ancestor, Longinus the tyrannicide. Cassius united to the ability which had saved Syria from the Parthians a stern severity modelled upon republican precedents, but intolerable to the soldiers of the empire. A sudden rumour of the death of Aurelius precipitated the conspiracy. Cassius announced himself to the legions as the new emperor; what followed is differently related; but all agree that he was soon put to death by his own officers, and his head was brought to Aurelius. The emperor pitied his fate; lamented that he had lost the opportunity of forgiving him; protected his family; and enjoined upon the Senate to deal mercifully with his accomplices.

Before the news of the rebel's fall arrived, Aurelius, who was in Pannonia, had sent for his son Commodus, invested him with the

* While abstaining from the discussion of matters purely theological, we may point out, in passing, how much the question is darkened by the common confusion between *miracles*, or supernatural acts, wrought expressly as the attestation of a divine mission, and those extraordinary, but not necessarily supernatural, exhibitions of divine power, whether for the deliverance or chastisement of men, which are more properly called *special providences*. The habitual inaccuracy of common language calls every *wonder* a *miracle*, and even so flatly contradicts the special sense of the word as to talk of the *miracles of science*, that is, the *supernatural* phenomena of *nature*.

manly dress, and designated him for the consulship. He then set out for the East, accompanied by Faustina, who died at Halala at the foot of Taurus. Still emulating the generous affection of Antoninus, Aurelius asked the Senate for divine honours to his unfaithful wife, and commemorated her by one of the few charitable foundations of antiquity, the Faustinian institution for orphan girls. Having received at Antioch the enthusiastic greetings of the legions, and restored order to the province, Aurelius proceeded to Alexandria, where he attended the lectures of the professors in the dress of a private citizen. Thence he sailed to Athens, and caused himself to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, "to prove himself without sin."* Here he instituted what would be called in the language of our day an international school of learning, by providing salaried teachers of all sciences for people of all languages. He landed at Brundisium in the autumn of 176, and the year ended with his triumph over the Sarmatians (Dec. 23rd, A.D. 176). Commodus, who was associated in this honour, received the tribunitian power in the following year, in which the name of Aurelius was disgraced by the great persecution of the Christians in Gaul.†

Though wearied in body and mind with incessant wars, Aurelius was not permitted to end his days in philosophic calmness. The irruptions of the Marcomanni, the Sarmatians, and their allies, again called him to the Danube, as soon as he had celebrated the nuptials of Commodus with Crispina; and Commodus accompanied his father. The details of this, as of the former war, are almost unknown. Some successes were gained; but, considering the disgraceful peace which followed the death of Aurelius, we cannot believe the statement, that the great league of the barbarians was almost broken up. Whether, however, from an assured triumph or an impending defeat, the emperor was snatched away by a fever, to which his exhausted frame succumbed, either at Sirmium or Vindobona (*Vienna*) on the 17th of March, A.D. 180, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign. Dion Cassius expressly affirms that his end was hastened by poison administered by the physicians in the interest of Commodus.

MARCUS AURELIUS COMMODUS ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS — for the new emperor exchanged his prænomen of Lucius for his father's —was only nineteen years old when he succeeded to the imperial dignity. The events of his reign of nearly thirteen years are

* "Ut se innocentem probaret." Capitol. c. 27.

† See Chapter XL.

summed up by the Augustan historian in victories over the Moors and Dacians, the restoration of order in Pannonia, and the suppression of rebellions among the provincials in Britain, Germany, and Dacia. This enumeration of external wars and internal troubles is a confession that the empire had now entered upon the downward course. While the skilful generals of Commodus, like those of Domitian, postponed the fatal day by their successes upon the frontiers, his personal character and rule form almost an exact parallel to those of Nero. Like his prototype, he had as yet given little ground for alarm, save by his indulgence in licentious pleasures; but his weak nature only needed the impulse of suspicion to break forth into cruelty. Eager to return to the pleasures of the capital, he purchased a peace from the barbarians, an act of humiliation which marks the decisive turn in the tide of Roman empire. The Italians, dispirited by the long war, were easily persuaded that the young emperor brought back an honourable peace: an enthusiastic reception was accorded to the graceful son of the beloved Aurelius; and there were doubtless some who welcomed the gay youth as a relief from the austere virtue of his father. No notice seems to have been taken of his omission, which soon became fearfully significant, of the vow recorded by every emperor since Domitian, to hold the lives of senators as sacred; but his clemency to Manilius, the secretary of Avidius Cassius, when discovered after a long concealment, seemed a pledge that he would follow in their steps. The excesses of Commodus and his dissolute companions were not severely judged so long as he left the government to his father's trusted counsellors. "The dregs of Romulus" were indulged to the full with largesses and games, and to those who were blind to the necessary result of the emperor's profusion, his beginnings promised liberty and peace.

Commodus had scarcely reigned three years, when all was changed by a plot formed against his life by his sister Lucilla, the widow of Verus, through jealousy of the influence of his wife Crispina. This true daughter of the profligate Faustina found accomplices and tools among her lovers; but the plot was frustrated by the vanity or treachery of the hired assassin. Instead of striking first and boasting afterwards, he rushed upon Commodus in a dark corridor of the amphitheatre with the cry, *The Senate sends you this.* Seized by the guards, he betrayed the conspirators: but his first words roused all the rage of Commodus against the dreaded order. The "delators" sprang up again, like foul

weeds, in the warmth of the emperor's anger. Their first victims were the old ministers of Aurelius, under whose restraint the young prince chafed; and none of them escaped, but Pertinax, Victorinus, and Claudius Pompeianus, the virtuous husband to whom Lucilla had not dared to reveal her plot. The Senate, which the last five princes had cherished as the heart of the body politic, was again decimated as by Domitian. The rich, whose wealth was coveted by the extravagant prince and the needy informers,—the virtuous, whose character put his to shame,—those whose eminent services piqued his jealousy,—were alike marked for slaughter, with all who could lament or avenge them. "Of these innocent victims of tyranny, none died more lamented than the two brothers of the Quintilian family, Maximus and Condianus, whose fraternal love has saved their name from oblivion and endeared their memory to posterity. Their studies and their occupations, their pursuits and their pleasures, were still the same. In the enjoyment of a great estate, they never admitted the idea of a separate interest: some fragments are now extant of a treatise which they composed in common; and in every action of life it was observed that their two bodies were animated by one soul. The Antonines, who valued their virtues, and delighted in their union, raised them in the same year to the consulship: and Marcus afterwards entrusted to their joint care the civil administration of Greece, and a great military command, in which they obtained a signal victory over the Germans. The kind cruelty of Commodus united them in death." *

This new reign of terror extinguished at a blow the freedom and dignity that the Senate had enjoyed for nearly a century, and proved that the attempt to revive the republic under an emperor had failed, for want of securities against imperial tyranny. Still the generals who had served Aurelius watched over the provinces and frontiers. Dacia was held against the renewed attacks of the barbarians by Clodius Albinus and Pescennius Niger, who became afterwards competitors with Severus for the empire (A.D. 182, 183). In Britain, a formidable irruption of the Caledonians across the wall of Antoninus was repulsed by Ulpius Marcellus (A.D. 184). The glories of these successes were assigned to Commodus, who assumed the title of Britannicus, and was saluted Imperator no less than seven times. But the spirit of disaffection was growing

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 225. The references to Gibbon are according to the edition of Dean Milman and Dr. W. Smith, 8 vols., 8vo, London, 1854.

both among the soldiers and provincials, especially in the West, where the high-roads were infested by bodies of deserters. A private soldier, named Maternus, collected some of these bands into a formidable force, which plundered the cities both of Gaul and Spain. Beset by the Roman troops, Maternus formed the bold design of sending his followers in small parties across the Alps, and raising an insurrection at Rome amidst the licence of the Megalesian feast of Cybele; but the plot was betrayed by an accomplice. Meanwhile Italy suffered from the continuance of the pestilence as well as from famine; and extraordinary supplies of corn were imported from Africa (A.D. 186). The domestic government, with the command of the Prætorians, was entrusted to Perennis, whom Dion extols as an able and blameless minister, while others represent him as a monster of cruelty and avarice. He was sacrificed by the emperor, according to the most probable account, to the jealousy fomented by a new favourite, named Cleander, who succeeded to his office (A.D. 185). This Phrygian, who had entered the imperial palace as a slave, and risen to favour by ministering to the emperor's vices, maintained his ascendancy for three years by gratifying the emperor with rich presents, and the people with splendid buildings and baths, out of the wealth accumulated by the open sale of public offices and of justice. At length in a tumult excited by a famine, the populace and urban cohorts, enraged at the blood shed in the streets by the prætorian cavalry, surrounded the palace, demanding the head of Cleander, whom Commodus sacrificed at the entreaties of his sister and his favourite concubine (A.D. 189).

As for the emperor himself, his time was divided between private vices, of which it is a shame even to speak, and public exhibitions far more disgraceful than those of Nero; for, with the same morbid vanity, he had none of the spirit of an artist. The masters provided for him by his father had been unable to imbue his coarse nature either with learning or taste; and the proficiency in martial exercises, which might have gained deserved applause on the field of battle, was prostituted to senseless and cruel displays in the amphitheatre. Protecting his august person by a screen of net-work, he exhibited the skill he had acquired from the Parthian archers, slaying a hundred lions with a hundred darts, piercing the hides of the elephant and rhinoceros, and severing the neck of the ostrich with arrows tipped with a crescent-shaped blade.* As the exterminator of savage beasts, he assumed the

* Gibbon's note on these performances is worth transcribing, if only that the pre-

name and attributes of Hercules, and appeared in the arena in the character of the slayer of the Lernæan hydra. Wretches enclosed in painted cases ending in serpents' tails were battered to pieces by the club of the mock deity. Not content with these exploits, Commodus fought as a gladiator more than seven hundred times, if it could be called a fight, where the emperor was armed with the sword and mail of a *secutor*,* against antagonists whose only weapons were of lead or tin. Always of course victorious, he seldom ventured to outrage the spectators by taking the life of his antagonist.

To these traits of a Domitian and a Nero, Commodus added the blasphemous assumptions of a Caligula. Caius had invited the worship of such as chose to recognize his deity; but Commodus was the first emperor that dared to place on record the claim to divinity before death, surmounting his statues with the head of Hercules, and stamping the insignia of the god upon his coins. Like the worst of his predecessors, Commodus was addicted to the superstitions imported from every province of the empire; and he officiated as a priest at the orgies of Isis, Anubis, Serapis, and Mithra. Former emperors had made vain attempts to imitate the honours conferred upon Julius and Augustus by giving their names to single months of the year, but Commodus attempted to impose upon all twelve the bead-roll of the style and title, which of itself bears witness to an arrogance only comparable to that of the Syrian Seleucidæ:—*Amazonius Invictus Felix Pius Lucius Ælius Aurelius Commodus Augustus Herculeus Romanus Exsuperatorius!* Nay, Rome itself was to be called *Colonia Commodiana*, the Senate, the people, and the armies were all to bear the same epithet, and the age blessed with such a deity upon earth was to be ever remembered as the *Sæculum Aureum Commodianum*. But this Golden Age was doomed to have a speedy end.

sent generation may learn to value their every-day means of knowledge:—"Commodus killed a camelopardalis or giraffe, the tallest, the most gentle, and the most useless of the large quadrupeds. This singular animal, a native only of the interior parts of Africa, has not been seen in Europe since the revival of letters; and though M. de Buffon has endeavoured to describe, he has not ventured to delineate the giraffe." Milman observes that "Gibbon is mistaken, as a giraffe was presented to Lorenzo de' Medici, either by the sultan of Egypt or the king of Tunis."

* The wall-paintings at Pompeii have made us familiar with the curious combat between the *Retiarius* (Net-bearer) and *Secutor* (Pursuer). The latter, armed with a sword, and protected by armour, pursued the former, who carried a net and trident, and fled, watching for the opportunity to cast his net over his formidable antagonist, who then became helpless, and awaited his fate from the decision of the spectators.

The strange epithet, which leads off the above list of the imperial titles, was assumed by Commodus as a compliment to his favourite mistress Marcia, whom he was fond of beholding arrayed in the dress of an Amazon. For the occasion of celebrating its application to the first month of the new year, Commodus had prepared a spectacle, the most ridiculous and degrading that had ever been exhibited at Rome. He had resolved to put to death the consuls elect, and to assume the consulship himself, marching from the palace to the Capitol in the armour of a *secutor*, followed by a retinue from the schools of gladiators. Marcia herself, with the prætorian prefect Lætus and the chamberlain Eclectus, attempted to dissuade him from such a mockery of the most august solemnities of the state; but Commodus drove them from his presence, and placed their names at the head of a list of victims doomed to death. The tablets were found by a favourite child in the room to which the emperor had retired for his siesta, and carried in sport to Marcia, who at once communicated the discovery to Lætus and Eclectus. That same evening, the last of the year 192, Marcia presented a poisoned cup of wine to Commodus on his return, wearied and thirsty, from the amphitheatre. As she watched beside his restless couch, fear and impatience prompted more speedy measures, and she called in a celebrated wrestler, named Narcissus, who strangled the emperor in his sleep, in the thirty-second year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. "Such was the fate," says Gibbon, "of the son of Marcus, and so easy was it to destroy a hated tyrant, who by the artificial powers of government, had oppressed, during thirteen years, so many millions of subjects, each of whom was equal to their master in personal strength and personal abilities." The body was secretly removed from the palace, and it was given out that the emperor had died from apoplexy. All classes, except the prætorian guards, received the news with enthusiastic joy, and it was only the moderation of the virtuous Pertinax, who was now suddenly called to the purple, that withstood the popular demand, that the tyrant's corpse should be dragged through the streets and flung into the Tiber. He was buried in the mausoleum of Hadrian; and thus the line of the Antonines ended by a fate strikingly resembling the extinction of the Flavian race in the person of Domitian. The Senate set the brand of infamy on the memory of the last Antoninus. The brightest century in the annals of the Roman world closed in disaster and disgrace; the hopes raised by the virtues of five successive emperors were extinguished; the purple, after one last attempt made by the Senate

to uphold its dignity, became again the soldiers' prize; and the empire was finally launched on the headlong slope of rapid decline leading down to inevitable ruin. Such is the epoch marked by the last day of the year 192.

The period from the accession of Nerva to the fall of Commodus was singularly adapted to cultivate those forms of literature, in which, while we miss the creative genius inspired by political liberty and by the sense of having untrodden paths to strike out, we may derive much pleasure and profit from the fruits of learning and meditation, derived from the accumulated wisdom of ages, and fostered by generous and magnanimous princes. In *Tacitus* and *Juvenal*, indeed, we see originality prompted to effort by an indignant sense of the vices and sufferings of their age, and vehemently using the opportunity, which the advent of a better time afforded them, for the free utterance of their indignation. But, for the most part, the writers of this period, Greek as well as Roman, are content to descant upon the greatness of the empire, or to elaborate the learning of an age of universities and schools of rhetoric. This so-called *Silver Age* of the literature of the empire, though deeply interesting to the scholar, demands but a passing notice from the historian, nor does our space permit us to criticize the style or matter even of the leading writers. TACITUS, who wrote chiefly under Trajan, towers above all the rest. "He stands quite alone, and belongs to no school; he is one of the mighty minds which exercise a great influence upon their age, without being the creatures of it" (Niebuhr). His friend, the younger PLINY, has been well compared to the French writers of the eighteenth century for his elegant taste, his easy philosophy, and his irrepressible vanity. SUETONIUS, whom we are obliged to use as an authority side by side with Tacitus, marks the vast inferiority of the historians of the age to that one great genius, and their tendency to the biographical style. In the Greek, the same age was distinguished by the pure Attic orations of the Platonic philosophers, DION CHRYSOSTOM of Prusa in Bithynia, and the fascinating *Parallel Biographies* of Plutarch of Chæronea, and his less known *Moral Writings*, which are admirably characterized by Niebuhr:—"His excellent and amiable character must be felt by every one. It does not require, indeed, much discernment to see his faults as an historian and the weakness of his eclectic philosophy: but we are indebted to him for our knowledge of an infinite variety of things; and, however much we may see and know his faults, yet we can read his works with the highest pleasure."

CHAPTER XL.

THE RISE AND SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY, AND THE FALL OF JUDAISM.—FROM THE ACCESSION OF HEROD THE GREAT TO THE END OF THE ANTONINE PERIOD. A.D. 37 TO A.D. 193.

"And in the days of these kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left (or delivered) to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever."—*Daniel* ii., 44.

"For thus saith the Lord of Hosts: Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the *Desire of all Nations* shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts."—*Haggai* ii., 6, 7.

THE GENERAL DESIRE FOR THE UNION OF THE WORLD, PREPARED FOR, BUT NOT SATISFIED BY THE EMPIRE—EPOCH OF CHRISTIANITY—STATE OF THE HOLY LAND—REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT—MASSACRE OF HIS OPPONENTS—PLOT AND CONDEMNATION OF ANTIPATER—LAST ILLNESS OF HEROD—SEDITION AT JERUSALEM—BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST—ARRIVAL OF THE MAGI—ALARM OF HEROD—MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS—EXECUTION OF ANTIPATER—DEATH OF HEROD—DIVISION OF HIS KINGDOM—ARCHELAUS, KING OF JUDÆA—DEPOSED AND BANISHED—ANTIPAS, TETRARCH OF GALILEE—THE TETRARCH PHILIP—HEROD AGRIPPA I.—HEROD AGRIPPA II.—STATE OF JUDÆA UNDER THE EMPIRE—THE PROCURATOR PONTIUS PILATE—HIS TYRANNICAL GOVERNMENT—MISSION OF JOHN THE BAPTIST, AND MINISTRY OF JESUS CHRIST—ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, AND FAILURE OF THE JEWISH—THE TWO STREAMS OF JEWISH HISTORY—THE DAY OF PENTECOST—THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH—THE APOSTLES AND THE SANHEDRIN—PHILIP AND SIMON MAGUS AT SAMARIA—MARTYRDOM OF STEPHEN, AND CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL—DEATH OF TIBERIUS—BANISHMENT OF PONTIUS PILATE—ARABIAN WAR—ARETAS TAKES DAMASCUS—PAUL ESCAPES TO JERUSALEM, AND RETURNS TO TARSUS—CALIGULA AND AGRIPPA—TUMULT AT ALEXANDRIA—CLAIM OF CALIGULA TO DIVINE HONOURS RESISTED BY THE JEWS—HIS RECEPTION OF THE EMBASSY OF PHILO-JUDÆUS—THE JEWS OF BABYLONIA—DEATH OF CALIGULA—TOLERANT EDICTS OF CLAUDIUS—PEACE OF THE JEWISH CHURCHES—CONVERSION OF CORNELIUS—THE CHURCH AT ANTIOCH—BARNABAS AND PAUL AT JERUSALEM—JOURNEYS OF ST. PAUL—HIS VOYAGE TO ROME, FIRST IMPRISONMENT, AND ACQUITTAL—DOUBTFUL JOURNEY TO THE WEST—HIS FINAL IMPRISONMENT AND MARTYRDOM—JUDÆA AGAIN UNDER PROCURATORS—CUSPIUS FADUS—TIBERIUS ALEXANDER—VENTIDIUS CUMANUS—ANTONIUS FELIX—PARCIUS FESTUS—ALBINUS—GESSIUS FLORUS—OMENS OF DISASTER—DISTURBANCES AT CÆSAREA—MASSACRE AT JERUSALEM—OUTBREAK OF THE REBELLION—ELEAZAR AND THE ZEALOTS—RISE AND DEATH OF MANAHEM—MASSACRE OF ROMAN TROOPS—AND OF JEWS AT CÆSAREA, IN SYRIA, AND AT ALEXANDRIA—ADVANCE OF CESTIUS GALLUS—SIEGE OF JERUSALEM—RETREAT AND COMPLETE OVERTHROW OF CESTIUS—VESPASIAN TAKES THE COMMAND—PREPARATIONS OF THE JEWS—THE MODERATE AND ZEALOT PARTIES—THE HISTORIAN JOSEPHUS—JOHN OF GISCHALA—CAPTURE OF JOTAPATA AND SURRENDER OF JOSEPHUS—HIS CHARACTER AS AN HISTORIAN—REFLECTIONS ON THE RESISTANCE OF THE JEWS—SLAUGHTER OF THE SAMARITANS—DEVASTATION OF GALILEE, PERÆA, AND IDUMÆA—DEATH OF NERO—CONDITION OF JERUSALEM—THE ZEALOTS AND ASSASSINS—THE IDUMÆAN BANDITS—FATE OF ANTIPAS, ANANUS, AND ZACHARIAS THE SON OF BARUCH—TITUS SENT AGAINST JERUSALEM—SECESSION OF THE CHRISTIANS—THREE FACTIONS IN THE CITY—TITUS FORMS THE SIEGE—HIS NARROW ESCAPE—VIGOUR OF THE DEFENCE—HORRORS OF THE SIEGE—CAPTURE OF BEZETHA AND ANTONIA—BURNING OF THE TEMPLE AND DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM—FINAL JEWISH WAR UNDER HADRIAN—BUILDING OF ÆLIA CAPITOLINA—THE CHRISTIANS UNDER THE

FLAVIAN EMPERORS—THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA—ST. JOHN AND THE OTHER APOSTLES—TRAJAN: LETTER OF PLINY: MARTYRDOM OF IGNATIUS—THE CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS—PERSECUTION OF AURELIUS—JUSTIN MARTYR AND POLYCARP—MARTYRS OF LYON AND VIENNE—IRENÆUS—CHRISTIANITY AT THE DEATH OF COMMODUS.

IN reading the annals of the emperors of Rome, we cannot but often pause to ask how it was that so large a portion of the civilized world acquiesced in their domination. No political system has ever held its ground for long, unless it has had a foundation in the feelings, wishes, and wants of a great portion of mankind. The yearning for unity, the aspiration after concord and co-operation for the good of all mankind, can cast a delusive halo around the projects of universal empire, or discover a sense in the dream of "the solidarity of the peoples." To such sentiments Augustus and Vespasian successfully appealed: such hopes lightened the yoke of a Nero and a Commodus. The universal prevalence of such ideas in the age of the Cæsars is attested by a mass of heathen, Jewish, and Christian testimonies. The state of the world itself,—with its civilization carried to the highest point of ripeness and corruption, its philosophy displaying the very exhaustion of human wisdom, its barbarian tribes struggling to be born into mighty nations,—declared that, if the lesson were true that was taught to the king of Babylon, "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will," now was the time for HIS interposition. Nor was the want more pressing than the preparations to satisfy it were complete. The nations that formed the wide field of ancient civilization, grouped around the great inland sea which made their communication easy, had been conducted through the experiments of patriarchal royalty and republican freedom, cultivated by the resources commanded by mighty monarchs or created by the genius of liberty, till they were united under the empire of Rome, and that empire subjected to one will, not only that a universal empire might prepare the way for the messengers of the King of kings, but that the experiment of political union on worldly principles might have a fair trial. Such was the external aspect of a world waiting for its King: its moral and spiritual want of a Saviour may be summed up in the pregnant utterances of the Apostle Paul:—"For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe:"—"We have proved, both Jews and Gentiles, that all are under sin: that the promise by faith of JESUS CHRIST might be given to them that believe." How that promise, which it had been the whole purpose of the history

of the Jews to preserve for the whole world, was now fulfilled,—how it began to eclipse its own shadow among the Jews, and to satisfy the yearnings of the Gentiles,—to relate this from the historical, and not from the theological point of view, is the arduous but inviting subject of this chapter. In appealing to his readers for that indulgent sympathy which he most of all needs in this portion of his work, the author feels that he is most likely to secure it if he asks them to join him in the invocation:—

> "So much the rather thou, celestial Light,
> Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
> Irradiate; there plant eyes: all mist from thence
> Purge and disperse; that I may see and tell
> Of things invisible to mortal sight."

The Scriptures themselves introduce us to Christianity, as to Judaism, from a purely historical point of view; and we have now to look back to the state of Palestine at the epoch when it was made the scene of the advent of the Saviour of the World.

We have followed the history of the Jews in the Holy Land down to the appointment of Herod, the son of Antipater, as king of Judæa by the favour of Antony (B.C. 40), and the capture of Jerusalem and the extinction of the Asmonæan dynasty in the year B.C. 37, which marks the commencement of the reign of HEROD, misnamed THE GREAT.* Thus far he had played the part of a successful adventurer, who had allowed no scruples of principle, nor any restraints of his professed religion to impede his favour with his powerful patrons at Alexandria and Rome. But the prize thus gained had to be defended against the opposition and revenge of priests and people, the greater part of whom had been favourable to Antigonus; and Herod plunged into that sea of blood in which it is hardly a figure of speech to say that he bathed every day of his reign. He began by punishing the whole Sanhedrin with death, for their resolution in defending the city, except the two great Rabbis, Shemeiah and Abtaleon, who had advised a capitulation; and most of the chief adherents of Antigonus shared their fate. The property of the slain repaid Antony for the services of the Roman army, and delivered Jerusalem from its licence. Hyrcanus now returned from his captivity in Parthia; but the mutilation he had suffered from Antigonus forbade his resuming the high-priesthood; and even Herod dared not, as an Idumæan, assume the sacred office; so he conferred it upon an obscure Babylonian priest, named Ananel. Upon this Alexandra, the mother

* See pp. 180—1.

of Aristobulus and Mariamne, did not scruple to send the portraits of both to Antony, with a purpose which indicates the hold that Greek vices had taken upon the Jews. To avert the danger, Herod hastened to set up Aristobulus, then a youth of sixteen years old, in place of Ananel; and we have seen how the popular applause which greeted the young Asmonæan was avenged by his murder (B.C. 35).* Ananel was now replaced in the high-priesthood, and the renewed complaint which Alexandra made to Cleopatra was rendered harmless by the bribes and personal influence of Herod with Antony, who, when the Jewish king obeyed his summons to Laodicea, treated him with the highest distinction, and added Cœle-Syria to his dominions. Herod, however, had been so doubtful of his reception, that he had left orders with his brother Joseph, to whom he committed the government of Jerusalem, to put Mariamne to death on the news of any evil to himself. The secret was betrayed by Joseph, and Alexandra easily persuaded her daughter to take measures for securing the kingdom, even at the price of becoming Antony's mistress. The suspicions which Herod's sister Salome hastened to instil into his mind, were roused to fury when Mariamne, in her fond folly, betrayed her knowledge of the fatal order, which Herod naturally supposed that love alone could have extracted from Joseph. Her charms saved her from instant death, but Joseph was executed, and Alexandra imprisoned with every indignity. Some years later, when Antony set out on his expedition against Parthia, Cleopatra, on her return from escorting him on his journey, visited Herod at Jerusalem. The wily king was as firm in resisting her fascination as her enmity, and he is said to have been only dissuaded by his friends from changing, probably, the current of events by her assassination (B.C. 34). He afterwards made war upon the Arab king Malchus, to enforce the tribute claimed by Cleopatra; and the very act, by which he gratified her and Antony, saved him from taking a part in the final war with Octavian. Meanwhile, though at first successful in the Arabian war, Herod was involved in a great defeat by the treachery of the Egyptian general, Athenion; and a terrible earthquake, which overthrew many cities of Judæa, with the loss of 30,000 lives, emboldened Malchus to put Herod's ambassadors to death. But a signal vengeance was exacted for the outrage, and Herod returned from his victory to prepare for meeting Octavian at Rhodes. The aged Hyrcanus now ended the vicissitudes of his eighty years of life by a judicial murder, on the

* See p. 181.

charge of a treasonable correspondence with the Arabian king. The government was entrusted by Herod to his brother Pheroras; his mother, sister, and children were secured in the fortress of Massada; and Mariamne was placed, with her mother, in that of Alexandrion, under the care of Soëmus, with the same fatal orders formerly given to Joseph.

Herod might well doubt his reception by the conqueror, whose hard heart was not likely to be won by flattery. His profound knowledge of human nature adopted a very different tone. He boldly avowed his attachment to Antony, who might have succeeded by following his advice, to put Cleopatra to death, and devote all his resources to the war. Since Antony had adopted a course more fatal to himself, more advantageous to his conqueror, the fidelity which would have saved him was the earnest of that which was ready to repay the clemency of Octavian. Such devotion struck an answering chord in the heart of Cæsar's avenger; and the impulse of generosity and policy was quickened by the presents which Herod offered. Restored to his throne, the Jewish king afterwards confirmed his favour with Cæsar by entertaining him magnificently at Ptolemais, providing for the wants of his army, and making him a present of eight hundred talents. His reward was the restoration of the towns hitherto separated from his kingdom, which now included the whole dominions of the Asmonæans, uniting the five divisions of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, on the west of Jordan, Peræa, on the east of that river, and Idumæa, in the south. But this fulfilment of Herod's ambition was followed by another and a darker domestic tragedy. Mariamne, who had once more extracted from her guardian the secret of her intended fate, met Herod's return with coldness, and at length upbraided him with his cruelty to her relatives. Urged on again by Salome, he caused Mariamne to be tried for adultery with Soëmus; and she was convicted on a confession extorted from her eunuch by the rack. The strange invectives with which her mother assailed her, as she passed to execution, for unfaithfulness to so affectionate a husband, could not shake her firmness, and the death of Mariamne was worthy of the last descendant of the heroic Mattathias. The terrible remorse which dogged her murderer by night and day drove him into a dangerous fever. While he lay ill at Samaria, he had the satisfaction of punishing a new attempt which Alexandra made to seize the government, and her execution was followed by many others.

After these things, the course of Herod's cruelty was somewhat

relieved by the splendour of his administration, which was, however, no less fatal to the true interests of his kingdom. All his sympathies were with heathen customs, and his policy prompted him to gratify his master, and secure his protection by Romanizing the Jews. The policy of the hellenizers under the Seleucidæ was revived, but with earnest protestations of regard for the national religion. Security, magnificence, and temptation were the chief motives of his measures; but he must not be denied the praise of developing the resources of his kingdom. Jerusalem was desecrated by a theatre within the walls and an amphitheatre without, where quinquennial games were founded in the emperor's honour, and the Greek athletic sports, chariot races, and musical contests, were alternated with shows of gladiators and wild beasts. What most offended the Jewish zealots was the exhibition of trophies of armour, which were supposed to contain idols, till Herod commanded one of them to be taken to pieces, when the sight of the bare peg within turned indignation to ridicule. But, while the fickle populace laughed, the zealots prepared to act. Ten conspirators—one of them a blind man—were apprehended in the theatre with daggers under their cloaks, and put to death with exquisite tortures, glorying in their purpose to have slain the tyrant, while the informer who betrayed them was torn in pieces by the people. Herod now converted the palace of Baris, which he had named Antonia, into a strong fortress overlooking the temple, and built citadels at Gaba in Galilee and Heshbon in Peræa. He raised for himself a fortified palace on an artificial mound at the site of his decisive victory over Antigonus, about seven miles from Jerusalem. The city of Samaria was rebuilt in the Roman style, and named Sebaste in honour of Augustus, and the descendants of the old Samaritans, who peopled it together with Herod's soldiers, might be relied on for antagonism to the Jews. The tower of Strato, upon the sea coast, formed into a splendid city and port, with moles and breakwater, walls and towers, a theatre and amphitheatre, a temple to Augustus, and colossal statues of Rome and Cæsar, received the imperial name of Cæsarea, under which it is best known as the Roman capital of Judæa. The erection of a temple in white marble, dedicated to Augustus, at Panium by the source of the Jordan (afterwards Cæsarea Philippi), proved the length to which Herod could go in conforming to heathenism, while he sought to gratify his subjects and to rival the fame of Solomon by an entire rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem, reduced to ruin by successive sieges. The apprehen-

sions of the people were allayed by the vast material collected for the new building during a space of two years, before Herod ventured to begin the demolition of the edifice of Zerubbabel (B.C. 17), and the new Temple, planned on a larger scale, and constructed of white marble, became the boast of the most zealous Jews.* In less than ten years it was ready for dedication; but the works upon it went on till within a few years of its destruction by Titus. The Jewish tyrant knew how to imitate the munificence of his imperial patron. When Judæa and the neighbouring countries were visited by a famine and pestilence in consequence of a long drought, Herod made free use of his treasures, brought corn from Egypt, fed 50,000 persons at his own cost, and supplied seed-corn to the people of Syria, thus securing great influence in all the region round Judæa.† While Herod played the patron, he neglected no means of preserving favour with his own patron. His two sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, received their education entirely at Rome. Nor was he less assiduous in paying court to Agrippa, whose friendship might one day be of the highest moment. Such was his success that "Cæsar was said to assign Herod the next place in his favour to Agrippa; Agrippa to esteem Herod higher than any of his friends except Augustus." When Agrippa came to Asia, and was engaged in a campaign upon the Bosporus, Herod joined him with a large fleet (B.C. 16), and obtained as his reward an increase of territory east of the Lake of Galilee, together with the relief of the Jews in the province of Asia from the exactions of tax-gatherers. When Agrippa returned Herod's visit at Jerusalem, he offered a hundred oxen in the Temple, and feasted the whole people. But neither his growing power nor his acts of munificence could secure him against the hatred of his own subjects. He watched with restless vigilance the secret societies that constantly sprang up, and is said to have walked the streets of Jerusalem in disguise, to pry into the feelings of the people towards him. Such was his distrust of the Pharisees and Essenes, that he endeavoured to exact an oath of allegiance from both sects; but their resolute opposition made him renounce the scheme. His suspicious

* Matt. xxiv. 1; Mark xiii. 1; Luke xxi. 5. The statement, "Forty and six years was this temple in building," marks the interval from its commencement to the first Passover of Christ's public ministry. John ii. 20.

† It should be remembered that the cities of Phœnicia in particular were in a great degree dependent upon Palestine for food, from the days of Solomon and Hiram to the time of Herod Agrippa I., the grandson of Herod the Great, when "their country was nourished by the king's country." Acts xii. 20.

cruelty increased with the infirmities of age, and made his own house a scene of horror scarcely paralleled in the history of tyrants.

The complicated genealogy of the Herodian family does not need to be set forth at length. Herod had no less than nine wives. The first, Doris, bore him a son Antipater, who inherited the dark and crafty ambition of his race; while Alexander and Aristobulus* vindicated their Asmonæan descent by their noble characters. Brought back by Herod to Jerusalem on his return from a visit to Rome, and raised to the position due to the royal blood of Hasmon, they soon excited apprehensions in Salome and Pheroras of vengeance for their part in the murder of Mariamne. The mind of Herod was so far wrought upon, that Antipater was brought forward as a rival to the young princes, and sent in the train of Agrippa to Rome, whence he constantly wrote letters artfully designed to inflame his father's jealousy. At length Herod appeared before the tribunal of Augustus at Aquileia, with Alexander and Aristobulus, whom he accused of a plot against his life. Their silent indignation, followed by a modest defence, won the heart as well as the judgment of Augustus, who effected an outward reconciliation. But the domestic plot soon thickened again through the intrigues of Antipater, Salome, and Pheroras, the details of which are too intricate and repulsive to be traced here. Augustus at length allowed the young princes to be tried by a council of 150 persons assembled at Berytus, under the presidency of the governor of Syria. The influence of Herod, and the vehemence with which he pressed the charge in person, procured the condemnation of his sons unheard; and his hesitation to execute the sentence was ended by the expression of popular sympathy on their behalf. Alexander and Aristobulus were strangled at Sebaste; but their fate was soon avenged. Pheroras, the brother of Herod, died under circumstances that raised a suspicion of poison; and Herod instituted an investigation, which brought to light a plot formed by Pheroras and Antipater to poison the king and place the latter upon the throne. Antipater, who had meanwhile absented himself at Rome, landed at Cæsarea only to find the plot discovered and escape impossible. On arriving at Jerusalem he was arraigned before his father and Varus, the governor of Syria. His plausible defence was answered by the rhetorician, Nicolas of Damascus: the poison which was

* From Aristobulus sprang the branch of the Herodian family, distinguished by the surname of Agrippa.

to have been used was produced in court, and proved instantly fatal to a prisoner under sentence of death. Antipater was condemned, and remanded to prison till Augustus should have decided upon his fate (B.C. 5).

In the meantime, Herod was seized with a painful and fatal disease, which is supposed by some to have been the Oriental plague. The lower part of his body was covered with ulcers, and the warm baths of Callirhoë failed to give any relief. The belief that he could not recover encouraged the people to acts that provoked anew the cruelty which his sufferings enflamed. A mob headed by Judas and Mattathias, two distinguished Rabbis, pulled down the golden eagle which the king had set up over the portico of the temple; and from his sick bed Herod gave orders that the conspirators should be burned to death. As his end drew nearer, he is said to have shut up the principal Jews in the Hippodrome, with orders that they should be put to death the moment he expired, that the city might be filled with mourners at his funeral. "But the dying requests of kings proverbially fail of their accomplishment, and happily for human nature, this sanguinary injunction was disregarded."*

But the climax of the dying monster's terrors is yet to be related. It sprang from that auspicious event, *the great central fact in the History of the World*, which, while the Idumæan apostate lay in his last agonies, was the theme of joyful news "to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem."† Our familiarity with the simple Gospel narrative makes it superfluous to relate the angelic announcements of the birth of Jesus Christ and his forerunner John, the mysterious incarnation of the Son of God, from the royal line of David, his humble birth in the stable at Bethlehem, while herald angels sang the strain which, as suddenly as their own appearance in the midnight sky, throws a flood of celestial light upon the dark page of human history—"GLORY TO GOD in the highest, on earth PEACE, GOOD-WILL TOWARD MEN;" the adoration of the shepherds; the circumcision of the child by the divinely appointed name of JESUS (*Saviour*, "for he shall save his people from their sins"); his presentation in the temple and prophetic welcome by the aged

* Milman's *History of the Jews*, vol. ii. p. 88, third edition.

† Luke ii. 38. The formal discrepancy of our era with the real date of our Saviour's birth has been already noticed. Nor is there any good ground for fixing the Nativity at Christmas. It seems more probable that it was not long before the Passover.

Simeon and Anna, types of the whole expectant Jewish Church. This visit was unnoticed in the city, agitated with the more immediate hopes and fears that centred in the tyrant's dying couch. But, heathen as he was at heart, Herod had more than once been alarmed by the general agitation that pointed to some speedy deliverance, nay, by direct prophecies of a change of dynasty. It was at this crisis that an imposing cavalcade entered Jerusalem; a band of Magi from the distant East,* to whom, as they watched the heavens, it had pleased God to point out "one bright particular star" as the sign of the King of the Jews and the Saviour of the Gentiles. The astronomer has discovered no more concerning that luminary, than the fact which well-authenticated history attests, that it sufficed to guide the Magi on their journey to Jerusalem, to pay their adoration to the being whom they regarded as more than mortal, and to lay before his cradle the incense of Arabia and the treasures of the East:—

> "Gems of the mountain, and pearls of the ocean,
> Myrrh from the forest, and gold from the mine."

The people, waiting for the death of the Idumæan usurper, or dreading what new outrage he might perpetrate in his last agony, were startled by the question of the strangers, "Where is He that is born KING OF THE JEWS? for we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship Him." The news of the enquiry and of the agitation of the city reached Herod on his death-bed; and the crafty monster formed a scheme to cut off the claimant of that crown, which he himself could possess but for a few days. Whether, like his descendant, Agrippa, Herod "believed the prophets" at the bottom of his heart, or whether he supposed that a pretender to the throne would be raised up in the quarter to which they pointed, he enquired of the priests and scribes where Jesus was to be born, and privately directed the Magi to the place indicated by Micah,† Bethlehem, the city of David, bidding them return and inform him when they had found the child, that he might go and worship him also. The plot concealed beneath this profession having been frustrated by a divine warning to the Magi, the disappointed king thought to make the matter sure by a massacre of all the infants in Bethlehem and its borders, under

* Their number (*three*), their royal rank, and their names (Caspar, Melchior, and Balthazar) are, it need hardly be said, traditions as apocryphal as the skulls that grin out from amidst the blaze of jewels in the shrine of the "three kings" at Cologne.

† Micah v. 2; comp. John vii. 42.

the age of two years. When the notion of this "Massacre of the Innocents," which we derive from painters, is brought to the test of a computation based on the size of Bethlehem, we find that the number could scarcely exceed some ten or twelve—no extenuation assuredly of the crime, but a reason why we might expect it almost to escape the notice of secular historians. And yet there are allusions to it, though confounded with the cruelties of Herod in his own family, and that the more easily because Bethlehem was the source of the royal line of David.* The escape of the holy child Jesus, against whom the kings of the earth thus early set themselves, from the tyrant's fury, by the flight of the holy family to Egypt, is the more striking, when contrasted with the almost simultaneous direction of Herod's rage against his own son. We seem again to hear the sentence of God upon the tyrant who sought to destroy His *son*, even his *first born*, "Behold I will slay thy son, even thy *first born*." † It must have been just about the time of the massacre at Bethlehem, that Herod's envoys returned from Rome, bearing the sanction of Augustus to the execution of Antipater, though the milder sentence of exile was suggested. Another horrid incident was added by Herod's attempt to commit suicide, in a paroxysm of pain. A rumour of his death reached the ears of Antipater, who tried to bribe his gaoler to release him. With the abject subservience of such a tool even to a dying tyrant, the man betrayed the offer to Herod, who at once issued the order for his son's execution. He had only strength to add his last directions to his will; and he expired five days after the execution of Antipater, after a reign of thirty-three years, reckoned from the death of Antigonus. The release of the Jews whom he had shut up in the Hippodrome converted the mourning he had hoped to prepare into universal joy. Let men who can search out every cause but

* From the terms in which Macrobus (*Sat.* ii. 4) relates the bitter jest of Herod upon the death of Antipater, it appears that tradition preserved the memory of the massacre of Bethlehem, though confusing it with the execution of Antipater:—"Augustus, quum audisset *inter pueros*, quos in Syria Herodes, rex Judæarum, *intra bimatum* jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occiscum, ait, Melius esse Herodis porcum esse quam filium." Of course we must not lay too much stress on the words of a compiler writing four centuries after the event; but Josephus has preserved two very remarkable references to a massacre which Herod caused to be made shortly before his death. He says that Herod did not spare those who seemed most dear to him, but slew all of his own family who sided with the Pharisees in refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Roman emperor while *they looked forward to a change in the royal line*. (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. ii. § 7, xvii. § 2, § 6; Lardner, *Credibility*, vol. i. pp. 278, 332, 349; Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Herod.*)

† Exod. iv. 22, 23.

the great First Cause labour as they please to reduce all moral and physical events under the dominion of fixed laws: surely none who believe in a Divine Governor of the world can fail to trace His hand in the fate of the tyrant, whose reign is contrasted on the page of history, and in the very land of promise, with the advent of the Prince of Peace.

Though Herod had put three of his sons to death, five still survived him, and Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, was at Rome, where he was brought up with the young princes, Claudius and Drusus. The will of Herod left the kingdom of Judæa, with Samaria and Idumæa, to ARCHELAUS, and the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa to HEROD ANTIPAS,* his sons by Malthace, a Samaritan; and Ituræa, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Batanæa, to PHILIP, his son by Cleopatra;† certain cities to his sister Salome; and large legacies to his other relatives, as well as to Augustus and the empress Julia. Having performed his father's funeral obsequies, and made a conciliatory address to the people in the temple, Archelaus set out for Rome, to obtain the emperor's confirmation of his title; not, however, till he had shed the blood of 3000 men, in putting down a tumult at the Passover. Scarcely had he departed, when Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, advanced to Jerusalem, for the purpose of seizing Herod's treasures. A furious battle was fought between the Jews and Romans in the courts of the Temple at Pentecost; Sabinus was besieged in the royal palace; pretenders sprang up in every quarter; and an incipient revolt was only put down by the vigour of Varus, the prefect of Syria. The claims of Archelaus were vehemently opposed before the tribunal of Augustus by Antipater, son of the arch-intriguer Salome, on behalf of Herod Antipas, and supported by the eloquence of Nicolas of Damascus. The emperor's decree substantially confirmed the will of Herod, and Archelaus returned to Jerusalem, with the title, however, not of king, but *Ethnarch* (B.C. 3). The establishment of his power over Judæa caused the

* This is the "Herod the Tetrarch" of Matt. xiv. 1, Luke iii. 1, 19, ix. 7, and the "King Herod" of Mark vi. 14. It was he who married his niece and sister-in-law, Herodias, the daughter of Aristobulus, and beheaded John the Baptist.

† This Philip is sometimes called Herod Philip II., to distinguish him from his brother Philip (or Herod Philip I.), the son of Mariamne, daughter of the high-priest Simon, whom Herod married after the death of her more celebrated namesake. The treachery of this second Mariamne to her husband caused the exclusion of her son from all share in Herod's succession, and he passed his life in a private station. He was the husband of Herodias, the daughter of his brother Aristobulus, who deserted him for Herod Antipas.

Holy Family, on their return from Egypt, to seek a home at Nazareth in Galilee, under the milder government of Herod Antipas, and thus it came to pass that Jesus was reckoned a Nazarene. The distrust of Joseph was justified by the cruelties of Archelaus, which at last provoked his deposition by Augustus, who banished him to Vienne in Gaul (A.D. 7). From this date to the death of Caligula, Judæa (with Samaria and Idumæa), as a section of the province of Syria, was placed under the government of Roman procurators, while the other two divisions of Herod's kingdom were governed by their tetrarchs.

HEROD ANTIPAS ruled over Galilee and Peræa Proper for forty-two years (B.C. 4—A.D. 39). This capricious, sensual, and superstitious prince, whose cunning was stamped by the Saviour himself with the epithet of "that fox," who could at one time listen gladly to the preaching of John the Baptist, and at another imprison him for reproving "all the wickedness he had done," was enticed by his incestuous passion for Herodias into taking the life of the last and greatest prophet of the Old Covenant, and shares with Pilate the bad eminence of the condemnation of the Saviour of the world. It was in his character of Tetrarch of Galilee, that Jesus was sent by Pilate to be judged by him. On his aspiring to the title of king, Caligula banished him for the rest of his life to Lyon (A.D. 39).

The third of the brothers among whom their father's kingdom was divided, PHILIP, the tetrarch of the northern districts beyond the Jordan, maintained for thirty-six years a quiet course of deference to his Roman masters, in whose honour he built the magnificent city of Cæsarea Philippi, near one of the chief sources of the Jordan, by a cave which the Syrian Greeks had dedicated to Pan, and where his father had already erected a temple to Augustus. This city, the northernmost limit of our Saviour's journeys,* deserves notice too for its splendid site, which is thus described by Dr. Robinson:—"The situation is unique, combining in an unusual degree the elements of grandeur and beauty. It nestles in its recess at the southern base of the mighty Hermon, which towers in majesty to an elevation of 7000 or 8000 feet above. The abundant waters of the glorious fountain spread over the limestone terrace luxuriant fertility, and the graceful interchange of copse, lawn, and waving fields." For a short time after the death of Philip, his tetrarchy was united to the province of Syria (A.D. 33—37), but it was bestowed by the friendship of Caligula on

* Matt. xvi. 13, Mark viii. 27.

Agrippa, the grandson of Aristobulus, with the title of king. The desire of Herod Antipas to share the like mark of imperial favour was represented by his nephew as an act of treason, and thus Agrippa obtained the tetrarchy from which Antipas was deposed. We have seen that Agrippa was at Rome when Caligula was assassinated, and rendered the last offices to his friend's remains. He promptly transferred his fidelity to Claudius, who rewarded his services with the remaining division of the now re-united kingdom of Herod the Great, over which he reigned by the title of HEROD-AGRIPPA I. (A.D. 41). During his brief tenure of a title and power entirely dependent on the imperial pleasure, he made himself popular with the Jews by his strict observance of the law, and his persecution of the infant Christian Church.* His professions of religious zeal, however, were forgotten in the shouts of applause which greeted him on the occasion when the Tyrians and Sidonians sent an embassy to make submission for some offence that they had given him. It was, according to Josephus, at some games held at Cæsarea in honour of the emperor, that Herod presented himself in the theatre in a robe wrought entirely of silver, which flashed back the rays of the rising sun with such splendour, that the dazzled spectators saluted him as a god. "And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, *because he gave not God the glory:* and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." † Josephus says that he lingered five days under this horrible disease, the same that consumed the persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes (A.D. 44).

His son HEROD AGRIPPA II. was then at Rome; and Claudius hesitated to entrust Judæa to a youth of seventeen; and the whole country was again placed under a Roman procurator. But the death of his uncle Herod, the eldest son of Aristobulus, in A.D. 48, opened for him the succession to the little Syrian principality of Chalcis on the Belus, which Claudius permitted him to exchange for Philip's former tetrarchy of Northern Peræa, together with that of Abilene, which had been held by Lysanias (A.D. 50). Nero afterwards added several cities to his dominions; but he generally lived in royal state at Jerusalem (which, as well as Berytus, he adorned with splendid buildings), playing the part of an arbiter in ecclesiastical affairs, and affecting, like his father, great zeal for

* Acts xii. 1—3. "Now about that time Herod the king stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword. And *because he saw it pleased the Jews*, he proceeded further to take Peter also." Josephus overlooks this motive when he regards the persecution as inconsistent with the known humanity of Agrippa.

† Acts xii., 23.

the Jewish law and customs, though he lived in incest with his sister Berenice. This double character of his life gives peculiar force to the scene so graphically related in the Acts of the Apostles, when he sat as the assessor of the procurator Festus at the hearing of St. Paul.* "The *pomp* with which the king came into the audience-chamber was accordant with his general bearing; and the cold irony with which he met the impassioned words of the Apostle suits the temper of one who was contented to take part in the destruction of his nation." He repaid the favour of Nero by siding with the Romans in the great Jewish War. On the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, Agrippa retired with Berenice to Rome, and died there, the last of his house, in the closing year of the first century (A.D. 100).

From this review of the history of the Idumæan dynasty, it appears that, while the whole of Palestine was a dependency of Rome, Judæa Proper (including Samaria and Idumæa) was, with the exception of the four years of Herod Agrippa's reign (A.D. 41—44), under the direct government of a succession of Roman procurators,† generally of equestrian rank, who exercised full military and judicial authority, being responsible, however, to the governor of Syria, to which province Judæa had been again annexed at the deposition af Archelaus.

The fixed policy of the Romans, to tolerate the religions of the provincials, so long as they were obedient subjects, threw a greater amount of ecclesiastical power into the hands of the priests and doctors of the law than they possessed while the nation had its own princes. This internal judicial authority was exercised by the great council of seventy-one members,—priests, Levites, and elders—called the *Sanhedrin*, which sat at Jerusalem, and acted as a court of appeal from the inferior Sanhedrins of twenty-three judges in the other towns. For offences against the Mosaic law, and especially for blasphemy, they inflicted scourging and other penalties short of capital punishment. They even condemned prisoners to death, though the sentence had to be both confirmed and executed by the procurator. This was the case with our Saviour, who was first found guilty by the Sanhedrin, and then arraigned by them before the bar of Pilate: and thus it came to pass that the subjection of Judæa to the power of Rome caused the *form* of his death to be the ignominious and accursed

* Acts xxv., xxvi.

† The exact nature of this office has been explained before. In the New Testament the procurator is called *governor* (ἡγεμών).

punishment of the meanest class of the men for whom he died, the servile scourge and cross.

With all their religious and national sensitiveness, and their constant readiness for sedition, the Jews seem to have had no serious cause of complaint,* till the government of the sixth procurator, PONTIUS PILATE, whose name seems to mark him as of Samnite extraction. On his appointment to the government in the 12th year of Tiberius (A.D. 25-6), his first act was to transfer to Jerusalem the legions which had been wisely kept at Cæsarea. Their entrance into the Holy City, with the images of the emperor on their standards, under the cover of night, roused the Jewish zealots to frenzy, and Pilate found himself at last obliged to withdraw the standards to Cæsarea. Two other instances are recorded of insult and oppression, by which Pilate nearly drove the Jews to rebellion, besides the massacre of those Galileans, "whose blood he mingled with their sacrifices," probably in the temple-courts. It was amidst the excitement which such tyranny added to the foreign yoke by which the people of Abraham and David felt degraded, and the weight of the taxes which were collected by the rapacity of their own most despised countrymen (the *publicans*), that a rumour spread abroad of the advent of the Messiah, the Christ, the anointed son of David, who was to sit on his father's throne, the Saviour promised by the prophets, who was to redeem Israel from all their sufferings, and restore to them the kingdom.

The Evangelist who wrote especially for the Gentiles marks with extreme minuteness the epoch at which the appointed forerunner announced the coming of the new kingdom.† It was in the 15th year of Tiberius—that is, from his association with Augustus in January A.D. 12—and in the first year of the government of Pontius Pilate (A.D. 26), that John, the son of Zacharias, opened in the wilderness that mission of the new Elijah which had been predicted by the prophet Malachi—the preaching of repentance, of a heartfelt reformation of life, principles, and manners in every class—as a necessary preparation for the remission of sins and the renovation of the whole race of man by the coming Saviour. Up to this period the sacred history is silent concerning the life of Jesus himself, with the exception of that one glimpse, momentary indeed, but full of meaning, in which we see him, at the age of twelve, keeping his first Passover at Jerusalem, re-

* We are now speaking of Judæa. The Jews of Rome suffered a great persecution under Tiberius, which Philo attributes to Sejanus. They were expelled from the city, and 4000 were drafted into the army.

† Luke iii. 1.

vealing his consciousness of the high mission "to do his Father's work," and proving his preparation for it by a knowledge of the Scriptures which astonished their professional expositors, and yet returning in the spirit of filial submission to Nazareth, where—in striking contrast to those brilliant promises of youth which we have so often seen raised only to be disappointed—the whole record of eighteen years is contained in the one brief sentence, "Jesus increased in wisdom and age, and in favour with God and man." And now, at the mature age of thirty—the same at which the Jewish priests entered on their ministry, He comes forward, undistinguished among the throng that flocked to John's baptism, to submit, as the representative of mankind, to the rite which symbolized the need of our nature for purification, and to receive the heavenly sign and the heavenly voice which marked Him as the Son of God, and consecrated Him to his ministry. How He made proof of that ministry by his deeds of wonder and words of power and love, how He exercised it by "going about doing good," healing the diseases of men while He renewed the forgiveness of their sins, and preparing his chosen Apostles both to be witnesses of what He did and teachers of what He taught, till He accomplished the sacrifice of human redemption on the cross of Calvary, brought life and immortality to light by his resurrection, and ascended in the full sight of his disciples to reign in heaven as the one spiritual King, the ruler of all things visible and invisible, till He shall come again to take full possession of the dominion for which the powers of the world are meanwhile contending,—all this we have surely no need to weave into our narrative. The facts are the most familiar knowledge of every Christian, their spiritual meaning his daily meditation. What remains for us is to trace their outward bearing upon the history of the world;—the introduction of a new power among the social and political elements of human life; a "kingdom not of the world" among worldly systems of polity; a code of moral principles and a fountain of immortal hope, that infuse a new element of life into human action and endurance; the formation of a society, distinct from any into which man had hitherto been gathered, for the purpose of preserving and diffusing those principles and hopes, and bringing all other forms of social life within their influence. Henceforth the CHURCH OF CHRIST has its place in the history of the world.

In one sense, indeed, the Church was no new thing on the earth. As its very name is identical with the *congregation* which Israel

had formed from the day when they were baptized in the Red Sea, and which even in its infancy in the wilderness is called in New Testament language the *church*,* so the foundations of the Christian Church were laid in the Mosaic constitution, its doctrines taught in the law and prophets, its functions symbolized in the worship and social life of Israel. Had the Jews been faithful to their trust, Christianity would have been an epoch of development rather than of revolution. All that was weak, temporary, and imperfect—all mere "carnal ordinances imposed till the time of reformation,"—all that was obscure or misunderstood in the dim light of the old dispensation—would have been gently transformed by the light and life of the new, giving clearness, brilliancy, and animation to the truths common to both,—grace and renovation for fallen man,—love as the new spirit of the world. But to this glorious possibility of their calling the Jews had proved unfaithful through the whole course of their history, and they finally renounced it when they rejected Christ before the tribunal of Pontius Pilate. Now then the old forms to which they clung after corrupting and distorting them in every point must be destroyed, bearing down the nation in their fall, instead of being cast off by the expansion of the people's inner life. Instead of a new glory beaming forth upon the hill of Zion, and displaying to all the nations the true character of "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people," Jerusalem exhibited the scene of a frantic mob, gathered from every province of the empire, to keep the most solemn of sacrifices to God, and to sacrifice the most blameless of victims as a peace-offering to the worst of princes, and the rulers who had urged them to reject and murder their Messiah trying to suppress the evidence of his resurrection by the most shallow artifice; while the Church, numbering only about 120 names, is hidden in an upper chamber of an obscure house. That the latter may increase, the former must be removed out of the way; and the history of the first spread of Christianity over the world runs parallel with that of the overthrow and dispersion of the Jewish nation, and the destruction of their city and temple, a remnant only being reserved for that restoration which is among the most mysterious of the purposes of Divine Providence. "The history of the Jews"—to use the beautiful image of its modern writer—"The history of the Jews after the death of Herod, not rightly named the Great, and the birth of Jesus, separates itself into two streams: one, narrow at first, and hardly to be traced in

* Acts vii. 38

its secret windings into the world, but with the light of heaven upon it, and gradually widening till it embraces a large part of Asia, part of Africa, the whole of Europe, and becomes a mighty irresistible river,—a river with many branches,—gladdening and fertilizing mankind, and bearing civilization, as well as holiness and happiness, in its course:—the other, at first as expansive, but gradually shrinking into obscurity, lost in deep, almost impenetrable ravines; sullen apparently and lonely, yet not without its peculiar majesty in its continuous, inexhaustible, irrepressible flow, and not without its peculiar influence as an undercurrent on the general life and progress of mankind."*

The visible source of the first of these streams is to be sought in that upper chamber at Jerusalem, where the small band of 120 disciples are waiting for "the promise of the Father," the descent of the Holy Spirit, at once to mark them as his new chosen people, and to fit them for their work of witnessing to the world the resurrection of Christ and the Gospel which it finally attested. The fulfilment of that promise on the day of Pentecost (May 26, A.D. 30)† was attended by a sudden influx of converts at the preaching of Peter, answering to the character of the feast at which the first-fruits of the harvest were offered to Jehovah; and among them were representatives of the Jews of every country within the empire, and even of some beyond its frontier, who thus diffused the seeds of the new religion throughout all the world. The Church expanded at one bound to 3000 members, who were united in these simple elements of communion;—the *doctrine* taught by the Apostles,—the *fellowship* of love and mutual help,—the *breaking of bread* in commemoration of Christ's death,—and *prayer*. The mistake of supposing that the first Christians held the doctrine of communism, as opposed to the right of property, is clearly seen from the language of Peter to Ananias,—"Whiles the land remained, *was it not thine own?*"—to keep or sell—"and after it was sold, was it not *in thine own power?*"—to give the money or retain it? It was from the free impulse of duty to the Giver of all good, and of love to brethren in want, that "none of them said that aught of the things that he possessed was his own." "They had all things common," in the sense of communicating all that was needful to all that were in want; and

* Milman, *History of the Jews*, vol. ii. p. 91, 3rd edition.

† We pass over the chronological questions raised concerning our Saviour's ministry, as too intricate for discussion here, and as not affecting the essential outline of our history.

the arrangements they made for the orderly administration of their benevolence form no precedent for disordering the first principles of right and wrong. But the awful fate of Ananias and Sapphira loudly proclaimed that, whichever of the courses lawful for the conduct of worldly affairs be adopted, it must be carried out with honesty, and that to tamper with truth is a heinous sin against God himself. The terror struck by that example was a wholesome check to indiscriminate profession of the discipleship which was daily becoming more popular, while the miracles performed by the Apostles in the name of Christ convinced all, and exasperated the rulers. The Sanhedrin first tried to silence Peter and John by a stern injunction. Even after the imprisoned Apostles had been delivered by an angel, the council could hardly be persuaded by the sage advice of the great Rabbi Gamaliel to be content with scourging them, while they rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for Christ. At length when Stephen—one of the seven men appointed to relieve the Apostles of the secular work of distribution to the poor—distinguished himself by his signal miracles and by his irresistible arguments with the Hellenistic Jews, his defeated opponents obtained from the Sanhedrin by suborned evidence an irregular sentence of death, which was executed in a popular tumult. The death of the protomartyr was the signal for a general persecution of the Christians, nearly all of whom, except the Apostles, were scattered from Jerusalem over all Palestine and Syria, carrying the Gospel not only to the Samaritans, but to the Jews in Gentile cities. The first-fruits of this movement were, the conversion of Samaria by the deacon Philip, and the confusion of the magician Simon,* and the more glorious exhibition of Divine power in arresting SAUL in the full career of persecution, and calling him to be the Apostle of the Gentiles. Nor must we omit to notice the conversion by Philip of the high officer of the Ethiopian queen Candace, already a Jewish proselyte, who is supposed to have been the founder of the ancient church which has preserved an unbroken existence in Abyssinia to the present day.

These events appear to have occurred in the last year of Tiberius, the same in which the Samaritans made such vehement complaints of Pilate to Vitellius, the prefect of Syria (father of the emperor), that he sent the procurator home for the judgment of the emperor

* The reader is referred to the ecclesiastical historians for the legends concerning this impostor, who is said to have become the founder of a sect of heretics.

(A.D. 37). Pilate arrived at Rome after the death of Tiberius; and one of the praiseworthy acts which marked the beginning of Caligula's reign was his banishment to Vienna (*Vienne*) upon the Rhone, where a monument still bears, though by very doubtful authority, the name of Pontius Pilate's tomb.*

In the last year of Tiberius, another event occurred, of much interest in connection with the apostolic history. The wife whom Herod Antipas had repudiated in order to marry Herodias, was the daughter of the Arabian chieftain Aretas, who took up arms on the pretext of avenging the insult, and defeated the forces of Herod. Vitellius set his army in motion to attack Petra, and while the march of his army was directed through Peræa, in compliance with the request of the Jews, that he would not display his standards in Judæa, the Roman governor, with his staff, visited Jerusalem at the Passover, as he had done once before. Both his visits were marked by favours to the people and a change in the high-priesthood. The news of the death of Tiberius, which arrived on the fourth day of the feast, caused Vitellius to hasten back to Antioch, and Aretas took the opportunity to seize Damascus. The adjustment of the differences with the Arabian King, which took place early in Caligula's reign, would doubtless involve the restoration of Damascus to the Romans; and thus we are led, with a high degree of probability, to the year 38, as about the period when Saul, residing at Damascus some time after his conversion, had his life plotted against by the Jews, and "*the governor under Aretas the King* kept the city of the Damascenes, desirous to apprehend him;" but he was let down over the wall in a basket —like the spies at Jericho by Rahab—and so escaped to Jerusalem. There he was presented by Barnabas to the Apostles Peter and James, and after staying only fifteen days, signalizing himself by disputing, like Stephen, with the Hellenizing Jews, he only escaped Stephen's fate by fleeing to his native city of Tarsus.

The following years, to a time a little after the accession of Claudius, were occupied with his labours in Cilicia and Syria, and to this period we may perhaps refer the sufferings enumerated in

* Eusebius has preserved a tradition that Pilate killed himself, wearied with his misfortunes. The wild legend, which relates that, after wandering about as a vagabond, like Cain, he plunged into the dismal lake on the summit of Mount Pilatus, above Lucerne, over which his shade hovers when a storm is near, has been made famous by Sir Walter Scott in *Anne of Geierstein*. The report of Pilate to Tiberius on the death of Christ, and the other documents entitled *Acta Pilati*, have as little connection with him as the Swiss mountain.

his second epistle to the Corinthians—a severe and triumphant test of the new convert's spirit.*

There are some points of interest in the relations of Caligula to the Jews, with whom the Christians were at present confounded by the Romans out of Judæa. Herod Agrippa, who had been carried to Rome by his mother Berenice after the murder of her husband Aristobulus, had formed an intimate friendship with Caius, and the imprudence with which they conversed about their prospects of dominion at Rome and Jerusalem led to the arrest of Agrippa. On the death of Tiberius he was at once released,† and soon afterwards raised by Caligula, as we have seen, to the tetrarchies of Philip and Herod Antipas. On his voyage to Cæsarea he touched at Alexandria, where the Greeks, always jealous of the Jews, who were settled among them to the number, it is said, of a million, insulted the new king. The Roman governor Flaccus not only encouraged the demonstration, apparently in order to provoke the Jews to some tumult which could be severely punished, but he effected his object by instigating the Greeks to demand that the statue of the emperor should be set up in the synagogues. The rising of the outraged people was put down with slaughter and plunder, but Flaccus was recalled to Rome to answer for his rashness. It was not long, however, before the emperor himself gave a similar provocation to the whole of the Jews, by his claim to be worshipped throughout the empire; and Petronius, the governor of Judæa, was even commanded to set up a colossal statue of Caius in the Holy of Holies. While the people of Jerusalem prepared to resist the sacrilege to the death, the Jews of Alexandria sent an embassy to deprecate the emperor's purpose, and the Alexandrian Greeks sent envoys to counteract them (A.D. 40). The Jewish deputation was headed by the venerable PHILO JUDÆUS, whose efforts to reconcile the Greek philosophy with the writings of Moses have caused him to be reckoned a precursor of the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria. Philo has left an amusing account of the mad reception which Caligula gave to both sets of envoys. He led them up and down the stairs of the palace, inspecting the works in progress, now stopping to charge them with atheism because they refused to worship him, and

* Acts ix. 20—30; 2 Cor. xi. 24—33; Gal. i. 16—24. The "three years" of the last passage, computed in the Jewish method, agree with the reckoning which places the conversion of St. Paul in A.D. 36, and his flight from Damascus to Jerusalem in A.D. 38.

† Caius is said to have presented him with a gold chain as heavy as his fetters.

answering their assurances that they prayed and sacrificed for him, with the retort—"But not *to me*," and anon turning round "as in a play," to ask, "Pray why do you not eat pork?" Philo regards it as a special interposition of divine mercy, that they were at last dismissed with the expression of contemptuous pity, "Men who think me no god are more unfortunate, after all, than criminal." But the tyrant held to his purpose in spite of the remonstrances of Agrippa, and a Jewish rebellion was one of the evils averted by the dagger of Chærea. The history of the Jews under Caligula embraces some incidents that occurred even beyond the limits of the empire. The Jews who had resided in Babylonia in great numbers, ever since the Captivity, were generally treated by the Parthians with toleration; but at this time an insurrection was made by two brothers, and after some successes, the insurgent Jews were driven into Seleucia, where no less than 50,000 perished.

We have already seen that the dead Caligula was indebted for the last rites to the Jewish prince Agrippa, whose mediation between the Senate and Claudius helped to place the latter quietly upon the throne. Besides his reward in the kingdom of Judæa, Agrippa obtained from Claudius an edict of toleration for the Jews throughout the empire, which was enforced against the people of Dora, when they insulted the Jewish synagogues. Meanwhile the conversion of Saul had been followed by the cessation of that persecution which ensued upon Stephen's death, and by a rapid increase in the number of Jewish Christians. "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied."* To this interval may be referred that great event in the history of the Church, when the Apostle Peter, to whom first Christ had given "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," opened it for the admission of the centurion Cornelius and his Gentile friends, and soon afterwards opened the eyes of the Jewish Church to the truths then first revealed to himself, that "God is no respecter of persons: but *in every nation* he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him"—"Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life."†

It was about the same time, too, that the first Church of Christ was founded beyond the limits of Judæa. The persecution after the death of Stephen sent back to their own provinces many of

* Acts ix. 31. † Acts x., xi.

the provincial Jews who had been converted when they went up to the feast of Pentecost, and thus the Gospel was carried to Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch. At the latter city, some natives of Cyprus and Cyrene, freer from prejudice than their brethren of Judæa, stayed on their journey, and preached the Gospel to the Greeks. The church at Jerusalem, surprised to hear that many had believed in the idolatrous and licentious capital of Syria, sent thither a converted Levite, himself a native of Cyprus, whose powers as a teacher had caused his name of *Joseph** to be changed into BARNABAS, that is, a *son of exhortation*, or *of prophecy*. Having confirmed the new converts in their faith, Barnabas went to Tarsus to seek Saul as a fellow-labourer. They taught together for a year with such success, that the new sect was deemed by the people worthy of a new name, and, in accordance with the practice of naming the followers of a distinguished leader, "the disciples were called CHRISTIANS first at Antioch."† This infant church soon gave a proof of true Christianity by sending relief to their brethren in Judæa during a great famine, which was predicted by Agabus, a Christian prophet. The occurrence of this famine in the fourth year of Claudius (A.D. 45), gives us a safe chronological resting-place. Barnabas and Saul, who were the messengers of the church of Antioch, probably arrived at Jerusalem just after the time of the persecution and death of Herod Agrippa, and they returned to Antioch to commence those great missionary travels which planted the Church firmly in the Eastern provinces of the empire. The details of these journeys, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and the abundant illustrations which they have received from commentators, belong to the special province of Scripture History.‡ It is enough here to say that, probably in the years 48 and 49, Paul and Barnabas visited Cyprus, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and the wild regions of Lycaonia. Their return to Antioch was followed by a discussion respecting the obligation of Gentile converts to observe the Jewish law. Paul and Barnabas went to Jerusalem, where the question was solemnly debated by the Apostles and Elders in a meeting of the whole Church, sometimes—but erroneously—called the *First Council of Jerusalem* (about A.D. 50).§ Though the decision was unanimously

* Acts iv. 36, xi. 19—26.

† The name is formed precisely after the analogy of Pompei-*ani*, Herodi-*ani*, &c.

‡ The valuable work of Conybeare and Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, is the best guide over this field.

§ We have not yet arrived at the age of those representative assemblies of all the churches which are known as *Œcumenical* or *Universal Councils*.

in favour of Christian liberty, the Judaizing spirit was henceforth a constant source of trouble, with which Paul had to contend with all his might, and its working in the Church was one chief element of those corruptions which began thus early to infect Christian purity. Even the Apostles themselves gave proof of the infirmities of human nature. A warm contention had already taken place between Peter and Paul at Antioch on this very question; and another difference separated Paul and Barnabas, when about to start again from Antioch, to visit their converts in Asia Minor. Barnabas bent his course to Cyprus, where he vanishes from the sacred history; nor is the gap supplied by the few traditions concerning him, or the spurious epistle which bears his name. Meanwhile the "Second Missionary Journey" of St. Paul extended over a period of four years (A.D. 51—54), embracing the greater part of Asia Minor, and carrying the Gospel to Europe. From Antioch he sailed to Cilicia, and passed through Lycaonia and Galatia to the Troad, where the spiritual cry of Europe was uttered in vision by a man of Macedonia, "Come over and help us." Obedient to the call, he visited the cities of Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berœa, —names inseparably associated with memorable scenes in his ministry. At Athens he encountered the twofold opposition of the Stoics and Epicureans to the doctrine of "Jesus and the Resurrection," and made his decisive appeal to the conscience of the heathen world, to recognize in the Christian revelation the UNKNOWN GOD whom they already ignorantly worshipped. But his chief labours were at Corinth, the capital of the Roman province of Achaia, and the very focus of all the elements of later Hellenism—its refined luxury, its abandoned vice, its self-sufficient wisdom,—to all which he opposes the simple doctrine of "Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness; but to them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God." Armed against the contempt excited by such teaching by the divine assurance, "I have much people in this city," he resided there for eighteen months (A.D. 52—54), supporting himself by his manual labour as a tent-maker. It was here that the Apostle wrote the earliest of those wonderful letters, which are to us not only the chief source of primitive Christian doctrine, but the reflection of the living society of the primitive Church—*the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians.* The treatment which St. Paul met with from the Roman authorities exhibits the tolerance of the government of Claudius. The decemvirs at Philippi having scourged and imprisoned the Apostle and Silas,

on the pretext that their presence caused a tumult in the city, hastened to dismiss them on learning that they were Roman citizens; nor can we omit to notice the great example which Paul has left of the manly but temperate assertion of his political rights, by using in extreme cases, though not till he had suffered much, that talisman of safety, *Civis Romanus sum.* At Corinth, the refusal of the proconsul Gallio—perhaps the elder brother of the philosopher Seneca—to concern himself about the charge which the Jews brought against Paul, deserves the praise of impartial justice, rather than to be quoted as a proverb of religious indifference, though this motive was doubtless present also. In the spring of A.D. 54, Paul sailed from Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth, touching at Ephesus, where he taught in the synagogue, but refused the entreaties of the converts to remain long, as he hastened to reach Jerusalem by Pentecost (A.D. 54).

From Jerusalem he returned to Antioch; and in the autumn of the same year, just about the time of Nero's accession to the empire, he set out on his "Third Missionary Journey," which again occupied about four years. Having visited the Churches he had founded in Galatia and Phrygia, he remained at Ephesus no less than two years and a-half (A.D. 54—57), laying the foundation of the Church afterwards so distinguished for its connection with St. John. It was here that he wrote his *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, shortly before his departure for Macedonia, which was hastened by the tumult excited by the craftsmen whose living depended on the worship of the great Artemis. After again visiting the Churches of Macedonia, where he seems to have gone as far westward as Illyricum, he turned back to Corinth. His three months' stay in that city is memorable for his epistle to the Church which had been already founded among the Jews at Rome, we are not informed by whose ministry, but doubtless through the constant intercourse of the eastern provinces with the capital. The earnest desire which he expresses to visit the Roman Christians, whom he had not yet seen, as part of a wide scheme of labour in the western provinces,* was postponed for the fulfilment

* Rom. xv. 24—29. "*Whenever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you:* for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company. But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints. For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. . . . When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, *I will come by you into Spain.*"

of a pressing claim of duty at Jerusalem, which, however, led the Apostle to Rome in a manner very different from his own design. He passed through Macedonia to the Troad, and thence coasted Asia Minor to Miletus, where he took a leave of the elders of that city and of Ephesus, the most affecting perhaps in human language, under a presentiment of impending danger at Jerusalem, which was confirmed by direct prophetic warnings at Tyre and Cæsarea. We shall soon see how much had occurred in Judæa to excite the passions both of the Jewish people and the Roman authorities, the one on the very verge of insurrection, the other watching like a keeper over a wild beast. This state of things will explain the well-known scene related in the *Acts*, of St. Paul's seizure in the Temple, on a charge of desecrating its courts by the intrusion of his Gentile companions, and his prompt rescue from the mob by the tribune of the Roman garrison of Antonia, who supposed him to be one of the seditious adventurers now springing up on every hand (A.D. 58). We need not repeat the Scripture narrative of his hearing at Cæsarea, first before Felix, and, after an interval of two years, by the next procurator, Festus; of his defence before Agrippa; his appeal to Cæsar; his voyage as a prisoner, and shipwreck at Malta; his reception by the brethren on his way to Rome, where he arrived probably in the spring of A.D. 61, and almost certainly not later than the spring of 62.* Our last information from the narrative of the Acts is that Paul, instead of being imprisoned, was committed to the separate custody of a soldier (who, according to Roman custom, would be chained by one arm to the prisoner, for whom he was responsible),† and that "Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, *no man forbidding him.*" ‡ As might have been expected from that Judaizing spirit against which he argues so strongly in his Epistle, he was but partially successful among the Roman Jews, but his converts from the Gentiles included some even "of Cæsar's household." § Internal evidence fixes to this period the Epistles to *Philemon*, the *Colossians*, the *Ephesians*, and the *Philippians*, which contain affecting allusions to his imprison-

* See the chronological note in *Conybeare and Howson*, Appendix iii. Note C. The argument that St. Paul's trial must have come off before the fire of Rome, after which he certainly would not have been acquitted, seems quite conclusive.

† Acts xxviii. 20. ‡ Acts xxviii. 30, 31. § Philipp. iv. 22.

ment, lightened by the hope of speedy liberation.* The emperor to whom Paul had so confidently appealed, though his name was Nero, had not yet begun to persecute the Christians, while he was not unlikely to take pleasure in disappointing the Jews; and the hearing of St. Paul, though so long delayed, providentially took place shortly before the fire of Rome. There is no doubt that he was acquitted, and probably in the year 63. The intentions expressed in the passages just referred to are usually taken as evidence that Paul went from Rome to Macedonia and Asia Minor, and that by the very critics who deny the force of an inference from the passage about Spain in the *Epistle to the Romans*. But very strong, though fragmentary, confirmations are gathered from Clemens Romanus, Chrysostom, and Jerome, in favour of the visit to the West; † and there is at this point an interval of some years unaccounted for in the succession of his Epistles. For no reader of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus can doubt that their dates are very near to one another; and the *Second Epistle to Timothy* was clearly written while Paul was a prisoner at Rome, in the immediate prospect of martyrdom. Now we are distinctly told by Jerome that Paul suffered at Rome in the 14th year of Nero (A.D. 67—68), and the idea of a long imprisonment is precluded by the certainty of a speedy condemnation in the heat of the persecution. All that can be certainly affirmed is, that when Paul wrote his *First Epistle to Timothy*, he had recently left Ephesus on a journey to Macedonia,‡ and that at the time of writing the Second Epistle, he was a prisoner at Rome, having once been arraigned before Nero, whom he now speaks of as a ravenous beast, from whose jaws he had been rescued for the time, while his trial had given him a new opportunity to preach the Gospel in the hearing of the Gentiles.§ Whether he appeared a second time before the emperor, or was despatched in prison, to guard against the impression which such another scene might have produced, we cannot tell; nor whether it was through the influence of friends in the emperor's household that, instead of being thrown to the lions or hung upon the cross, he suffered the honourable death of beheading, and his body was permitted to rest in a tomb on the Ostian road. The Christian reader feels too

* Philipp. ii. 24; Philemon 22.

† See *Dict. of the Bible*, art. Paul, p. 761. There is no evidence except a vague tradition, which we could well wish to believe, that St. Paul founded the Church which unquestionably existed in our own island from a very early period of the Roman occupation.

‡ 1 Tim. i. 3.

§ 2 Tim. iv. 17.

deeply all that he owes to the example, the spirit, and the writings of St. Paul, to demand of the historian an attempt to delineate his character.

While the Apostle of the Gentiles was thus laying the foundations of the Church in the eastern provinces of the empire, and at Rome itself, the system of corrupted Judaism, which—to use his own language—had long been waxing old, was ready to vanish away; and the supposed year of his second imprisonment (A.D. 66) witnessed the outbreak of the great rebellion, which was quelled by Vespasian and Titus in seas of blood and fire. On the death of Herod Agrippa, in A.D. 44, Judæa was again placed under the Roman procurators, who treated the country as if it required to be reconquered. The army, also, was discontented at the emperor's censure of their negligence in the repression of the rejoicings which broke out at Cæsarea upon the death of Agrippa, a cause which Josephus regards as one chief origin of the great Jewish war. Cuspius Fadus adopted severe measures to put down a civil war that was raging between the city of Philadelphia and the people of Peræa, as well as to extirpate the robbers whom Herod Agrippa had been too weak to suppress. The procurator was, however, checked by the emperor, and the government of the Temple, with the nomination of the high-priest, was committed to Herod, King of Chalcis, the elder brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was succeeded in these functions by his nephew, Herod Agrippa II. In A.D. 46, Fadus was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Egyptian Jew, who preserved the tranquillity of Judæa till he was superseded by Ventidius Cumanus, about B.C. 50. Then all was changed, and the unhappy country was plunged into the sea of tumult which engulphed it in another twenty years. The standing animosity of the army towards the people was permitted to break all bounds, and the indecent outrage of a soldier at one of the great festivals provoked a tumult, in the suppression of which 20,000 Jews were slain. At length, the barefaced injustice with which Cumanus supported the Samaritans in their attacks upon Jewish travellers led to the interference of Ummidius Quadratus, the prefect of Syria. While inflicting heavy chastisement on the leaders of both factions, Quadratus sent Cumanus and his military tribune, Celer, to Rome, where the influence of Agrippa procured the banishment of the former and the execution of the latter (about A.D. 53). But even Agrippa was not strong enough, even if he cared, to protect the Jews at Rome from the jealousy roused by any suspicion of the spread of their

"superstition." One consequence of the imperial edict expelling all Jews from the city, in A.D. 52, was to give Paul the invaluable aid of Aquila and Priscilla.*

The successor of Cumanus, ANTONIUS FELIX, was the brother of the notorious Pallas, and like him a freedman of the emperor, from which circumstance he is also called Claudius Felix. The bad eminence which he occupies in the sacred history can the better be understood from the character drawn of him by Tacitus; —"By every form of cruelty and lust he wielded the power of a king in the spirit of a slave."† The appointment of Felix over Palestine within the Jordan and Arabia Petræa seems to have been made in the same year in which the tetrarchy of the trans-Jordanic region was given to Agrippa II.; and while the latter lived in incest with one of his sisters, Berenice, Felix had enticed another, Drusilla, from her husband, Aziz, King of Emesa, and besides her, the governor, once a slave, had two other wives of royal birth. From Drusilla he seems to have learnt enough of the religion of Moses to be curious concerning the doctrine of Christ,‡ and to make him tremble upon his tribunal "as Paul reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come." The High-Priest Jonathan, whose influence had aided his elevation, had already been assassinated in the Temple for using the like remonstrances. But the unscrupulous severity of Felix was successful in putting down the robbers and assassins (*sicarii*): and the impostors who sprang up in every quarter were crucified whenever they were taken. Among these was the Egyptian Jew, who is alluded to by the tribune Lysias,§ as having led out into the wilderness 4000 murderers (Josephus says 30,000). Encamping on the Mount of Olives over against Jerusalem, he assured his followers that the walls would fall down like those of Jericho. The host dispersed on the first attack of Felix: many were slain; but the Egyptian effected his escape. The crowning outrage of Felix was perpetrated at Cæsarea, in a massacre of the Jews, who were continually at feud with the Greek population of the city.

Recalled in A.D. 62, Felix had influence enough at Rome to escape punishment, though his brother Pallas had long since

* Acts xviii. 2.

† Tacit. *Hist.* v. 9. It would seem from another passage of Tacitus that Cumanus and Felix were joint procurators, the former in Galilee, and the latter in Samaria; that both connived at the same wrongs; but that Quadratus shielded Felix by making him a member of the court which condemned Cumanus (*Ann.* xii. 54). But Josephus clearly represents Felix as only the successor of Cumanus.

‡ See Acts xxiv. 22, 24.

§ Acts xxi. 38.

lost favour with Nero, while the Greeks of Cæsarea obtained, through the influence of Burrhus, a decree depriving the Jewish citizens of their rights. "This decree still further inflamed the contest. The Greeks became more and more insulting; the Jews more and more turbulent." PORCIUS FESTUS, the successor of Felix, gave by his judgment in the case of St. Paul,—whom Felix had kept in prison, hoping to extort money from him,—a proof of that honest firmness which marked the rest of his brief administration. The robbers and assassins were repressed, and another impostor who led out a multitude into the wilderness was put to death. The arrogance of Agrippa, however, raised a new difficulty at Jerusalem. In front of the Asmonæan Palace, on Mount Zion, he erected a building completely overlooking the Temple, and looked down upon the worship in its courts as he reclined upon his couch. The priests, rightly regarding the Romanized prince as a spy, built up a wall, which not only shut out the view of the king, but of the Roman guard. Festus of course joined with Agrippa in requiring its demolition; but he permitted the Jews to appeal to the emperor by a deputation headed by the High-Priest Hilkiah. Their mission succeeded through the influence of Poppæa; but the high-priest was detained at Rome, and Agrippa appointed in his place, first Joseph Cabi, and then Annas, the fifth of the sons of Annas, the high-priest in the time of Christ, who had lived to see all his five sons, and his son-in-law Caiphas, hold that dignity. Like the Sadducean sect in general, Annas was zealous for the law and a persecutor of the Christians. He seized the opportunity of a vacancy in the Roman government, in consequence of the death of Festus, to cause the stoning to death of the Apostle JAMES THE JUST, who had presided over the Church of Jerusalem.* But the deed proved unpopular, and Annas was deposed from the high-priesthood. The government of ALBINUS, who succeeded Festus, was one continued scene of mercenary and rapacious profligacy; Jerusalem was kept in constant turmoil by the factions of rival high-priests, and the confusion was increased by the discharge of 18,000 workmen, upon the final completion of the Temple (A.D. 63-4).

The appointment of GESSIUS FLORUS, the last and worst of the Roman procurators, brought on the crisis that had been so long preparing. Throwing aside every restraint on his cruelty and rapacity, he openly provoked rebellion as a pretext for new

* This is the statement of Josephus. For other accounts of the death of James, see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 925.

severities; and the chief check upon the procurator was removed by the congenial character of Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, before whom three millions of Jews, assembled at the Passover, in vain laid their complaints, while Florus stood by, deriding them.

The year preceding the final revolt (A.D. 65) was marked by the direst prodigies of impending war and of the desolation of the Temple. During the whole year a comet shaped like a scimitar hung over the city,* and many an eye-witness testified to the appearance described by Milton:—

> "As when, to warn proud cities, war appears
> Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush
> To battle in the clouds; before each van
> Prick forth the airy knights, and couch their spears,
> Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
> From either end of heaven the welkin burns."

The brazen gate of the Temple, which required twenty men to move it on its hinges, flew open of its own accord in the dead of night, as if to let in the advancing armies of the heathen, while the departure of the hosts of angelic guards was signalled to the watching priests by the sound of many feet within the sacred courts, and a mighty voice crying, "Let us depart hence." Still earlier, the city had been familiarized with the unheeded warning of a fanatic. "A countryman named Jesus, son of Ananus, began suddenly to cry aloud in the Temple—*A voice from the East! a voice from the West! a voice from the four winds! a voice against Jerusalem and against the Temple! a voice against the bridegrooms and brides! a voice against the whole people!* Day and night in the narrow streets of the city he went along repeating these words in a loud voice. Some of the leaders seized him and had him severely beaten. He uttered no remonstrance, no entreaty for mercy, he seemed entirely regardless about his own person, but still went on reiterating his fearful burthen. The magistrates then apprehended him, and led him before Albinus, the Roman governor: there he was scourged till his bones could be seen; he uttered neither shriek of pain nor prayer for mercy, but raising his sad and broken voice as loud as he could, at every blow cried out, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem!* Albinus demanded who he was and whence he came: he answered not a word. The Roman at length, supposing he was mad, let him go. All the four years that inter-

* The recent splendid appearance of Donati's Comet (A.D. 1858) will enable most readers to recognize the form.

vened before the war, the son of Ananus paid no attention to any one, and never spoke excepting the same words, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem!* He neither cursed any one who struck him, nor thanked any one who gave him food. His only answer was the same melancholy presage. He was particularly active during the festivals, and then with greater frequency and still deeper voice he cried, *Woe! woe to the city and to the Temple!* At length, during the siege, he suddenly cried out, *Woe, woe to myself!* and was struck dead by a stone from a balista."* To the omens, of which these are but a few, was added the prevalent belief among the Christians of the approaching end of the present dispensation by the coming of the Lord to judgment; and many a man of advanced and middle life must have retained a vivid impression of Christ's prediction of the destruction of the Temple, and of the terrible reply he had given, just before his death, to the inquiry, "When shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the end of the world?"†

Amidst such a state of universal agitation, the decree of Nero reached Cæsarea, assigning the magistracy to the Greeks; and the Jews soon learnt how it was to be exercised. Their synagogue was surrounded by a piece of land belonging to a Greek, who, refusing an offer much above its value, put up some mean buildings on purpose to obstruct the access. The Greek magistrates refused to interfere, and Florus, having received large bribes from both parties, simply withdrew to Samaria. As the Jews threaded their way through the narrow approaches upon the Sabbath, they were compelled to witness odious insults upon their religion. They attacked the Greeks, who had armed themselves in anticipation of this result. The Jews were worsted. Collecting their copies of their law, they retired to the neighbouring town of Narbata, and sent twelve of their chief people to Samaria to ask aid from Florus, and remind him of the eight talents he had received. His only answer was to fling the envoys with insults into prison; but, with the fear before him of being called to account at Rome for the tumult and for all his other crimes, Florus deliberately resolved to fan the flame which this spark had kindled. At the moment when the news from Cæsarea had thrown Jerusalem into a fresh ferment, he demanded seventeen talents from the Temple treasury. The zealots, who already controlled the city by means of their bands of assassins, stimulated the mob to open insults upon the name of Florus, who advanced with his army to Jerusalem, and

* Milman's *History of the Jews*, vol. ii. pp. 179, 180. † Matthew xxiv.

took up his quarters in the palace. The following morning a body of troops, let loose upon the upper market-place, massacred 3600 men, women, and children; while the most distinguished Jews, including even Roman citizens, were brought before the tribunal to be scourged and beheaded. It was in vain that Berenice, in the absence of Agrippa in Egypt, fell down as a suppliant before Florus. She was compelled to take measures for her own safety from the soldiers. For a while the city was pacified by the exertions of the priests; but Florus had prepared a new provocation. Two cohorts from Cæsarea marched into Jerusalem, striking and trampling down the zealots who resisted their advance towards Antonia and the Temple. Florus issued from the palace to join them, but was unable to force his way through the crowds that blocked the narrow streets, and the people severed the communication between the Temple and Antonia. Thus reduced to a state of siege, Florus sent for the rulers, and arranged to retire from the city, leaving only one cohort in it as a guard. Soon after his departure for Cæsarea, Agrippa returned from Egypt, and made a last effort to persuade the people to submit to Florus till another governor should be appointed. At the mention of that odious name he was assailed with imprecations and volleys of stones, and retired finally from the city. War had now fairly commenced in Jerusalem. The troops had retired to the fortress of Antonia and the upper city on Mount Zion, leaving the Temple and the lower city in possession of the Jews. After a conflict of seven days the zealots, under ELEAZAR, the son of the High-Priest Ananias, took the upper city and burned the palaces of the high-priest and of Agrippa, with the public archives; and two days later the tower of Antonia was stormed, and the garrison put to the sword. There remained only a remnant of the party of Agrippa, with 3000 horse, whom he had sent for their protection, besieged in the Asmonæan palace. About the same time the strong fortress of Massada, near the Dead Sea, was taken by surprise, and the Roman garrison put to the sword. Here MANAHEM—a younger son of the celebrated Judas of Galilee, who had perished in a revolt which he raised soon after the exile of Archelaus, leaving to a powerful party the watch-word, *We have no king but God*—proclaimed himself the leader of the zealots, and marched upon Jerusalem. The outer works of the palace were mined and burned, and the garrison capitulated. The Jews and the troops of Agrippa were allowed to depart; the Roman soldiers retired to the three strong towers built by Herod, and all left in the palace were put to death. The suc-

cess was followed by the execution of the High-Priest Ananias and his brother, who were found hidden in an aqueduct; but these and other excesses displeased the people; and when Manahem proceeded to assume the royal diadem, he was put to death by the partizans of Eleazar. In him the insurgents lost the only hope of a competent leader. The Roman soldiers in the towers were soon compelled to surrender on promise of their lives; but they had no sooner piled their arms than they were cut to pieces. This baptism of blood, by which the zealots committed themselves to a war of extermination, which they at the same time deprived of the dignity of a patriotic struggle, was perpetrated on a Sabbath; and on the very same day the Jews of Cæsarea were massacred by the Greeks to the number of 20,000. These deeds mark the character of the conflict, not only as an insurrection of Judæa against the Romans, but as an internecine struggle of the Jewish and Greek races in Palestine and the neighbouring lands. While the insurgents attacked the Syrian cities, the Greeks of Syria massacred the Jews within their borders. The conflagration extended to Alexandria, where the governor, Tiberius Alexander, whom we have before seen as procurator of Judæa, after a vain attempt to persuade the Jewish leaders to pacify their people, let loose his troops to slay, burn, and pillage; and 50,000 Jews perished in the carnage.

At length Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, set his forces in motion. Besides the twelfth legion, about 4200 strong, and 2000 picked men, he had six cohorts of foot, numbering about 2500, and four troops of horse, about 1200. Agrippa, who had now openly taken the Roman side, was present with 2000 cavalry, and nearly as many infantry; other allies made up a total of 13,000, the Romans amounting to nearly 10,000, and many Syrian volunteers joined the army on its march. Whilst Cestius advanced through the maritime plain, plundering and burning as he went, another Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, was detached to reduce Galilee, which he accomplished after one serious check. At the season of the Feast of Tabernacles (October, A.D. 66), Cestius reached Lydda, and turned inland through the passes of Bethhoron, encamping at Gabao, about six miles from Jerusalem. Regardless alike of the feast and the Sabbath, the Jews rushed out to meet the enemy on the spot consecrated by the victories of Joshua and Judas Maccabæus; crushed the Roman van with the slaughter of more than 500 men, and with a loss of only twenty-two. A charge of light troops on the Jewish rear saved

the army of Cestius from destruction, and gave him time to entrench his camp; and the Jews were obliged to retire to Jerusalem. Agrippa made an attempt to counsel submission on promise of an amnesty; but the zealots drove back his envoys with missiles, and Cestius encamped at Scopos, a mile to the north of the city. Alarmed by his great force, and embarrassed by their own dissensions, the insurgents abandoned the suburb of Bezetha, and retired to the Temple and the upper city; while Cestius, having burnt Bezetha, delayed the assault, in the hope of a surrender. In fact, Ananus, the son of Jonathan, had promised to open the gates; but the plot was detected, and he was thrown headlong from the walls with his accomplices. After five days of irregular attacks, the Romans advanced aganst the northern wall of the Temple, forming with their shields the impenetrable *testudo*,* under cover of which they began to mine the wall and fire the gate. This vigorous proceeding encouraged the moderate party, and they were already assembling in force with the design of opening the gates, when Cestius suddenly drew off his forces. "I conceive,"—says the Jewish historian,—"that God, abhorring his own sanctuary on account of our sins, would not permit the war to end thus." After a night's rest at Scopos, Cestius commenced his retreat, with the hostile population gathering round him at every step, and reached Gabao with great loss. Here the beasts of burthen were killed and the baggage abandoned. As soon as the Romans had entered the pass of Bethhoron, they were assailed in flank and rear, and the passage blocked in front. Night alone saved them from utter destruction; and Cestius, displaying the standards and leaving 400 men, to make a show of defending the empty camp, fled with the remnant of his army, pursued by the Jews as far as Antipatris. He lost 5300 foot and 380 horses; and the engines of war, which he had carried up for the siege of Jerusalem, became an invaluable help to its defence. Having secured this prize, and collected the immense booty, the Jews returned to the city with hymns of triumph, fancying that the days of the Maccabees had returned, and forgetting that the power they had defied wielded the resources of the whole civilized world, while they had forfeited the aid of Omnipotence.

The news of the revolt reached Nero in Greece, where he had by his side a general most fit of all others to conduct the war, and from whose military bluntness he was not sorry to be relieved. VESPASIAN

* That is, *tortoise*, so called from the shields overlapping each other, like the creature's scales, and forming a penthouse against the wall.

was no sooner entrusted with the command of all the forces of Syria and the East, than he sent his son Titus to Alexandria to lead the fifteenth legion into Palestine, while he hastened through Asia Minor and Syria, collecting troops and engines as he advanced. In the spring of the following year three legions, with a large force of allies, were assembled at Ptolemais (*Acre*). The sense of being committed to so great a conflict, and the six months' interval for preparation, had restored some order among the still divided Jews. The avowed friends of Rome had either taken refuge with her armies or been compelled to join the insurgents. The moderate party, who would have been content to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome if their liberties were secured, obtained by their numbers and character ascendancy over the zealots, and acquired nearly all the most important commands. Their leader was the High-Priest Annas, or Ananus, whom Josephus represents as a man who might have saved the nation from destruction, had he lived. He shared the supreme power in the city under the Sanhedrin with Simon the son of Garion, the bravest of the zealots. Eleazar retained the command of the Temple, and this with the possession of the military chest taken in the flight of Cestius soon gave him the power which would gladly have been withheld, especially as he was suspected of aspiring to the kingdom. The country was divided into seven military districts, under governors who were for the most part priests of the moderate party.

The first of these to bear the brunt of the war was Galilee, under the command of Joseph the son of Matthias, who is better known by the Roman name which he assumed as the client of Vespasian, Flavius Josephus, the historian of this war, and the author of the great work on *Jewish Antiquities*, from which our chief additions to the sacred history are derived. He was born about A.D. 37, of the most illustrious race of the Jews, his family belonging to the first of the twenty-four priestly courses; and his father was worthy of such a descent. By the age of fourteen, he tells us—perhaps with a covert desire to compare himself with the founder of Christianity—he was so proficient in the knowledge of the law, that the chief priests used to meet at the house of Matthias to ask the boy difficult questions; and at sixteen, having studied the tenets of the three Jewish sects, he went to live in the desert with an Essene saint, named Banus. After sharing his ascetic discipline for three years, Joseph returned to Jerusalem and became a Pharisee. He acquired a perfect mastery of the ancient Hebrew, then a rare accomplishment, it would seem, the vernacular lan-

guage of Palestine being the Syro-Chaldaic. In his twenty-sixth year, his zeal led him to Rome to plead for some priests who had been sent as prisoners by Felix. Here he is supposed to have acquired an accurate knowledge of Greek, which was very rare among the Jews. On his return he joined the moderate party, who placed him in command of Galilee, with a view, as he hints in a passage of his life, to the disarming of the zealots. His measures seem to have been prudent and vigorous. He assembled the leaders of parties about him, nominally as a Sanhedrin, but in reality to keep them under his own eye. He administered strict justice; drafted the robbers, whom he could not put down, into the army; and fortified the strongholds of Jotapata, Taricheia, Tiberias, Itabyrium on Mount Tabor, and some caves near the lake of Gennesaret, besides many other places. The defence, however, of Sepphoris, which disputed with Tiberias the rank of the capital of Galilee, was conceded to the professed zeal of the inhabitants themselves, under the separate command of John, the son of Levi, who became celebrated by the name of JOHN OF GISCHALA. This leader of the zealots soon became the great antagonist of Josephus, who represents him as a man of the lowest extraction, of the deepest craft, and the most unscrupulous wickedness, who began life as a common robber, and rose by the vilest arts to the command of a band of 4000 men, with whom he long wasted Galilee. What picture the zealot would have drawn of the historian, had their fates been reversed, we have no means of judging. The people of Sepphoris had previously been suspected of Romanizing, and it was on being protected by Josephus against a threatened attack of the other Galilean cities, that they consented to join the common cause. But we must refer to the historian himself for the details of the factions which distracted the energies which were all needed for the common defence, as well as for the more interesting story of his defence and loss of Jotapata, the hill-fortress on which he staked the fate of Galilee, and before which Vespasian was wounded; as throughout his whole narrative it is almost impossible to distinguish what is written to please his imperial patrons, and what from a regard to truth. The marvellous story of his escape, which, even if true, says more for his ingenuity than his honesty, was probably invented to impose on the mind of Vespasian with a show of supernatural mystery.* All that seems certain is, that Josephus

* The story is, that Josephus escaped with thirty-nine comrades to a cave; that his hiding-place was betrayed to Vespasian, who sent to offer him his life: that his

escaped from the storm of Jotapata, and concealed himself in a cave, till he could make terms with the victor, who had had experience of his talents, and had probably been induced to believe him the secret friend of Rome. He was attached to the suite of Vespasian, in a character between a prisoner and a companion; and, after acting throughout the war as a mediator between his countrymen and the Romans, he was rewarded with a grant of land in Judæa, together with a pension and the Roman franchise. To complete his worldly fortune, he has left his own story to posterity, without a writer of the opposite party to contradict him. Yet few will envy him his distinctions, or fail to see the gross partiality with which he depicts the zealots as mere robbers.

The impression produced by the narrative of Josephus needs to be corrected by such reflections as are embodied in the eloquent words of Milman:—"Yet, however frantic and desperate the insurrection, why should the Jews alone be excluded from that generous sympathy which is always awakened by the history of a people throwing off the galling yoke of oppression, and manfully resisting to the utmost in the assertion of their freedom? Surely, if ever people were justified in risking the peace of their country for liberty, the grinding tyranny of the successive Roman procurators, and the deliberate and systematic cruelties of Florus, were enough to have maddened a less high-spirited and intractable race into revolt. It is true that the war was carried on with unexampled atrocity; but, on the other hand, insurrectionary warfare is not the best school for the humaner virtues; and horrible oppression is apt to awaken the fiercer and more savage, not the loftier and nobler passions of our nature. . . . . It is moreover true, that the Son of Man had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, and that the New Testament appears to intimate, that the measure of wickedness in the Jewish people having been filled up in the rejection of Christ, they were doomed from that time to inevitable ruin. According to the principles of the Mosaic law, national guilt led to national ruin. But still the motives which actuated many in the fatal struggle that led to the accomplish-

fanatic companions refused to capitulate, and resolved, by his advice, to draw lots for the order of their death, each successive pair falling upon one another's swords; and that the lot of Josephus left him the last, with a comrade whom he persuaded to surrender. It should be borne in mind that the autobiography of Josephus has throughout a romantic cast, and is often at utter variance with the "Jewish War." It was written long after the latter work, and when both Vespasian and Titus were dead, with the special object of self-defence against the statements in the "History of the Jewish War," by Justus of Tiberias, a work which is now unfortunately lost.

ment of the Divine predictions may have been noble and generous. It was the national rejection of Christ, not the resistance to Rome, which was culpable. The Jew, though guilty of refusing to be a Christian, might still be a high-minded and self-devoted patriot. Although we lament that the gentle and pacific virtues of Christianity did not spread more generally through the lovely and fertile region of Palestine, yet this is no reason why we should refuse our admiration to the bravery, or our deepest pity to the sufferings, of the Jewish people. Let us not read the fate of the Holy City in that unchristian temper which prevailed during the dark ages, when every Jew was considered a personal enemy of Christ, and therefore a legitimate object of hatred and persecution, but rather in the spirit of Him who, when he looked forward with prophetic knowledge to its desolation, nevertheless was seen to weep over Jerusalem."

It is no slight indication of the strength of the national cause, that for once it overpowered the hatred between the Jews and the Samaritans. The latter people had taken no part in the disturbances that ushered in the war, and their chief towns were held by the Roman armies; but the armed force of the nation assembled on Mount Gerizim, with the manifest intention of joining the insurgents. Here they were surrounded by a force of 3000 foot and 600 horse, under Petilius Cerealis, the commander of the ninth legion. The rocky hill supplied no water, and some of them died of thirst. Even when utterly exhausted, they refused to surrender on the promise of their lives being spared, and they were all slain, to the number of 11,600 (June 27th, A.D. 67). Jamnia was also taken by Trajan, the father of the emperor, during the siege of Jotapata. The latter event occurred on the 1st of July; and Vespasian then moved his quarters from Ptolemais to Cæsarea, so as to interpose his army between Jerusalem and Galilee; and while he completed the reduction of the north by taking Tiberias, Taricheia, Gamala, Itabyrium, and Gischala, Trajan was again detached to seize Joppa, the only port held by the Jews. Here the unfortunate inhabitants took to their ships, which were dashed to pieces by a storm, and the few survivors killed by the Romans as they gained the land. At the other captured cities all the elder inhabitants were massacred and the younger sold as slaves. Never was a war marked by greater atrocities on both sides than that which now desolated the Holy Land.

Meanwhile the state of Jerusalem, as we shall presently see,

grew more and more terrible every day; and the Jewish refugees urged Vespasian to finish the war by marching upon the devoted city. But he was determined, as he himself said, to leave nothing to chance, nor to risk an encounter with the united force and fanaticism of the Jews. He therefore began the second campaign by crossing the Jordan. Gadara opened its gates, and Vespasian returned to Cæsarea, leaving Trajan and Placidus to complete the reduction of Peræa. The fugitive inhabitants, driven forward in an ever-increasing mass, attempted to cross into Judæa by the ford of Jericho. It was the season when "Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest;"* but the lost ark of the broken covenant was not there to divide the waters for their passage. They turned to bay upon their pursuers, only to vary their fate, to be slaughtered in heaps, or driven back pell-mell into the stream. "Not only the river, but the Dead Sea also, was almost choked with bodies, which lay floating upon its dark and heavy waters." Meanwhile Vespasian advanced from Cæsarea along the maritime plain, leaving in his track wasted fields, smoking ruins, and heaps of corpses, and placing garrisons in all the fortresses. His ravages and massacres extended as far as Idumæa, whence he returned by Emmaus through Samaria, and reunited his army at Jericho. The tide of devastation which had thus swept the whole country round Jerusalem seemed on the point of rising to engulph the city and the Temple, when it was stayed by the news of the death of Nero, and the cry of the Roman world for Vespasian.

While the war is suspended to await the decision of the leader, let us see what had meanwhile been the state of the city. Ananus the high-priest applied himself vigorously to preparations for defence, which were only varied by two unsuccessful attacks upon the small Roman garrison in Ascalon. But the factions within the city paralysed all schemes of united action; and, instead of sending forth her warlike priests and people to aid the resistance of the country, Jerusalem became the refuge and sink of the fugitives from every quarter. Crowds brought fresh confusion, and added to the fatal power of the zealots. At length John of Gischala arrived, with his panting men and horses, from the fall of the last Galilæan fortress. In spite of the tale which their appearance told, the crafty leader announced that the Romans were exhausted, and pointed to the long resistance of the northern cities as a presage of their failure before Jerusalem. His arrival animated the

* Joshua iii. 15.

zealots; and the robbers and assassins who had come into the city from every quarter enacted scenes which are only paralleled by the September massacres of Paris in 1792. Antipas, a kinsman of Agrippa, and several other Herodian leaders, were dragged to prison, and there despatched by assassins, on the pretext of a plot to betray the city to the Romans.* The zealots next took upon them to nominate the chief priests or members of the Sanhedrin, without regard to birth. But when they assembled in the Temple to choose a high-priest by lot, and the election fell upon a coarse and ignorant clown, Ananus and the priests found it easy to rouse the people to resist this sacrilegious reign of terror. Open war broke out between the zealots within and the adherents of the priests without the Temple, and the subtle intriguer, John of Gischala, on pretence of acting as a mediator, betrayed the one party and stimulated the fury of the other by false reports of the fate intended for them. In wild alarm, the zealots called in a body of 20,000 Idumæan bandits, against whom Ananus closed the gates; but, during a stormy night, when the watch was intermitted, a few of the zealots gave entrance to the Idumæans, who at once massacred the guard placed about the Temple. In the morning 8500 dead bodies were dragged out of the sacred precincts. Ananus and Jesus, the son of Gamala, were put to death, and their naked corpses thrown out to the dogs and vultures, in a land where it was a sacred custom to bury even the worst malefactors before sunset. The moderate party was crushed, and the zealots followed up their triumph, first by a series of massacres, in which, says Josephus, "they slaughtered the people like a herd of unclean animals," to the number of 12,000, and then by murders under the forms of law. In the condemnation of Zacharias the son of Baruch † they literally repeated that deed of their forefathers which Christ had selected as a type of their continuity in wickedness. Zacharias was "a distinguished man, whose influence they dreaded, and whose wealth they yearned to pillage, for he was

* *Relata refero:* but the one-sided narrative of Josephus does not prove that the plot was not as real as it seems probable.

† Dean Milman, whose account of the transaction we adopt, says respecting this name:—"The singular coincidence between this man and the Zacharias, son of Barachias, mentioned by Christ (Matt. xxiii. 35), is explained in very different ways. Some go so far as to interpret it as a prophecy of this event, and cite instances of an aorist used in a future sense. This is to me very improbable:" but not so, we think, the *prophetic coincidence* suggested in the text. "I should be inclined to suppose *the son of Barachias* a gloss crept into the text of the Gospel, or an error of a copyist."

upright, patriotic, and rich. They assembled by proclamation seventy of the principal men of the populace, and formed a Sanhedrin. Before that court they charged Zacharias with intelligence with the Romans. They had neither proof nor witness, but insisted on their own conviction of his guilt. Zacharias, despairing of his life, conducted himself with unexampled boldness. He stood up, ridiculed their charges, and in a few words clearly established his own innocence. He then turned to the accusers, inveighed with the most solemn fervour against their iniquities, and lamented the wretched state of public affairs. The zealots murmured, and some were ready to use their swords; but they were desirous of seeing whether the judges were sufficiently subservient to their will. The seventy unanimously acquitted the prisoner, and preferred to die with Zacharias rather than be guilty of his condemnation. The furious zealots raised a cry of indignation. Two of them rushed forward and struck him dead where he stood, in the Temple court, shouting aloud, *This is our verdict—this is our more summary acquittal.* Then, dragging the body along the pavement, they threw it into the valley below. The judges they beat with the flat blades of their swords, and drove them in disgrace back into the city." Even when the Idumæans left the city, declaring that they had come in to defend it, not to be accomplices in such deeds, the zealots continued their work of murder. Among their victims was the heroic Niger, who, having escaped death by what seemed a miracle at the attack on Ascalon, now perished, with denunciations of sword, pestilence, and famine upon the city, and invoking the Romans to avenge him.

The time for the fulfilment of these curses came when Vespasian departed for Rome, leaving Titus to work the wrath of God upon the doomed city. *The wrath of God*—the phrase is used in no mere general acknowledgment of his providential government of the world, but with the most solemn reference to prophecies that marked this catastrophe of the unfaithful nation from the day of Moses to the day of Christ: *the wrath of God*, for had those prophecies never been uttered, nay, had He never given his word, such an event as this would have proclaimed his being and his government:—the wrath of Him whose own word made the fall of Jerusalem the image of the last judgment, and who, forbidding us to judge the men themselves who suffered for the accumulated wickedness of their nation, has left this example to proclaim to men and states in every age, *Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.* Once more, as in all their course, we behold in the judg-

ment of the Jews the judgment of the race of man; and in nothing more conspicuously than in their abuse of that merciful pause before the final stroke, that "space of repentance," which is a signal feature of God's judgments. The Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, however, formed an exception to this judicial blindness, departing in a body, before the siege was formed, to Pella, a village of Decapolis beyond the Jordan. The interval was employed by those left behind in heaping up the pile of moral iniquity and material disorder for the coming conflagration. The moderate party was no sooner extirpated, than three several factions sprang up among the zealots like the heads of a Hydra or a Cerberus, only that they were devouring one another. Eleazar held the Temple, and the nominal authority in the city; John of Gischala, with his Galilean robbers, perpetrated unutterable deeds of ferocity and lust. Simon, son of Gioras, having established himself with a large force at Massada, revenged the failure of an attempt to make himself master of the city, followed by the seizure of his wife, by unheard-of barbarities on all whom he caught beyond the walls. Presently a new division in the party of John, between the zealots and the Idumæan troops, led to the admission of Simon into Jerusalem. The three factions were now arrayed as in three fortresses, corresponding to the peculiar structure of the city. Eleazar, who held the Temple and four strong towers which had been erected at its corners, was besieged by John, who had succeeded to the position of Ananus in the Temple courts and the lower city; while Simon, on the hill of Zion, confronted both. An incessant fight was carried on by means of the engines left behind by Cestius in his flight; and the scene of intestine war around the house of God was fearfully contrasted with the worship still continued in its courts. "Free ingress and egress were granted; the native Jews were strictly searched, the strangers were admitted with less difficulty; but often in the very act of prayer or sacrifice, the arrows would come whizzing in, or the heavy stone fall thundering on their heads; and they would pay with their lives the price of kneeling and worshipping in the sacred place." The mass of the citizens, and especially the aged men and women, could but endure their sufferings with the recklessness which the depth of misery engenders, and the only hope left was from the heathen enemy whom they so fiercely hated.

Early in the year 70, Titus took leave of his father at Alexandria, and proceeded deliberately to collect his forces at Cæsarea.

Emboldened by the long delay, the Jews who still survived the devastation of the country regions went up to Jerusalem at the Passover; and as if to make the horrors of the siege and the destruction of the nation as great as possible, the city was crammed with nearly a million persons — if we may trust the numbers recorded—for whose sustenance no provision had been made. The soldiers of the three factions are enumerated as follows:—Eleazar had 2400 men; John, 6000; Simon, 10,000 Jews and 5000 Idumæans. The forces of Titus seem to have been not less than 80,000. Advancing from the north, the Cæsar fixed his camp upon the ridge called Scopus, from which the city is first seen, while the tenth legion was detached to occupy the Mount of Olives, in case succours which had been talked of from the Jews of Parthia should approach by the eastern road. But no help came from any of the quarters of the empire; and the Jews, assembled at the last Passover at which they could slay the Paschal lamb,* beheld the Roman standards pitched within the sacred space around the city—"the abomination of desolation" spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing in the holy place—as had been predicted at the Passover forty years before, by the Lamb of God, whose blood their fathers had invoked upon their children and themselves. When Titus advanced in person with 600 horse to reconnoitre the city, not a man was seen; but as he rode round incautiously near the wall, he was suddenly surrounded by a multitude that poured out from a gate behind him. Bare-headed and without a breastplate, he forced his way through the hosts with his horse and sword, amidst a storm of darts, which transfixed many of his followers, and though he escaped unharmed to the camp, the Jews could boast that the first act of the siege was the Cæsar's flight (Ap. 13, A.D. 70).

For a moment the Jewish leaders suspended their mutual hostilities, to make a combined attack upon the single legion on the Mount of Olives. The Romans, at work on their entrenchments, were suddenly beset by hosts that kept pouring out of the city, and driven back to the summit of the hill. Titus, who had flown to their succour, was left almost alone upon the slope, and was again in great danger; but the assailants were at last driven back. On the next day, the second of the feast, the internal conflict was renewed. The party of John took advantage of the opening of the

* Sacrifices being only lawful at Jerusalem, this essential part of the Passover has been omitted since the destruction of the Temple. The Passover kept by the modern Jews is but the Feast of Unleavened Bread.

Temple gates for the worshippers, to make themselves masters of the building; but Eleazar was suffered to retain the post, under the orders of John; and thus the factions were reduced to two. The Roman approaches were now pushed forward against the northern and western faces of the wall, the only sides on which the city was not defended by the deep ravines formed by the brook Kedron (valley of Jehoshaphat) on the east, and by the Gihon (valley of Hinnom) on the south and west; and after a sally, in which the Jews showed equal bravery and cunning, the besieging works were established along this wall. On this side the city had a triple line of defence. The most ancient wall ran from the Temple across the valley of the Tyropæon, which divided Moriah from Zion, and along the northern brow of Zion to the tower of Hippicus at the north-west angle of the city. A second wall was thrown forth northwards, from the northern face of the fort of Antonia (which abutted on the north side of the Temple), to the summit of the hill which faces the ancient city, whence it was carried back to join the inner wall at the gate of Garath, east of Hippicus. The third wall, began by Herod Agrippa (about A.D. 42), was drawn from the eastern face of the Temple northwards along the margin of the valley of Kedron to the eminence marked by the "fuller's monument," where it turned at a right angle to the west, passing near the tombs of the kings, to the tower of Psephinus, which formed its north-western angle, and thence it swept round to the tower of Hippicus, enclosing Bezetha and the whole northern suburbs, a space considerably larger than the city itself. Had this outer wall been finished according to Agrippa's plan, it would, Josephus thinks, have rendered the city impregnable. Its stones were 35 feet long; its width was 17½ feet; but it had only been carried to the same height when the work ceased, at the command of Claudius. The Jews had hastily raised it to 35 feet, and its massive substructions offered a firm resistance to the battering-ram and mine; while the defenders added every resource of activity and courage. All attempts at escalade were repulsed by numbers; and in the darkness of the mines bears and bees were let loose to worry the assailants. The catapults and balistæ were incessantly plied on both sides; but the Jews were unskilful in their management; while those worked by the tenth legion, in particular, from the Mount of Olives did tremendous execution with their bolts and stones of a talent in weight.

The thunder of the battering-rams once more suspended hostilities between the factions of John and Simon, and in a furious

sally they drove the besiegers from their engines, and destroyed much of their material. It was on this occasion that Titus gave an example of the lengths of severity to which he was prepared to go, by crucifying one of his prisoners in front of the wall. At last the incessant blows of the battering-rams did their work; while the storms of arrows cleared the walls; the defenders, wearied out with night watching, retired to their second line; and Titus, entering the suburb, pitched his camp on the ground which tradition assigned to the camp of the Assyrians. On the fifth day the second wall was carried; and Titus, thus master of all the lower city, spared the lives and houses of the people, in order to separate them from the garrison. The only result was to redouble the fury of the defence, and the Romans, assailed in the narrow winding streets, were with difficulty brought off by the skill of Titus. The wall thus taken and lost, was regained and demolished, on the fourth day; but there still remained within the inner line two distinct fortresses to be stormed,—the city of Zion, and the Temple with the tower of Antonia. The assault was now suspended for a few days, and Titus attempted to overawe the defenders by a display of the full array of his army in a review. Neither this, nor the eloquence of Josephus, who harangued the men upon the wall in their own language, made any visible impression upon the zealots. But famine now began to do its work, and desertions became frequent in spite of the rigour with which John and Simon executed all who were caught in the attempt. Soon there was literally a battle for life within the city. The weak and starving had their last morsels of food snatched from them by the strong; and the strong were tortured and executed because their looks convicted them of having a concealed store. "Every kind feeling—love—respect—natural affection—were extinct through the all-absorbing want. Wives would snatch the last morsel from husbands, children from parents, mothers from children; they would intercept even their own milk from the lips of their pining babes." If we are allowed to doubt whether Josephus has exaggerated these horrors, we may be sure that his picture of the cruelties of his imperial patron is but too true. As the famine became more intolerable, so did the measures of Titus to force the people to a surrender. Wretches who prowled outside the walls during the night, to pick up scraps of food, were scourged and crucified, sometimes to the number of 500 at a time, and twisted into ludicrous postures by the wantonness of the soldiers; the zealots bade those who desired peace to behold

these examples of Roman mercy; and Titus was saluted with the bitterest insults as he rode near the city.

In the last days of May, four mounds were raised against the walls and the engines placed upon them, when the whole structure sank amidst smoke and flames, as if into the crater of a subterranean volcano. John had undermined the mounds, supporting the surface with wooden props, and then kindled immense fires in the cavities. Simon emulated his valour in a furious sally against the engines. Titus now resorted to a blockade, and the words of Christ were literally fulfilled:—"Thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side."* The scanty supplies that had found their way into the city were now cut off, and the people waited in silent despair for the death which the sword of the robbers sometimes hastened. Putrefying corpses filled the streets, or were thrown over the walls into the ravines; and as Titus saw them strew the ground beneath his horses' feet, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and called the God of heaven to witness that this was not his work. He tried in vain to suppress the horrid practice of cutting open the bodies of deserters in search of the gold they were supposed to have swallowed. The zealots crowned their severities against all movements towards submission by the execution of the High-Priest Simon and fifteen members of the Sanhedrin; and a certain Judas, who had conspired to surrender the city, was put to death on the walls, with his ten accomplices, and their bodies thrown over to the Romans. Meanwhile the engines were replaced; the wall of Antonia was breached; and an inner wall run up by Simon fell from its own weight. Still the call of Titus to mount the breach was only answered by Sabinus, a common soldier, and eleven others, who were overwhelmed by numbers. But two days later, on the 5th of July, a party of twenty-four soldiers crept up the breach in the dead of night, and Antonia was taken. A desperate conflict ensued in the narrow passages between the fortress and the Temple; and after ten hours' hard fighting Titus recalled his men (July 5th or 17th). He now caused Antonia to be razed, and the site to be cleared for the engines to assault the Temple. But first he made a last experiment of clemency. Many accepted his offer of mercy; and when the rest had fled to Zion and the Temple, he sent to Josephus to offer them free egress if they would come out and fight, rather than see the sanctuary polluted. His words, uttered in their own language, were begin-

* Luke xix. 43.

ning to make some impression, when his old enemy John sternly interrupted him, declaring that he feared not the taking of the city, for God would protect his own; and Josephus narrowly escaped capture. The captives just admitted to quarter, including many of the chief priests, next appeared before the Temple gate to entreat the zealots to save the house of God from ruin; but the merciless John, who had already butchered many of their relatives, answered with a storm of missiles, which—says Josephus—strewed the ground with bodies as thickly as the places where slaves were thrown out unburied. Titus himself pleaded the inconsistency of filling with arms and blood the courts, the Holy Place, nay even the Holy of Holies, which they had always guarded with such jealousy. "I call on your gods"—said he—"I call on my whole army—I call on the Jews who are with me—I call on yourselves—to witness, that I do not force you to this crime. Come forth, and fight in any other place, and no Roman shall violate your sacred edifice."

We can scarcely be surprised that the zealots, knowing the hopelessness of a battle, preferred to wait for a miracle which should save the Temple at the last moment. But they did not wait passively, and a night attack, made by the picked men of the Roman army, under the eye of the emperor himself, in the narrow space before the Temple, was vigilantly met and successfully repulsed, and the ensuing operations were hindered by repeated sallies. They burnt the corridor between Antonia and the Temple, and the space thus cleared was enlarged by a fire kindled by the Romans. Resolving to sacrifice another portion of their outworks, the Jews prepared to sacrifice the assailants with it. The western corridor of the outer court, which had a wooden roof, was piled with combustibles, and then left defenceless; and most of the soldiers who mounted it by scaling ladders fell victims to a fearful conflagration. The Romans avenged the disaster by burning the northern corridor, and made themselves masters of the great court of the Gentiles. The battering-rams began their work upon the defences of the second court; but the massive stones withstood their shock; the scaling parties were dashed down upon the pavement, and their standards taken; and, on the 8th of Ab (August), Titus gave orders to set fire to the great gates, which he had attempted in vain to undermine. The flames spread to the cloisters, and blazed during all that day and night. On the second day the defenders burst out of the fiery circle, and were hardly forced back by a cavalry charge led by Titus himself. The Roman now called a

council of war, to decide whether the Temple should be saved. Though opinions were divided, he ordered the flames to be extinguished, and, having fixed the assault for the morrow, retired to rest. But another decree had long been registered by the Supreme Ruler; and the infuriated combatants were the instruments of His will. The indefatigable defenders, who had renewed their attacks on the soldiers engaged in putting out the fire, were driven back into the inner court, and pursued to the very gates of the Temple. By one of those impulses which defy all discipline, a soldier, mounting on the shoulders of a comrade, threw a blazing torch into the gilded lattice of the porch. "The flames sprang up at once. The Jews uttered one simultaneous shriek, and grasped their swords with a furious determination of revenging and perishing in the ruins of the Temple. Titus rushed down with the utmost speed: he shouted, he made signs to his soldiers to quench the fire: his voice was drowned, and his signs unnoticed in the blind confusion. The legionaries either could not or would not hear: they rushed on, trampling each other down in their furious haste, or, stumbling over the crumbling ruins, perished with the enemy. Each exhorted the other, and each hurled his blazing brand into the inner part of the edifice, and then hurried to his work of carnage. The unarmed and defenceless people were slain in thousands; they lay heaped, like sacrifices, round the altar; the steps of the Temple ran with streams of blood, which washed down the bodies which lay upon it."

The flames had not reached the sanctuary itself, when Titus entered the Holy of Holies. Admiration of its riches and splendour impelled him to a last effort for its preservation; but in his very presence, and in the midst of his earnest exhortations, a soldier thrust a lighted torch between the hinges of the door, and the building was presently in flames. This defiance of the sacred laws of Roman discipline is a most emphatic sign of the presence of a higher power than even the Cæsar. The fury of the Romans was now turned upon the Jews, who, after all their losses, still crowded the Temple area. Besides those who had fled thither for refuge, multitudes had been led up by a false prophet, with the promise that at the last moment the Messiah would "suddenly come to His Temple," and confound His enemies with destruction. John cut his way through, with some of his soldiers, to the Upper City, whither Simon had already fled. A few of the priests fell in a last effort of defence, or threw themselves headlong into the flames. But the great mass—men, women, and children—were

butchered in heaps, or perished in the fire. There remained at last only a small portion of the outer cloister, to which about six thousand unarmed fugitives had retreated. To this also the Romans set fire, and all upon it perished. The remnant of the Jews who crowded the battlements of the Upper City, and the fugitives who had passed through the Roman lines to the surrounding hills, were seen by the light of the flames that shot up from the summit of Moriah, watching the awful scene, while the sky resounded with their shrieks and wailings. When at length the flames subsided, the whole Roman army entered the sacred precincts. The prophecy of Daniel was accomplished by the setting up of their standards on the ruins of the sanctuary: sacrifices were offered to their idols at the great eastern gate: and Titus was saluted *Imperator* by his troops. The Jewish chronologers have made the catastrophe more memorable by fixing its date on the anniversary of the first destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, which is still kept as a fast only less afflictive than the Day of Atonement.*

Titus now summoned the Jews in the Upper City, first through Josephus, and then in person, offering to spare their lives if they would submit. Warned rather than intimidated by the fate of some priests, the last who had surrendered in the Temple, and whom Titus executed in sight of their brethren, with the taunt that they who served the altar should perish with the altar—the zealots replied that they had bound themselves by an oath never to surrender, and demanded a free passage through the Roman lines to the wilderness, with their wives and children. Upon this refusal, Titus doomed them to death, and the city to destruction. Acra and Ophla, the parts north and south of the Temple, on the eastern hill,† were at once set on fire; while the zealots, having repulsed an attack by the Romans, massacred a multitude of their countrymen who had sought refuge in the palace.‡ Thousands more, if

* Josephus, who calls the months by their Macedonian names, represents *Ab* by *Loüs;* and the received date of the 10th of Ab is founded on the assumption that he uses the Macedonian names merely to replace the Jewish, the days of the months being regarded as exactly the same: an assumption not improbable, but far from certain. The month of Ab corresponds nearly to August, with sometimes the latter part of July. In 1865, for example, the Fast, which the modern Jews keep on the 9th, not the 10th, falls on the 1st of August. (See Clinton, *Fast. Hellen.* vol. iii. p. 353; *Fast. Rom.* vol. i. p. 58.)

† This, according to Mr. Fergusson's view, was the "City of David," the Upper City on the western hill, to which Jewish tradition has affixed the name of Sion, being the "City of the Jebusites." (See *Dict. of the Bible,* art. *Jerusalem.*)

‡ Josephus says 8400, a number, remarks Milman, the most extravagant and incredible of all the extravagant and incredible numbers in Josephus.

we may believe the historian, went out and surrendered, and were sold into slavery, with the rest of the captives. The Roman works, greatly impeded by the scarcity of timber, were completed early in September; and their assault was only encountered by a feeble resistance. While they slaughtered the remnant of the inhabitants over the heaps of those who had already perished by famine, John and Simon sought, in the caves with which the limestone rocks are pierced for a last shelter and the chance of finding a passage into the open country. But no such exit could be discovered. Pressed by famine, John was the first to surrender. His life was spared, and he was sent into honourable custody in Italy. Some time afterwards, Simon attempted a last artifice, to save himself by working upon the superstition of the conquerors. Availing himself, as it seems, of a subterraneous communication between the western and eastern hills, he suddenly appeared amidst the ruins of the Temple, arrayed in splendid priestly vestments of white and purple. The Roman soldiers, astonished for a moment, asked his name, and being told that he was Simon, the son of Gioras, they carried him before Titus, who reserved him for his triumph, and the fate that was sure to follow. Meanwhile, the disposal of the other captives had been settled. Of those who had been most active in the defence, some of the tallest and most handsome were reserved for the victor's triumph, and the rest were put to death. Their fate was shared by the aged and infirm, who were unsaleable as slaves; while those in the prime of manhood were either distributed through the provinces to fight in the arena, or sent to work in the quarries of Egypt. The holy city, for the second time in its history,* was razed to the ground, Herod's three towers only being left standing as a memorial of its site. Such was the resistance opposed by the immense and well-fitted stones to the work of destruction, that Titus is reported to have exclaimed: "God has been my helper! God it was that pulled down the Jews from those formidable walls; for what could the hands of men or their engines have availed against them?" The outward aspect of the site fulfilled the figure of utter destruction which Christ had used in prophecy: "There shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down." But beneath the pile of ruin, the massive substructions of Herod's Temple, and the older foundations laid by

* "Jerusalem is said to have been *taken* seventeen times in all—sometimes, as under the Persian Chosru and the Crusaders, with terrible slaughter; but it has been *overthrown* only by Nebuchanezzar and Cyrus."—Merivale.

Solomon, were left in many places uninjured, and they still remain as memorials of the sacred edifice, and as guides to its investigation.*

The people who perished in the siege are reckoned by Josephus at 1,100,000, a number difficult to credit, though not impossible, when we remember that nearly the whole male population of Judæa had been gathered together for the Passover when the city was beleaguered. The prisoners taken in the whole war were 90,000. The nation would have perished with the city, but for the Jews of the dispersion, and even these were threatened with destruction. The persecution which began at Antioch, where several Jews were burnt to death for an alleged plot to set fire to the city, would doubtless soon have spread through the whole empire, had it not been checked by the rebuke of Titus:—"The country of the Jews is destroyed—thither they cannot return: it would be hard to allow them no home to retreat to—leave them in peace." The booty was so enormous, as to cause an immense fall in the value of gold and silver throughout Asia, even though most of the Temple treasures were consumed in the conflagration. The chief of the sacred vessels, however, were preserved by the priests, who carried them off to the subterranean vaults, and afterwards surrendered them to the victor. The seven-branched golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the chest in which the Book of the Law was kept,† and the two silver trumpets, were borne as trophies in the triumph which Titus shared with Vespasian, and their forms may still be seen in bas-relief on the inner side of the Arch which was erected at Rome to celebrate the victory. The medals of Vespasian, with the legend JUDÆA CAPTA, exhibit the figure of "the captive daughter of Sion," as described in the affecting song of the first captivity, weeping beneath the palm-tree. The soil of the country was sold by auction for the benefit of the imperial treasury; and the only force deemed necessary to watch the desolated land was a post, not even a colony, of 800 veterans at Emmaus.

The catastrophe of the chosen city and people is an epoch in the history of the world, the significance of which—as the long-predicted judgment of past unfaithfulness, and the removal of the shadow to make way for the substance of the true religion—every Christian has learnt to understand, and to recognize in it

* See Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i. pp. 1019—20.

† This must not be confounded with the Ark of the Covenant, which was destroyed in the fire of Nebuchadnezzar, and was never replaced.

one of the most signal acts of the government of God. To the Romans, as it was the conquest of the last country that preserved a show of independence within the limits of the empire, so it might seem the final triumph of the gods of the Capitol over a hated superstition. But the doom of heathenism, long since sealed by the decay of all faith in its reality, and the loss of all vitality and purity in political and social life, might have been already traced by the votaries of superstition in the burning of the Capitol eight months before the conflagration of the Temple. Upon this coincidence the historian of the empire well remarks:—"PALESTINE *was the cradle of the Gospel; the* JEWS *the people first divinely appointed to expound it.* The destruction, never to be repaired, of their material TEMPLE cut the cords which bound the *new faith* to its local habitation, and launched it, under the hand of Providence, on its career of spiritual conquest; while the boasted restoration of the CAPITOL was a vain attempt to retain hold of the past, to revive the lost or perishing, to re-attach to new conditions of thought an outworn creed of antiquity."*

We have seen that divine Providence had secured the diffusion of the germs of Christianity through the Roman empire before the old local centre of the true religion perished; and the first great series of apostolic successes ends with the martyrdom of St. Paul, and perhaps of St. Peter, in the very year in which the Jewish war began (A.D. 66). But before recording the little that is known of the subsequent history of the apostolic church, we may pursue to its end the sequel of the Jewish war. Even after the fall of Jerusalem, the fortresses of Machærus and Massada made a brilliant though brief resistance. The former capitulated, in order to save the life of a favourite leader, Eleazar, who had been taken prisoner by the Romans; in the latter, another Eleazar, descended from Judas of Galilee, persuaded the inhabitants to an act of self-immolation. Ten men were chosen by lot as the executioners; and, their work done, nine of them fell by each other's hands. The tenth set fire to the palace, and then plunged his sword into his heart. A woman, with her five children, who had taken refuge in a subterranean cavern, were all that came forth to surrender to the astonished Romans at the first stroke of the battering ram. A few of the Assassins escaped to Egypt, and raised a sedition, which called forth an edict from Vespasian for the closing of the Temple built by Onias, so that the Jewish worship ceased almost simultaneously at both its local centres. The last distant wave of the

* Merivale, vol. vi. p. 606.

great insurrection was felt on the edge of the Libyan Desert, in the disturbances excited at Cyrene by a fanatic named Jonathan, who was carried to Rome and there burnt alive, after 3000 Jews had been put to death in Cyrenaica (A.D. 73).

Strange to say, after all this, the history of the Jews in Palestine is not yet ended. While the land of promise, partitioned for money among strangers, who wanted the industry and patriotic zeal which had converted its barren hill-sides into richly-cultivated terraces, gradually relapsed into sterility, the remnant of the people devoted themselves, like a child watering its dead pet plant, to an effort for the perpetuation and revival of a faith which could not live out of Jerusalem. Or perhaps we should rather say that they devoted all their ingenuity to the construction of an elaborate artificial tree, after the likeness of the vine which Jehovah had brought out of Egypt and planted, and had now rooted up and burnt for its unfruitfulness. This was RABBINISM, a system whose origin may be traced back to that importance which, ever since the return from the Babylonian captivity, had been assigned to the teaching of the law, even above the ritual of the Temple. The Priests had perished with the altar; but the Scribes, whom we already find so conspicuous a part of the Jewish system in our Saviour's time, continued to teach the imperishable Word, which could survive even their attempts to make it void by their traditions. We have various accounts of the escape of the Sanhedrin from Jerusalem; but thus much seems clear, that several of the most distinguished Rabbis retired before the siege to Jamnia, under Gamaliel, the Nasi or Prince of the Sanhedrin, the celebrated teacher of St. Paul. The school thus established became finally settled at Tiberias, on the Lake of Galilee, where they occupied themselves in the study of the *Masora*,* or unwritten *tradition*, which they affirmed that God had delivered to Moses on Sinai, and the more abstruse *Cabala*, or *received* doctrine, the hidden lore contained in the recurrence of particular letters in the Hebrew Scriptures, and similar artificial mysteries. The results of their speculations were embodied in the commentary upon the law called *Mischna*, and in the more elaborate and trivial commentary upon this commentary, under the title of *Gemara*. "The degrees of estimation in which these successive

* It was through the labours of the Masorites that the received text of the Hebrew Bible was settled, with its elaborate system of punctuation and notation, which was designed to guard against the change of "one jot or tittle" in the sacred writings.

volumes came to be held among the degenerate descendants of Abraham and Moses were marked by the popular comparisons which likened the Bible to water, the Mischna to wine, the Gemara to hypocras; or again, the first to salt, the second to pepper, and the third to frankincense. He who studies the Scripture, it was said, does an indifferent action; he who devotes himself to the Mischna does a good action; but he who learns the Gemara deserves the most glorious of rewards."* The whole system is compared by Milman to a union of the sanctity of tradition in the Church of Rome with the validity of precedent in our law courts.

The Flavian emperors naturally exercised a suspicious watchfulness over the Jews throughout the empire, as well as over the Christians, whom they regarded as a Jewish sect. The ancient contribution of a didrachm for the maintenance of the Temple was exacted anew in the form of a tax for the rebuilding of the Capitol, by which the Jews had to contribute to the service of Jupiter. Both Vespasian and Domitian are said to have made strict inquisition for all who belonged to the royal house of David, in order to cut off the hope of the still-expected Messiah. The tolerance of Nerva's government extended to the Jews; but the sterner temper of his successor, jealous, as we have already seen, of all societies within the empire, looked with suspicion both on Jews and Christians. Whether from those acts of oppression which the Rabbinical writers disguise by fabulous details,† or from their own unconquerable spirit, the Jews throughout all the East were in a ferment at the time of Trajan's expedition against Parthia. The withdrawal of the legions for the war probably raised the hope of successful insurrection; and the terrible earthquake at Antioch may have been accepted as a signal of Divine vengeance on the Greeks by those whom they had so long persecuted. In Cyprus, the chief refuge of the Jews who had been driven out of Palestine, the rebellion broke out with such fury, that 240,000 of the natives and Greeks are said to have been massacred. In Cyrene, nearly the same number of Greeks and Romans were put to death with horrible barbarities; and in Egypt, the prefect Lupus was worsted by the insurgents, and shut up in Alexandria, where he massacred all the Jews of the city. The insurrection in Cyprus was put down by

* Merivale, vol. vii. p. 354.

† The story, for example, of Trajan's massacre of the Jews of Antioch, and afterwards of their wives, is as irreconcilable with known facts as with the emperor's character.

Hadrian, who was then prefect of Syria; and all Jews were henceforth forbidden to set foot in the island. Martius Turbo, sent by Trajan against Egypt and Cyrenaica, did his work so vigorously, that Jewish tradition computes the number who fell in this revolt at 600,000, equal to the whole force of men of war that left Egypt under Moses.* In Mesopotamia, meanwhile, the victories of Trajan were followed by severe measures against the Jews who had enjoyed toleration from the Parthians. Their rebellion was suppressed by Lucius Quietus; but their resistance proved too strong for the performance of the emperor's edict directing their expulsion from the country.

During the reign of Hadrian, the national spirit once more came to a head in Palestine, fostered by the schools which had flourished for more than half a century at Tiberias. The mystic spirit of those schools invested their leaders with powers which seem like a parody of the wonders which God had wrought for his people of old. In fact the legends related of the Rabbi Akiba can only be explained as typical representations of what was fain hoped to be the resuscitated life of the nation. As Akiba was the head of the new movement, so its hand was a certain Bar-cochebas (that is, Son of the Star)† a man of superhuman size and strength, who condescended to the juggler's trick of vomiting fire from his mouth. In the earlier part of Hadrian's reign, the commotion, which the late rebellions in Cyprus, Egypt, and Cyrene, were sure to excite, was kept in check by the powerful force withdrawn from Parthia into Syria; and the final outbreak only took place in the emperor's fourteenth year (A.D. 131). In what degree it was provoked, appears still doubtful. Amidst the contempt with which, as we have seen, Hadrian wrote both of Jews and Christians, it appears that the pleadings of the Christian orators had led him to discriminate their unworldly principles from the seditious enthusiasm of the Jews. What he saw during his progress in the East seems to have been unfavourable to the latter, who on

* We have two remarkable incidental notices, not only of the fury of the rebellion in Egypt, but also of the degree in which it was for a time successful. Appian, the historian of the Roman Civil Wars, writes of the expiatory shrine dedicated to Pompey at the foot of Mount Casius—"This little shrine was destroyed in our own time by the Jews, *in the internecine war which Trajan waged against them.*" And the Armenian copy of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius mentions among the works of Hadrian his restoration of Alexandria, which had been *laid in ruin by the Jews*, doubtless an exaggerated statement.

† The name was assumed in allusion to the Star of Jacob, predicted by Balaam, Numb. xxiv. 17.

their part accused him of apostatizing, after professing to be a proselyte. It is surmised that, in his philosophic curiosity, Hadrian had sought initiation into the mysteries of the Jewish faith, which would of course be refused, except on a condition which he would regard as a gross insult. Whether from some such offence, or from the policy of breaking down the distinct existence of the Jews, Hadrian is said to have forbidden circumcision, the reading of the law, and the observance of the Sabbath, while all hopes of the restoration of their worship at Jerusalem were to be annihilated by the erection of a temple to Jupiter of the Capitol on the sacred summit of Mount Moriah.

Bar-cochebas was now proclaimed as the long-promised Messiah, and raised the war-cry of the zealots, "*Jehovah Echad—God is one.*" The venerable Akiba girded the champion with the sword of Jehovah, and held his stirrup as he mounted into the saddle. The preparations of the insurgents seem to have been well made. They used the caverns of Judæa as storehouses for arms and as places of secret meeting, and established strongholds on the hill-tops. The influx of fugitive Jews from Africa and Mesopotamia placed Bar-cochebas at the head of 200,000 followers. He occupied the site of Jerusalem, assumed the title of King, and gained some advantages over Rufus, the prefect of Syria. But the tactics of the able general Julius Severus, who followed the example of Vespasian in avoiding a pitched battle, prevailed over numbers and enthusiasm; and the capture of the fortress of Bethar, near Bethhoron, where the final stand was made, was followed by a frightful massacre. Bar-cochebas fell in the assault; and Akiba was flayed alive, rivalling in his tortures the constancy of Eleazar. The accounts of the Rabbis are rendered worthless by the intermixture of extravagant fables; but Dion Cassius estimates the number of Jews who fell by sword, famine, and fire, at not less than 580,000. Judæa was once more desolated, and the people sold by thousands into slavery. A Roman colony was founded on the site of Jerusalem, under the name of Ælia Capitolina, in honour of the emperor and of the Capitoline Jove, whose temple replaced that of Jehovah on the summit of Mount Moriah.* All Jews were forbidden to enter the new city, under penalty of death; and it is even said that a swine was sculptured over the principal gate.

The prohibition was felt the more bitterly, inasmuch as the Christians were excepted from it, and a new church of Jerusalem

* Some Christian writers add that a temple of Venus was built on the site of Calvary.

sprang up within the walls of Ælia Capitolina. But, though thus cut off from their desecrated sanctuary, the Jews soon gave fresh proofs of their marvellous vitality. The prohibition of their distinctive rites was doubtless no longer enforced under the tolerant rule of Antoninus Pius; and, though they offended Marcus Aurelius, perhaps by supporting the rebellion of Avidius Cassius, we do not read that the philosophic emperor carried his resentment much beyond the angry complaint, that they were more unruly than the Sarmatians and Marcomanni. By the close of the second century, we find the Jews throughout the empire owning the jurisdiction of a Patriarch resident at Tiberias, whose "apostles" visited all the synagogues throughout the empire, and whose power Tertullian describes as little less than a king's; while those to the east of the Euphrates were organized under a "Prince of the Captivity," who was installed with a pomp that recalled the splendours of David, and whose dominion reached to Jewish colonies settled within the bounds of China.

The erection of Hadrian's new colony at Jerusalem marks the epoch of the final separation between the Jews and Christians; and Hadrian was the first emperor who fully recognised the Christians as a religious party independent of the Jews. The ultimate profanation of the hill of Zion taught to all who could understand it this one lesson, above every other,—that the time was come for local worship to give way to a spiritual system of religion,—the lesson taught by the Divine Founder of the new religion to the Samaritan woman at the foot of Gerizim:—"Believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall *neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem* worship the Father . . . . The hour cometh, *and now is*, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father *in spirit and in truth*." These, as the Scripture teaches, were to be His true temple: nor is it less significant of the direct working of Divine Providence, that the final desecration of God's earthly sanctuary was not made till the "living stones" of his "spiritual house" were collected in every province of the Roman empire. Nay more, the scarcely perceptible growth by which we find Christianity spread throughout the world in about a century from our Lord's ascension affords an equally striking illustration of His comparison of His kingdom to leaven, of His declaration that "the kingdom of God cometh not with observation," because it differs from every other system of religion by being *within* men.

After the first records of evangelic success in the Acts of the Apostles, it is surprising how little specific information is pre-

served to us of the spread of Christianity; nor does tradition add to the narrative of St. Paul's labours any satisfactory account of the other Apostles. It is agreed that Peter sealed his testimony by crucifixion, as his Master had predicted,* during the Neronian persecution; and the weight of evidence seems in favour of the view that he suffered at Rome. But, that he could only have visited Rome towards the very close of his life, is proved not only from the absence of the direct testimony of the Fathers, or of any incidental notice of his labours in the Epistle to the Romans—such as that by which Paul confirms the tradition that Peter taught at Corinth †—but by the internal evidence of his first epistle. Its address to the strangers scattered abroad through Asia Minor indicates that his chief field of labour was among the Jews of the eastern dispersion; and the salutation sent from Babylon at its close proves that the Apostle, at a time which appears to have been near the end of his career, was resident at one of the places to which that great name had been transferred.‡ We can scarcely be far wrong in supposing that Peter was spreading "the Gospel of the circumcision" among the Jews of the far East, while Paul was carrying "the Gospel of the uncircumcision" to the Gentiles of the remote West; and we may be permitted to believe that the two Apostles were at last brought together at Rome, to close the labours which had sometimes even forced them into collision, in the fellowship of martyrdom. Painters have imagined Peter and Paul together in the Mamertine prison, and tradition has recorded a childish legend of the fate which their united prayers brought upon Simon Magus, when he opposed his juggleries to their preaching; but history has preserved no memorial of a scene which would have surpassed in interest the converse of Ridley and Latimer at the stake. The remarkable coincidence, by which Paul and Peter suffered about the same time at which Seneca fell a victim to the same tyrant, might suggest—had we space to pursue it—an instructive comparison of the spirit and teaching of the Apostles and the Philosopher.§ However great the contrast between the energy of the new faith and the despair of expiring heathenism, they have at least one point of harmonious contact. In opposition to the utter depravation of morals which marked his

* John xxi. 18, 19,

† 1 Cor. i. 12. Conversely, the allusion of Peter to Paul (2 Pet. iii. 15) furnishes a proof of the interest with which the Apostles watched each other's labours.

‡ 1 Peter v. 15. The notion that the apostle is referring to Rome, as the mystic Babylon, is purely arbitrary.

§ See Merivale, vol. vi. p. 292.

age, Seneca continually asserts those first principles of truth which the Author of our being has inscribed upon the conscience; often in the very words which St. Paul made the basis of his appeal to the heathen world at Athens.

The third of the three greatest apostolic names is that of St. John, whose life, it has been well said, "seems at first sight shrouded in an atmosphere of religious awe which we cannot penetrate; in him the earthly seems so completely absorbed into the heavenly,—the character, the thoughts, the language of the disciple so lost in that of the Master,—that we tremble to draw aside the veil from that Divine friendship; . . .

> As he who looks intent,
> And strives with searching ken how he may see
> The sun in his eclipse, and through decline
> Of seeing loseth power of sight, so I
> Gazed on that last resplendence." *

And yet none of the Apostles has a more important place in the history of the Church and of the World. It is to St. John that we owe the picture of the various types which Christianity assumed in the seven most important Churches of the East; it is he who is signalized as the first champion of the truth against the heresies which sprang from the union of Jewish prejudice with oriental mysticism; and, above all, it was he who received, for future ages, that "Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass," in the figures of which, when in due time expounded by Him who alone "is worthy to take the book, and open its seals," will be found the key to the whole mystery of Divine Providence. "It was not till the removal of St. Peter and St. Paul from the scene of their earthly labours, that there burst upon the whole civilized world that awful train of calamities, which, breaking as it did on Italy, on Asia Minor, and on Palestine almost simultaneously, though under the most different forms, was regarded alike by Roman, Christian, and Jew, as the manifestation of the visible judgment of God. It was now, if we may trust the testimony alike of internal and external proof, in the interval between the death of Nero and the fall of Jerusalem, when the roll of apostolical epistles seemed to have been finally closed, when every other inspired tongue had been hushed in the grave, that there rose from the lonely rock of Patmos that solemn voice which

* Stanley: *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age:* a work to be carefully perused as an exposition of the *spirit* of this period of sacred history.

mingled with the storm which raged around it, as the dirge of an expiring world; that under the 'red and lowering sky,' which had at last made itself understood to the sense of the dullest, there rose that awful vision of coming destiny which has received the expressive name of the Revelation of St. John the Divine." The view thus eloquently expressed involves the supposition that the banishment of St. John to the island of Patmos occurred in the persecution of Nero; the more usual opinion placing it under Domitian.* Be this as it may, there seems but little doubt that we have to discriminate in the Apostle John the two characters of the "son of thunder," reproving the growing corruptions of the Churches, and doing battle with the "many antichrists" that had already arisen, and "the beloved disciple," whose last testimony was again and again delivered in the Church of Ephesus, when he had to be borne into its midst in a litter,—"My little children, love one another." The former character, and the nature of the heresies that called it forth, appear in the epistles to the seven Churches of the province of Asia—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea,—of which only two, those of Smyrna and Philadelphia, escape all censure, while that of Sardis is so far gone, as "to have a name to live, being really dead." The same spirit of indignation against heresy flashes forth amidst the utterances of love in the epistles; and the gospel, which is supposed to have been the Apostle's last composition, was designed to reprove that union of Jewish prejudice with heathen philosophy, which forms the type of the latest heresies of the apostolic age, adding to the simpler historical accounts of the life of Christ by the three first evangelists, the higher argument of His eternal power and godhead, of His perpetual presence through the Spirit with the church, as the life, the light, the truth, and the only way to the Father.

The details of the errors thus combated must be left to the special department of ecclesiastical history. It is enough here to say that the beginning of the corruption of Christianity was simultaneous with its general diffusion, and that all its heresies, during the apostolic age, had their origin in a Judaizing spirit, which assumed three different types. The first was the attempt of Jewish Christians to maintain for themselves, and to impose upon converts from heathenism, the yoke of Jewish observances, and especially of circumcision, and to nullify the funda-

* Stanley, pp., 247—8. Our plan does not admit the discussion of the question concerning the earlier or later date of the Apocalypse.

mental Christian doctrine of *grace* by insisting on that perfect obedience to the law, as the condition of acceptance with God, which it was the very purpose of the law to prove men unable to render and so to bring them, guilty before God, to accept the righteousness of faith. The readers of St. Paul's epistles are familiar with the unceasing conflict which he maintained against these opponents, who, after resisting his gospel in Palestine, in Asia, and at Corinth, carried their antagonism to such a length at Rome, as "to preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to his bonds." "This," as Dr. Stanley observes, "is the latest direct mention in the New Testament of that peculiarly personal hostility to St. Paul, that zeal for the law and circumcision, which marked the earlier stage of the Judaizing Christians; subordinate traces of it may indeed be found afterwards, but it is no longer the prominent aspect which it wears in the apostolic writings; whether from the absence of the fuel which had once been furnished to its energies by the personal presence and activity of its great opponent, or, as is more probable, from its absorption into the new forms in which it henceforward clothed itself."

But the Apostolic Church was troubled with a Jewish libertinism, as well as a Jewish Pharisaism; and the opponents, who had sacrificed Christ for fear of Cæsar, were succeeded by false disciples, who found in Christian liberty an excuse for the dissolution of social and political bonds, and the hope of a millennium of sensuality and self-will. The chief seat of this heresy was in the province of Asia, where the Jewish synagogues had been brought into close contact with the remnants of Hellenic liberty and the practice of oriental licentiousness; but it had spread also to Rome, as was natural from its constant intercourse with the East; and hence, perhaps, we may in part account for the imputation of abominable crimes to the Christians by Tacitus. St. Paul, whose own teaching was perverted to the support of these heresies,* began the contest with them both in Asia † and at Rome; ‡ but that contest was the especial work of Peter, Jude, and John. The two former Apostles give the most vivid description of "these filthy dreamers, that defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities," and whose open rejection of all social

* 2 Peter iii. 16.

† See the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and those to Timothy and Titus.

‡ Rom. xiii. 1—14.

and political ties was mingled with the practice of sorcery, and with wild theories concerning the unseen world. St. John, in his epistles to the seven Asiatic Churches, denounces their leaders, though under names now obscure;* for the time had already come when specific heresies were known by the names of their authors. The tradition that Simon Magus was the founder of a distinct sect is doubtful; but we know that St. John was engaged in direct conflict with the Jewish heretic, CERINTHUS, as the chief teacher of this libertinism; and his Apocalypse is believed by some to have been designed as a refutation of the heresiarch's dream of a millennium at once Jewish and sensual. Finally, when these errors began to be further complicated with those speculations of oriental philosophy which were developed in the following age into Gnosticism, the Apostle is believed to have recorded in his gospel that doctrine concerning the person of Jesus Christ which gained for him the surname of *Theologus*, that is, he who maintained that "the Word was God." † The last days of the beloved disciple, at Ephesus, are adorned with legends of various degrees of beauty and credibility. He probably died in extreme old age, about the close of the first century, the last survivor of the Apostles. The traditions concerning the labours of the other Apostles are too uncertain to find a place in a work where there is not space to discuss their value.

At the close of the New Testament we have a great break in the history of the Church as recorded by itself. It seems as if Divine Providence had purposely drawn a distinct line of demarcation between the authoritative teaching of the Apostles and Evangelists, who were commissioned directly by Christ and attested by miraculous gifts, and that second period, in which the Church was left to the written word and her ordinary teachers, with the unseen though ever present guidance of the Holy Spirit. We have just enough information to trace the continuity of the chain of Christian testimony, across this dividing line, from the Apostles to those who, from having enjoyed their teaching, are called the

* Though we do not know who is meant by "that woman Jezebel," the choice of the name and the description of her practices are as expressive as the comparison of the heretics, in Peter and Jude, to the men of Sodom, the followers of Korah, and the hireling prophet Balaam. The sect of the Nicolaitans is supposed by some to signify the followers of Balaam, of whose name *Nicolas* is probably, though not certainly, a Greek translation.

† It is a curious example of the historical element in etymology, that the little Turkish village, which stands with the site of Ephesus, bears the name *Ayasaluk*, which is but a modification of Ἅγιος Θεόλογος.

Apostolic Fathers, namely, CLEMENT of Rome,* IGNATIUS, bishop of Antioch, and POLYCARP, bishop of Smyrna. The corruptions and heresies at which we have glanced called for correction in the fires of persecution; and it has always been regarded as a striking indication of God's providential government of His Church, that it should have formed an exception to the usual tolerant policy of the Roman governments; as if it were decreed that the Supreme Spiritual King should not be confounded with the host of foreign deities whom Rome was ready to receive into her Pantheon, nor His Kingdom fail to be established, as He had himself predicted, through the "much tribulation" which at once purified and attested His servants' faith. The enumeration of *Ten Great Persecutions* † during the first three centuries after Christ, is an example of a common tendency to reduce the facts of history into a form more definite than they will well bear; and we have already seen reason to question how far the *First* and *Second* (under Nero and Domitian) deserve the name of general persecutions. It can scarcely be doubted, from the testimony of the apologists, that edicts were promulgated against the Christians by both these emperors; and we have seen that the Flavian princes made an inquisition concerning persons suspected of aspiring to the dignity of king of the Jews; but, in proportion as these enquiries brought out the absence of any political danger from Christianity, its disciples seem to have been left unmolested.

The vigorous government of Trajan, suspicious of all associations within the empire, naturally pressed the inquisition with strictness, and hence sprang the memorable correspondence between the emperor and the younger Pliny respecting the Christians in Bithynia.‡ That province was largely peopled by Jews, who had probably followed as commercial speculators in the track of the Roman armies, and who furnished many converts to the new

* It is altogether a matter of conjecture wheter *Clemens*, the fellow-labourer of St. Paul, was the Clement, who is reckoned as the third bishop of Rome from Peter A.D. 92—100 (the intervening names being Linus and Anacletus). The only genuine remains of Clement are the *First* and part of the *Second Epistles to the Corinthians* in Greek.

† The following are the Ten Persecutions, as reckoned by ecclesiastical historians: —(1) Under *Nero*, beginning A.D. 64; (2) under *Domitian*, A.D. 95; (3) under *Trajan*, A.D. 106; (4) under *Marcus Aurelius*, A.D. 166; (5) under *Severus*, A.D. 202; (6) under *Maximin*, A.D. 235; (7) under *Decius*, A.D. 250; (8) under *Valerian*, A.D. 258; (9) under *Aurelian*, A.D. 275; (10) under *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, A.D. 303.

‡ The mainspring of the persecution is seen in the passage, Pliny, *Epist.* x. 96, § 7, "secundum mandata tua *hetæerias* esse vetueram."

faith.* The philosopher, proceeding to the government of the province,† found himself embarrassed by the necessity of enforcing the laws against the professors of a new religion, who were accused of no other crime. It was the first time he had had any part in inquisitions respecting the Christians; and he hesitated on various points, and chiefly whether to punish "the name itself"—the mere profession of Christianity—"if free from crimes, or the crimes cohering with the name."‡ At first, with true Roman nonchalance, he contented himself with asking those accused of being Christians whether they were such, and, on their repeated confession, sending them to death. Without much caring what it was they confessed, he deemed, he says, the penalty due, at all events, to their persistence and their inflexible obstinacy. But finding that this course seemed only to increase their numbers and contumacy, while his discouragement of the inquisitions of the informers had an opposite effect, he writes to ask whether the emperor approved his course. The letter proves that, by the beginning of the second century, Christianity had spread so widely through Asia Minor, that no explanation of the name was needed; the heathen temples began to be deserted, and the governor's concern for the material interests of his province was disturbed by the want of a market for the sacrificial victims. The accused numbered persons of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes; nor had "the contagion of this superstition" infected only the cities, the usual centres of new opinions, but even the villages and the lands.§ Pliny's account of the issue of his enquiries into the tenets of the accused forms such a testimony to their virtues, that the letter has been called the *First Apology for Christianity*. Nor is it less valuable for the light it throws, amidst the comparative darkness of the Church's own history, upon her primitive worship. Pliny writes that those who were brought before him "affirmed this to be the sum of their fault or error, that they were accustomed *to assemble on a stated day, before it was light, and to sing*

* Comp. 1 Peter i. 1.

† His government is placed either in A.D. 103—105 or 111—113. The latter date seems the more probable.

‡ From this passage it seems clear that Pliny shared the prejudices of his friend Tacitus against the morality of the Christians—a fact which enhances the value of his estimony to their innocence.

§ The general rule, by which the inhabitants of the country districts adhered to heathenism, after the cities of the Empire had become Christian, is still indicated by our sense of the word *pagan*, which properly signifies a *countryman*.

together * *a hymn to Christ, as to God, and they bound themselves by an oath—not to some crime* †*—but that they would commit no thefts, nor robberies, nor adulteries, nor break their word, nor deny a deposit when called upon:* having done which, their usage was to depart, and to assemble again *for a common and guiltless meal.*" †

Such was their own account, which the governor tested by putting to the torture two female slaves, who were said to be their servants;‡ and all his enquiries detected nothing but what he calls immoderate addiction to a perverse superstition. The account, thus incidentally preserved by Divine Providence in the words of an impartial enemy, reflects at every point the simple indications of the New Testament,—the *coming together on the first day of the week,*§ before daylight, when even slaves could secure an hour's leisure, and again, when the day's work was done, *to eat the Lord's Supper;* the prominence given in their worship to joyful *hymns of praise;* ‖ the *supreme honour and worship paid to Christ;* ¶ and the *fellowship of the saints* in the bond of holiness. One might have supposed that such men deserved the protection of the philosophic governor and the benignant prince; but the former would be content with nothing short of their abjuring the Christian faith, and sacrificing to the image of the emperor; and Trajan approves his proceedings, directing that no inquisition should be made for the offenders, that informers should be discouraged,** but that those

* Some take the phrase *secum invicem* to imply that responsive or antiphonal singing which was a characteristic of Jewish psalmody.

† These phrases clearly distinguish the Christian communion from those conspiracies which were cemented by unhallowed rites; and the latter may perhaps refer to a charge sometimes brought against the Jews, in ancient as well as medieval times, of eating the flesh of children.

The following is the text of this invaluable testimony to primitive Christianity :—"Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse" [he is speaking here of those who had recanted] "summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium."

‡ *Ministras,* perhaps deaconesses, like Phebe, in Rom. xvi. 1.

§ Acts xx. 7; 1 Corinth. xvi. 2. The natural conclusion is that the primitive Christians observed the Lord's Day for worship, but did not attempt to deprive their masters of their labour on that day. Before drawing an inference against the observance of the Christian Sabbatic rest by those who have the whole day at their disposal, we should reflect on the sacrifice which the early Christians made to observe it at all.

‖ Comp. Acts iv. 24—26; Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16; James v. 13.

¶ This is a fair inference from the phrase *quasi Deo,* without insisting on too literal an interpretation of words which may be Pliny's own gloss.

** These informers appear to have been generally Jews.

who were convicted should be punished, unless they denied that they were Christians, in which case, however suspected in the past, they might obtain pardon by supplicating the gods of Rome. The distinct testimony of Pliny to the numbers who sought safety in abjuration indicates, thus early, a large element of instability, which will not surprise the careful reader of the Epistles of Peter and John to the Asiatic Churches.

But all the more admirable is the constancy of those who rejected the contemptuous clemency, by which they were at once admitted to mercy if they would only deny their faith. It should also be observed that Trajan carefully abstains from laying down any general rule beyond the case referred to him by Pliny. He probably regarded the Christians only as members of one of those illegal societies which he was always resolved to put down. But the growing troubles of the East, and especially the commotions among the Jews, whose expectation of a deliverer was well known,—the calamities that happened so repeatedly in various parts of the empire, concurring with the general expectation cherished by the Christians of the approaching end of the world,—had a tendency to inflame the fanatic hatred of the people, and the suspicion of the emperor, towards them. This general agitation was perhaps a motive, in addition to the aggressions of Parthia, for Trajan's repairing in person to the East; and it seems to have been amidst the alarm caused by the great earthquake at Antioch, that the venerable bishop of that first Gentile Church, IGNATIUS, who is said to have been a disciple of St. John, was brought before Trajan, or rather presented himself when he heard that he was sought for, refusing to seek safety in flight. After a most interesting colloquy with the emperor, in which he "witnessed a good confession," Ignatius was condemned to be thrown to the lions at Rome, and, during the long journey to the capital, his thoughts were divided between the care of the Churches, whom he comforted with his presence or his letters, and the fear that the intercession of his friends might deprive him of the crown of martyrdom. His death took place amidst the riot of the Saturnalian festival, probably in A.D. 115.* Amidst the nameless victims of this "third persecution," Ignatius shines forth as the proto-martyr of the post-apostolic Church; unless we are to assign that honour to the

* For an account of the interesting discussion concerning the spurious and genuine Epistles of Ignatius, and the important light thrown upon it by the recent discovery of the Syriac version of the Epistles, the reader is referred to the works of Dr. Cureton, and criticisms upon them in various reviews.

bishop of Jerusalem, Simeon, the son of Cleophas, who is said by Eusebius to have been crucified, on a charge preferred by certain Jews.

The tide of popular prejudice was at length stemmed, and a fair hearing secured for the calumniated sect, by Hadrian's philosophic spirit of enquiry. During the emperor's visit to Athens, he listened to the apologies of QUADRATUS and ARISTIDES;* and having learned to distinguish the Christians from the Jews, he issued an edict, that the former should not be molested, except when convicted of crimes independent of their religion. The favour of the emperor naturally increased the malice of Jewish enemies. The Christians of Palestine suffered severely for their refusal to join the insurrection of Barcochebas; and throughout the empire generally they were accused of impious and abominable crimes, in order to bring them under the penalties of Hadrian's edict. In reply to these calumnies, JUSTIN MARTYR, a converted heathen philosopher, born at Neapolis in Samaria, addressed to Antoninus Pius the first of the extant *Apologies for the Christian Faith*, about A.D. 151; and Antoninus enforced his policy of toleration by proclamations addressed to various Greek states, in which the Christians appear to have suffered molestation from the Jews. The very different spirit manifested, as we have seen, by Marcus Aurelius called forth a second Apology from Justin Martyr,† besides those of ATHENAGORAS, a converted Athenian philosopher, TATIAN, an Oriental rhetorician, THEOPHILUS, bishop of Antioch, and some others no longer extant.

The increasing boldness with which these Apologists asserted the superiority of Christianity to heathen philosophy caused exasperation rather than conviction to the proud imperial Stoic, while the calamities of pestilence and barbarian inroads seemed to claim, like the conflagration of Rome under Nero, an expiatory offering to the deities of the Capitol. "Aurelius regarded the crime of Christianity, the crime of refusing to worship the gods, not as an outbreak of turbulence and disobedience, but as an insult to the majesty of the national divinities and the pre-eminence of the national cult. As a philosopher, he cherished himself no faith in the deities of the Capitol; but as emperor, he paid not the less respect to the fabled objects of vulgar adoration; nor could he excuse the horror with which the Christians shrank from joining formally in

* These *Apologies* are no longer extant.

† Of the other works of Justin, the most important is his *Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon*, in answer to Jewish objections to Christianity.

a service which the chief of the state deemed innocent and decorous. The firmness of the Christians seemed to Aurelius strange and unnatural. He scanned it as a marvel, before he resented it as a crime."* Hence it was that the revival of superstitious observances, under the prevailing alarm for the state of the empire, was coupled with edicts against the Christians as public enemies. Whatever doubt exists about the extent of former persecutions, this at all events was both general and intense throughout the empire. Torture, death, indignities, and confiscations, were inflicted on the Christians, without respect of sex or age, upon informations laid by their Jewish and heathen adversaries. It is now that the affecting records of the catacombs of Rome begin to testify to the secret worship of the Christians, who were buried in those recesses, of which Jerome says,—"The walls on each side are lined with the dead, and so intense is the darkness that we may almost realize the words of the prophet, 'They go down alive into hell.'"† Among the most distinguished sufferers were JUSTIN MARTYR, who was put to death at Rome about the same time that MELITO was slain at Sardis, and POLYCARP, the disciple of St. John and friend of Ignatius, was committed to the flames at Smyrna (A.D. 166). The story of his martyrdom rivals in noble pathos that of Eleazar in the Maccabæan age; and, like him, Polycarp replied to the humane instances of the prætor, who urged him at the last moment to save his life by reviling Christ, "Four score and six years have I served Him, and He never did me wrong: how then can I revile my King and Saviour?" Not less affecting is the letter written by the Christians at Lyon and Vienne in Gaul to the Church of Rome, relating the persecution by which they were almost destroyed, and especially the martyrdom of Pothinus, bishop of Lyon, at the age of ninety, with his fellow-sufferers Ponticus and Blandina. The bearer of this letter was a presbyter named IRENÆUS, a native of Smyrna, and a disciple of Polycarp. He had removed from Asia to

* Merivale, vol. vii. pp. 612, 613.

† The following is an inscription belonging to the persecution of Marcus Aurelius:—"In Christ. ALEXANDER is not dead, but lives beyond the stars, and his body rests in this tomb. *He lived under the Emperor Antoninus*, who, foreseeing that great benefit would result from his services, returned evil for good. For, while on his knees, and about to sacrifice to the true God, he was led away to execution. O sad times! in which *sacred rites and prayers, even in caverns*, afford no protection to us. What can be more wretched than such a life? and what than such a death? When they could not be buried by their friends and relations—at length they sparkle in heaven. He has scarcely lived who has lived in Christian times." (See further *The Church in the Catacombs*, by Charles Maitland, M.D.)

Gaul, and, after his mission to Rome, he succeeded the martyred Pothinus as bishop of Lyon, a post which he continued to fill through the reign of Commodus.

The interval of quiet which the Christians enjoyed under the last of the Antonines—who seems to have been too intent on his pleasures to concern himself about them—and the rise within the Church of the great Gnostic heresy, against which Irenæus wrote, may be regarded as marking the epoch of division between the Church of the Apostolic Fathers and that of the next age; a division nearly corresponding with the close of the second century. It is for the ecclesiastical historian to trace the marked change which came over the spirit of the Church at this epoch; the growth of worldly elements, the higher assumptions of bishops and teachers, the increase of philosophical speculation, the multiplication of heresies, the distinctive characters which began to separate the Churches of the East and West, of Asia and Egypt, of Europe and Africa. Nor shall we need to traverse again the well-beaten ground of controversy concerning the attempt of the brilliant historian of the later empire to discover other causes for the rapid diffusion of Christianity, than its own inherent truth, applied by Divine power to a state of society long prepared for its reception by Divine Providence. Amidst all the melancholy scenes which history records, there is scarcely one sadder than the self-exposure of disingenuous malice made in those celebrated chapters of the *History of the Decline and Fall*, unless perhaps in the conduct of the philosophic emperor, who is the historian's idol, in his dealing with Christianity.

For Aurelius, with all his claims on our admiration, has the unenviable distinction of having deliberately made the wrong choice, in the great crisis of the empire's fate, between the principles which alone could save it and those which were hurrying it to ruin. To his philosophic mind was presented the question, more momentous than any which had occupied his predecessors, whether to accept the prospect held out by Christianity for the regeneration of society, and thus to unite the world over which he ruled into that universal state—one by the bond of inward life—which has been the ideal of philosophic politicians in every age; or whether to seal the fate of the Empire by falling back upon a lifeless philosophy, and a false religion which had lost its hold upon its votaries. His choice, confirmed by the people at large—like that already made within the ancient Church by the Jews—lost the opportunity to the civilized nations of the ancient world:—

"the *kingdom of the earth* was taken from them," and given to the barbarian races. Such was the course appointed by Divine wisdom: the new wine had to be put into new bottles: the native vigour of unexhausted nations was the fit instrument of God's further designs: and the Church, left to work out her own course by her own principles and her Master's power, gained more real strength by the withholding of the favour of Aurelius than she lost by the patronage of Constantine.

Meanwhile, "the blood of the martyrs" had proved the seed of the Church; and Christian communities were to be found from the Rhine to the Tigris, and from the Libyan Desert to the distant shores of Britain.* The Churches throughout the Empire, amidst the assaults of persecution and the divisions of heresy, were assuming a definite constitution. Not to concern ourselves with disputed points concerning the internal government into which the Church now settled, it deserves our special notice, that Christians agreed to adopt one authoritative written rule of faith, in the Canon of the New Testament, just at the time when their Jewish antagonists were engaged in elaborating and overlaying the Old Canon by giving a body to their system of tradition. It is not our province to discuss the formation of the Canon, nor the grounds on which it is accepted, in its collected form, as the "New Covenant of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." It is enough to mark the great crowning fact in the rise of Christianity, that, by the end of the Second Century, the believers possessed a BOOK as the standard of their faith, and the rule of their life.

* The time has gone by when it was necessary to correct the popular error which confounds the mission of St. Augustin to the heathen English with the first introduction of Christianity into Britain. Among the many interesting records of the British Church in the Roman period—a Church which sent bishops to general councils, furnished martyrs (such as St. Alban), and produced the heresiarch Pelagius—we may mention, as belonging to this epoch, the religious connection said to have been formed by the British prince Lucius with Eleutherius, bishop of Rome about A.D. 171—185 (Beda, Hist. Eccl. i. 4).

BOOK IX.

DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE AND OF PAGANISM.

FROM THE DEATH OF COMMODUS TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE. A.D. 193 TO A.D. 476.

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CHAPTER XLI.

THE MILLENNIUM OF ROME. FROM THE DEATH OF COMMODUS TO THE SECULAR GAMES OF PHILIP. A.D. 193 TO A.D. 286.

One day is with the LORD as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.
2 *Peter* iii. 8.

ACCESSION AND DEATH OF *PERTINAX*—THE PRÆTORIANS SELL THE EMPIRE TO *DIDIUS JULIANUS*—PROCLAMATION OF CLODIUS ALBINUS, PESCENNIUS NIGER AND *SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS*—SEVERUS MARCHES ON ROME—JULIANUS DESERTED AND SLAIN—CLODIUS ALBINUS NAMED CÆSAR—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF NIGER AND ALBINUS—PARTHIAN EXPEDITION OF SEVERUS—HIS NEW PRÆTORIAN GUARD, AND RELAXATION OF DISCIPLINE—DEATH OF PLAUTIANUS—EXPEDITION TO CALEDONIA—DEATH OF SEVERUS—*CARACALLA* AND *GETA*—THEIR MUTUAL HATRED—MURDER OF GETA—TYRANNY AND MURDER OF CARACALLA—UNIVERSAL CITIZENSHIP—REIGN OF *MACRINUS*—THE GRANDSONS OF JULIA MÆSA—ACCESSION AND ABOMINABLE TYRANNY OF *ELAGABALUS*—REIGN AND VIRTUES OF *ALEXANDER SEVERUS*—HIS COUNCIL OF STATE—MILITARY INSOLENCE—MURDER OF THE JURIST ULPIAN—CAREER OF THE HISTORIAN DION CASSIUS—ARDSHIR, OR ARTAXERXES, OVERTHROWS THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE, AND FOUNDS THE PERSIAN DYNASTY OF THE SASSANIDÆ—WAR BETWEEN ROME AND PERSIA—ALEXANDER SEVERUS ON THE RHINE—ORIGIN AND ACCESSION OF *MAXIMIN*—HIS BRUTAL TYRANNY—THE TWO *GORDIANS* PROCLAIMED AND KILLED IN AFRICA—*MAXIMUS* AND *BALBINUS* PROCLAIMED AT ROME—DEATHS OF MAXIMIN, MAXIMUS, AND BALBINUS—REIGN OF *GORDIAN III.*—HIS PERSIAN WAR AND MURDER—REIGN OF *PHILIP I.*—QUESTION OF HIS CHRISTIANITY—HIS SECULAR GAMES—RETROSPECT OF ROME'S ONE THOUSAND YEARS—HER PRESENT CONDITION, AND APPROACHING FALL.

THE last experiment of a constitutional empire had been tried and had failed. Hopeless from the first, through the utter corruption of the whole social system, and deprived of its last chance by the rejection of the renovating power of Christianity, it had been stifled by the tyranny of Commodus, and extinguished in his blood. We now enter on a period of undisguised military despotism, a form of government which does not purchase by its bloodshed and tyranny even the fruit claimed for it of firm order. For, as we have had abundant proof since the maxim was uttered by Gibbon, "every military government floats between the extremes of absolute monarchy and wild democracy;" and often, he might have added, combines the vices of the two. Still, as after the fall of Nero and Domitian, there were some who fondly dreamed of a restoration of the Republic; and this time the conspirators were prepared with a worthy successor to the empire in PERTINAX, the prefect of the city, and now almost the sole survivor of the ancient counsellors of Marcus Aurelius. Roused in the dead of night by Lætus and Eclectus, he showed more readiness to submit to the

doom, of which he at first supposed them the messengers, than to accept the purple which they came to offer. His reign began on the 1st of January, A.D. 193, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people and the sullen acquiescence of the prætorians; but he had only had time to give promise of a rule as just and beneficent as that of Nerva, when he was murdered in a sedition of the prætorians, on the eighty-sixth day after the death of Commodus (March 28th).

The prætorians now exhibited the principle of military despotism in its last depth of degradation, by offering the empire for sale, and the purple was bought by DIDIUS JULIANUS, a wealthy Senator, at the price of a donative of about 200*l.* to each soldier. But the shameful bargain disgusted the capital, and raised the egions of the provinces in revolt. Each of the three armies which claimed to hold the balance of power set up its own candidate, Clodius Albinus in Britain, Pescennius Niger in Syria, and L. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS in Illyricum. Each was an experienced general, and at the head of three legions; but Severus, the ablest of the three, was within ten days of Rome by forced marches; and he strained every nerve to use his advantage. Proclaimed by the legions of Pannonia on the 13th of April, he advanced to Interamna, only seventy miles from Rome; and sent forward his demands for the punishment of the murderers of Pertinax. The prætorians abandoned their nominee, and the Senate declared for Severus, who entered Rome without opposition. Didius Julianus was beheaded in a chamber of the palace, after a reign of sixty-six days (June 2, A.D. 193). The prætorian guards were surrounded and disbanded; and Pertinax was honoured with a splendid funeral and apotheosis.

The man whose rapid decision thus raised him to the purple was born at the ancient Punic colony and Roman conventus of Leptis in Africa in A.D. 146. To great military ability he added a good acquaintance both with Greek and Roman literature, and a splendid taste for public buildings and popular shows. But his character is darkened by the stain of cruelty; and he was addicted to foreign superstitions and magic arts. His wife Julia Domna is said to have favoured Christianity. Severus was less popular, and, as far as we can detect the truth from the evidence of the writers who celebrated the successful cause, less deserving of popularity than one of the competitors with whom he had now to deal. The other was easily duped.

Clodius Albinus had enjoyed the confidence of Aurelius, and

had declined the dignity of Cæsar, offered to him by Commodus. On a premature report of that prince's death, he had harangued his troops on the evils of despotism, and, amidst their acclamations, proclaimed himself, like Galba, the lieutenant of the Senate and People. So strong was his position, that Severus thought it prudent to offer him, with the title of Cæsar, the succession to the empire, while he marched against Pescennius Niger. That general, beloved by his troops and the provincials, had secured the adhesion of the eastern provinces and the alliance of the kings beyond the frontier; and Niebuhr observes that the force of circumstances was already tending towards a separation of the East from the West. But the vigour of Severus postponed the first division of the empire for another century. Like Alexander, he defeated his rival's generals at the Hellespont, and himself at Issus, where the death of Niger ensured the submission of all the East, and Severus crossed the Euphrates, gaining some successes against the Arabs of Mesopotamia (A.D. 194). Byzantium alone held out, till reduced by famine; and its three years' resistance was punished by the slaughter of the inhabitants and the destruction of the city (A.D. 196)

Severus now seized the pretext of a real or pretended plot against his life, to declare war upon Clodius Albinus; whom he defeated in a great battle at Lyon, where 150,000 Romans fought upon both sides. Albinus, mortally wounded, was trampled to death by the horses (A.D. 197). He had been the real favourite of the Senate; and no less than forty-one senators, besides many of the chief men of Gaul and Spain, were put to death by the victor. After the fall of Albinus, Severus returned to the East to make war with Parthia, took Ctesiphon (A.D. 198), and received the submission of the kings of Mesopotamia and Arabia. His return to Rome was marked by that persecution of the Christians, which called forth the *Apology* of TERTULLIAN (A.D. 202); and his victories were commemorated by the splendid triumphal arch, which forms one of the noblest imperial monuments.*

Severus could justly boast that he had restored peace to the empire; and the creed which grants absolution for duplicity and cruelty in gaining sovereignty, if only it ceases to be exercised with wanton tyranny, may be satisfied with his government. Recent disorders were repaired by wise laws, and justice was firmly administered. But the pains which Severus took to claim the titles of the Antonines only made the contrast greater between the

* The Arch of Septimus Severus was dedicated in A.D. 203.

foundations of his power and theirs. He threw aside all deference to the Senate, and re-established an undisguised military despotism. The disbanded prætorians were replaced by a new guard, four times as numerous; and Rome was overawed by the presence of 50,000 barbarian troops, whom the emperor was obliged to humour by a relaxed discipline and increased pay. The prætorians were soon more than ever masters of the empire. The commander of this force was naturally the chief minister of the emperor, wielding a power that might vie with his own; and the first captain, Plautinus, though connected with Severus by ties of country, long favour, and the marriage of his daughter Plautilla with the emperor's son, was put to death for a plot against his master's life (A.D. 203). He was succeeded as prætorian prefect by the great jurist Papinianus. The change made by Severus in the government of Italy by the appointment of a *corrector* (apparently a judicial officer) in each of the four districts formed by Hadrian, is very obscure.

After seven years spent in peace at Rome, Severus was summoned to the extremity of the empire by the irruptions of the Caledonians upon the province of Britain; and he seized the opportunity of carrying to a field of honourable exertion his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, whose dissensions caused him serious alarm (A.D. 208).* Though above sixty years of age, and disabled by the gout, the emperor was carried in a litter at the head of his army to the extremity of the island; but the submission of the Highlanders lasted no longer than his presence in their country. He repaired the *Vallum Romanum*,† and was preparing for a new invasion of Caledonia, when he died at Eboracum (York), in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the nineteenth of his reign (Feb. 4, A.D. 211).

Severus left two sons, of the ages of twenty-three and twenty-two. The elder, Bassianus,‡ was called M. Aurelius Antoninus, after his father's accession to the empire; but the great name so unworthily bestowed has given way to the nickname of CARACALLA, given him by the soldiers from the long Gallic tunic which was his favourite dress; the younger was named Septimius Geta. Both

* The poems of the old Gaelic bards, handed down under the name of Ossian, are said to contain allusions to encounters with Caracalla; but the treatment to which those fragments of tradition have been subjected has made it almost impossible to sift out the genuine kernel.

† See p. 504.

‡ This name was derived, like that of Domitian and others, from his mother's family.

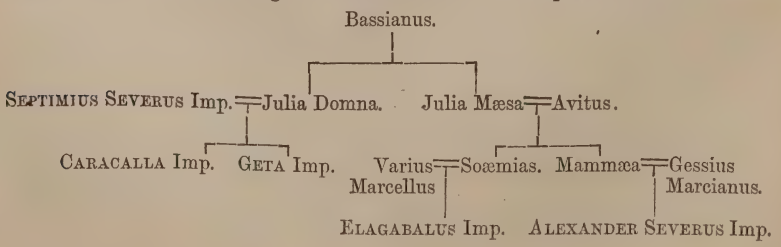
had been raised, during their father's life, to the dignity of Augustus; but their mutual hatred, which had grown up from their childhood, frustrated all plans for sharing the empire, and Caracalla caused Geta to be murdered in his mother's arms (A.D. 212). Caracalla then hastened to the prætorian camp, and gained over the soldiers, with whom Geta had been a favourite, by a lavish donative. The jurist Papinian, when required to re-enact the part of Seneca by composing a defence of the deed, replied "that it was easier to commit than to justify a fratricide." The noble answer cost him his life; and with him 20,000 persons of both sexes were put to death as the friends of Geta. Caracalla's reign was worthy of such a beginning. The course he pursued under the impulse of native ferocity and the stings of remorse is thus described by Gibbon:—"It had hitherto been the peculiar felicity of the Romans, and in the worst of times their consolation, that the virtue of the emperors was active, and their vice indolent. Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus visited their extensive dominions in person, and their progress was marked by acts of wisdom and beneficence. The tyranny of Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian, who resided almost constantly at Rome, or in the adjacent villas, was confined to the senatorial and equestrian orders. *But Caracalla was the common enemy of mankind.* He left the capital (and he never returned to it) about a year after the murder of Geta. The rest of his reign was spent in the several provinces of the empire, particularly those of the East, and every province was, by turns, the scene of his rapine and cruelty." His tyranny reached its climax in a general massacre of the Alexandrians, whose petulant humour had provoked him by allusions to his fratricide. His arrogance was inflamed by a vain-glorious notion of imitating Alexander the Great, to whom he appears to have borne some personal resemblance. But our pages have recorded examples, enough and to spare, of the wantonness of despots; and we need only add a specimen or two of the sayings by which Caracalla contributed to the portraiture of his class. Full of the bitterest jealousy of the nobles, whom he forced to attend his progresses, he used to reason thus, when they failed to ask favours of him:—"It is clear that if you make me no requests, you do not trust me: if you do not trust me, you suspect me: if you suspect me, you fear me: if you fear me, you hate me:" and forthwith he condemned them as conspirators,—"a good specimen of the *sorites* in a tyrant's logic."* The maxim, which

* Milman's note on Gibbon, c. vi.

is said to have been taught him by his father—"to secure the affections of the army, and to esteem the rest of his subjects as of little moment"—was carried out to the most fatal relaxation of discipline. Like most of the worst tyrants, Caracalla was addicted to foreign superstitions; and it was on a pilgrimage from Edessa to the Temple of the Moon at Carrhæ, that he was murdered by Martialis, an agent of the prætorian prefect, Opilius Macrinus (March 8th, A.D. 217). His mother, Julia Domna, whose virtue and ability had preserved order in those parts of the empire not cursed with Caracalla's presence, put herself to death. Disgusting as are the annals of such a reign, it forms an epoch in the constitutional history of Rome. By the extension of full citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the empire, Caracalla removed the last vestige of its peculiar character as an imperial CITY, ruling its subject communities from the Capitol. The motive for this act was to increase the produce of the succession duty of five per cent., which Augustus had imposed on the property of citizens.

MACRINUS was reluctantly elevated to the purple by the soldiers, whom he won by donatives, and accepted by the Senate with the jealousy naturally felt towards a mere knight. The attempt to restore discipline in the army sealed his fate; and the licentious soldiery, whom he had neglected to disperse from the Syrian capital, found a new candidate in the family of Severus. Julia Mæsa, the sister of Julia Domna, banished by Macrinus from Antioch, had retired to Emesa, with her two daughters, Soæmias and Mammæa, and an immense fortune. There the son of Soæmias, while officiating as priest of the Sun, attracted the notice of the soldiers by his great beauty and his resemblance to Caracalla. He bore that emperor's original name, Bassianus,* with his own cognomen of Avitus; and Mæsa connived at the belief that he was Caracalla's son. The free use of her treasures

* This was the name of his great-grandfather. His full name was Varius Bassianus Avitus. The following table exhibits the relationships at one view:—



did the rest. Avitus was proclaimed by the army of Emesa, as his father's successor and avenger, under the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus (May 16, A.D. 218), and his cause was espoused by many of the Syrian garrisons. Still Macrinus was at the head of a formidable force, as he marched from Antioch to meet his rival; and his soldiers fought well. But the battle was decided by his own precipitate flight. He was overtaken in Bithynia, and put to death, with his son Diadumenianus (June 7, A.D. 218).

The youthful victor, who became emperor at the age of fourteen, or at the most seventeen, and was put to death within four years, obtained in that brief space a reputation more loathsome than almost any other prince of ancient or modern times. He is gibbetted in history by the name of ELAGABALUS,* which he assumed from the god whom he served, and whom he raised to an equality with the Capitoline Jupiter, while the kindred worship of Astarte was imported from Carthage, and the mystic marriage of the deities was celebrated in their temple on the Palatine. The new emperor, wintering at Nicomedia in Bithynia, gave time for the rumours of his obscene luxury and superstition to reach Rome, and confirmed them by sending forward his portrait, which showed him painted and dressed in the most degrading style of oriental effeminacy. The worst features of tyranny and idolatry, gathered from every part of the known world, with their attendant train of unutterable vices in undisguised obscenity, were now collected in the capital of the empire, as if to contrast the dying agonies of heathenism with the growing triumphs of Christianity. In his just exposure of the disregard for decency which marked the Roman tyrants, Gibbon has omitted—as one of his editors has pointed out—to notice the one restraining influence upon later despots. "In the most savage times, and the most corrupt courts, since the introduction of Christianity, there have been no Neros or Domitians, no Commodus or Elagabalus." It is needless to pollute our pages with the unnatural abominations which before long disgusted even the soldiery, the more so by contrast with the virtues of Alexianus, the cousin of the emperor and son of Mamæa, whose adoption, by the name of M. Aurelius Alexander, under the advice of Julia Mæsa, postponed the emperor's fate for a time. But jealousy soon led Elagabalus to plot his cousin's death; and the attempt provoked an insurrection of the prætorians, in which the tyrant was slain. His corpse was dragged

* *Heliogabalus* is a misnomer arising from the assimilation of the first part of the oriental word to *Helios*, the Greek name of the Sun-god.

through the streets and thrown into the Tiber; and the Senate performed the superfluous act of branding his memory with infamy. The death of Elagabalus probably took place on the 10th of March, A.D. 222.

The prætorians conferred the purple upon ALEXANDER, who, in assuming the name of his great-uncle SEVERUS, aspired to add to its fame the virtues of Aurelius. Even while warning us against the exaggeration of panegyrists, Niebuhr says of him, that "his nature was the complete opposite of that of his cousin. He was a young man* of noble character, and very much resembled Marcus Aurelius, with this difference, that the latter was a specimen of a noble European, the former of a noble Asiatic nature. He was born at Arca Cæsarea in Phœnicia, and learned the Latin language at Rome, though he was always looked upon as a Græculus, and not as a Roman. It is impossible for a man to possess a better and purer will, or a nobler heart, than young Alexander Severus. The beautiful expression of youthful innocence, which beamed in his countenance, won even the hearts of the rude Roman soldiers." His days, begun with devotion in his private chapel of the Roman heroes, were occupied in business, not unrelieved with literary recreations and the practice of manly exercises, and concluded by a frugal supper in the company of virtuous and learned men, amongst whom the jurist ULPIAN was conspicuous. This eminent man was at the head of a state-council of sixteen senators—an institution which had been founded by Hadrian, but had for some time fallen into disuse. But the deference of the youthful emperor for his mother left the supreme direction of affairs in the hands of Mamæa; and, while the general testimony to her rule is very high, she is also accused of avarice and oppression.

But the most formidable hindrance to the good designs of Alexander Severus was the insolence of the prætorian guards, who resented even the attempts of their own favourite to restore their discipline. The first year of his reign was disgraced by a tumult, or rather civil war, which raged for three days in Rome, between the people and the soldiery. Shortly afterwards, the prætorians chased their new prefect, Ulpian, into the palace, and despatched him in the emperor's arms, to avenge the execution of their former commanders, Chrestus and Flavian. Another of Alexander's ministers, still more famous in the history of literature, was threatened with a similar fate. DION CASSIUS, whose admirable

* Different accounts make him thirteen or seventeen at his accession: the latter age seems the more probable.

History of Rome is an invaluable authority for the periods of which his account is extant in whole or in part,* was the grandson of the great orator, Dion Chrysostom, and the son of a Roman senator, Cassius Apronianus. Born at Nicæa in Bithynia, in A.D. 155, he went to Rome after his father's death, about A.D. 180; was called to the Senate, and engaged in pleading causes. Having been ædile and quæstor under Commodus and Severus, he accompanied Caracalla to the East, and was made by Macrinus governor of Pergamos and Smyrna. Returning to Rome, he was consul in A.D. 220; and, on the accession of Alexander Severus, he was employed successively as proconsul in Africa (A.D. 224), and as legate in Dalmatia (A.D. 226), and Pannonia (A.D. 227). His firm enforcement of discipline upon his own legions was now resented by the prætorians at Rome, who demanded the reformer's head. The emperor replied by raising Dion to the consulship for the second time, but advised him to consult his safety by residing at a distance from Rome; and, on the expiration of his magis-

* The *History of Rome* in Greek (Ρωμαικὴ Ἱστορία) embraced in eighty books the whole period from the landing of Æneas in Italy to the year of Dion's second consulship, A.D. 229. Unfortunately only a small portion of the work has come down to us entire. Of the first thirty-four books we possess only fragments; but since Zonaras in his *Annals* chiefly follows Dion Cassius, we may regard the former work as in a great measure an epitome of the *History*. We possess a considerable fragment of the book xxxv., and the whole of books xxxvi. to liv. inclusive, containing the history from the great Mithridatic War to the death of Agrippa in B.C. 10. Of the remaining books we have only epitomes by Xiphilinus and others, which is the more to be regretted, as Dion gave a minute account of the events of his own times. All the best critics concur in a high estimate of Dion's work. Niebuhr says, "If dreams stimulated him, as he himself says, to write the history of the Roman empire, they were certainly sent by good spirits, for he had a real vocation as an historian. He spent twelve years in collecting materials for his work, and ten more in composing it. He must have been about seventy years old when he attained his second consulship, and he probably lived to the age of nearly eighty. Being a statesman, he paid attention to many things which his predecessors had been unconcerned about. He must have been a perfect master of the Latin language; for he resided at Rome as a senator during a period of from thirty to forty years. He felt an interest in, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with, the political history of Rome, a thing which no rhetorician ever did. He went to the sources themselves, and wrote the early period of Roman history quite independently of his predecessors, taking Fabius only as his guide. He has been accused of κακοήθεια and ἐπιχαιρεκακία in those parts of his works where he exposes the false pretensions of certain persons to political virtue. I believe that he mistrusted many a man's sincerity, and judged harshly of him in consequence; but at the bottom of all this there lies a view of human life, bitter indeed, but sound; and amidst the corruption of his age, he could not judge otherwise. He was no friend of tyranny, as every passage of his history shows, if read with an unbiassed mind; but a man who, in such circumstances, insists upon destroying by force that which is wrong, only wastes his own strength."

tracy, Dion retired finally to Nicæa (A.D. 229), where he devoted his remaining years to his History.

Alexander Severus manfully combated the mutinous spirit to which he at last fell a victim; and on one occasion he succeeded by the old Julian spell of addressing the soldiers as *Quirites* (*Citizens*). Meanwhile he found occupation for the turbulent soldiery in consequence of a revolution in the East, which restored the power that his Macedonian namesake had overthrown, and hastened the fall of the Roman empire. The great Scythian tribe, the Parthians, who, in the middle of the second century B.C., had wrested from the Seleucidæ the eastern half of their new empire, and founded a kingdom that had threatened ruin to Rome herself, had long been losing ground, from causes which, as Niebuhr observes, are not difficult to discover. "It was only a repetition of what we frequently see in Asia. When a pastoral nation obtains the sovereignty of a cultivated country, it gradually loses its warlike character; it sinks down to a level with the subdued, and, although it no longer excels them in bravery, it continues for a time to keep them in submission, as though it still possessed its former superiority." But the vassal principalities—for the Parthian monarchy was founded on feudal principles—had gradually fallen away. The power of the Arsacidæ, which we have seen paralyzed by internal discord at the very time when it might have wrested the East from Rome, had received fatal blows from the victories of Trajan, followed up by the repeated captures of Ctesiphon by Verus and Septimius Severus. To complete the ruin of the monarchy, Caracalla took advantage of a contest for the throne between the sons of Vologeses IV.; and Artabanus IV., after dethroning his brother Vologeses V., lost the flower of his troops in the war with Rome. The peace made by Macrinus left Parthia so exhausted, that her Persian subjects, who had adhered amidst persecution to the doctrines of Zoroaster and the worship of fire, seized the opportunity to regain their independence. They found a leader in ARDSHIR (whom the Greeks and Romans call ARTAXERXES), the son of an inferior officer named Babek, the son of Sassan, whence the new dynasty were called the *Sassanidæ*. Ardshir, who had served with distinction under Artabanus, had his own cause of quarrel with an ungrateful master. Giving out that he was descended from the Achæmenid kings of ancient Persia, he assumed their proud title of King of Kings, after he had gained some first successes; and at last a decisive battle put an end to the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, and

established that of the Sassanidæ, which reigned from A.D. 226 to A.D. 651. Accepted as king in a solemn assembly at Bactra (*Balkh*), Artaxerxes restored the Magian religion, visited in person every region between the Euphrates, the Oxus, and the Indus, and soon became so confident in his strength as to reclaim from Rome the western provinces of the ancient Persian empire. But one reply was possible; and Alexander Severus set out for the East in A.D. 231. The history of Herodian declares, apparently with truth, that, of the three armies which the emperor led into Mesopotamia, one was annihilated, and the other two were compelled to retreat. Nevertheless, the letter to the Senate is still extant, in which Alexander claimed a complete victory; and he celebrated a triumph on his return to Rome (A.D. 233). Peace was concluded with Persia, either by Alexander or immediately after his death; and it is doubtful whether the Tigris or the Euphrates remained the boundary of the two empires.

While thus, upon the eastern frontier, an effete Turanian power gave place to a vigorous Aryan monarchy, the north was disturbed by new movements of the German tribes, and Alexander hastened to the Rhine. In the army there assembled, the military discontent which had troubled his whole reign came to a crisis, and it was ominous of the fate of Rome that Maximinus, the leader of the mutiny, was sprung from two different races of barbarians. His mother was an Alan, and his father either a Thracian or a Goth. Gibbon gives the following picturesque account of Maximin's first appearance, about thirty-two years before his elevation to the empire, at some military games which Septimius Severus gave in Thrace, to celebrate the birthday of his younger son, Geta. "A young barbarian of gigantic stature earnestly solicited, in his rude dialect, that he might be allowed to contend for the prize of wrestling. As the pride of discipline would have been disgraced in the overthrow of a Roman soldier by a Thracian peasant, he was matched with the stoutest followers of the camp, sixteen of whom he successively laid on the ground. His victory was rewarded by some trifling gifts, and a permission to enlist in the troops. The next day the happy barbarian was distinguished among a crowd of recruits, dancing and exulting after the fashion of his country. As soon as he perceived that he had attracted the emperor's notice, he instantly ran up to his horse, and followed him on foot, without the least appearance of fatigue, in a long and rapid career. 'Thracian,' said Severus, with astonishment, 'art thou disposed to wrestle after thy race?' 'Most willingly,

Sir,' replied the unwearied youth; and, almost in a breath, overthrew seven of the strongest soldiers in the army. A gold collar was the prize of his matchless vigour and activity, and he was immediately appointed to serve in the horse-guards who always attended on the person of the sovereign." His military prowess proved equal to his personal strength; and he rose step by step, till he was appointed by Alexander Severus to discipline the recruits in the army of the Rhine. He abused his popularity with the soldiers, who were fond of calling him Ajax and Hercules, and persuaded them that it was time to replace an effeminate and woman-governed Syrian by a tried soldier. One day, when Maximin appeared on the field of exercise, he was saluted by the troops as Imperator, and Alexander Severus, who fled to his tent, was despatched by a tribune and some centurions. His mother perished with him (March 19, A.D. 235).

MAXIMIN governed in the true spirit of a barbarian, disdaining the culture of which he was ignorant, and resenting the contempt which he suspected from all men of refinement. Remaining constantly in the camp, his only acquaintance with the citizens and senators of Rome was when those marked as victims for their birth, character, and wealth,—or merely to revenge the humiliations of his earlier career, when he had waited for admission at their doors—were chained on the public carriages, and dragged into his presence to hear their fate. "Confiscation, exile, or simple death, were esteemed uncommon instances of his lenity. Some of the unfortunate sufferers he ordered to be sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals, others to be exposed to wild beasts, others again to be beaten to death with clubs." His only care was to preserve his hold upon the rude soldiery, most of them barbarians like himself, at whose head he continued to wage successful war with the Germans both on the Rhine and on the Danube. To satisfy their demands, he confiscated the municipal revenues of the cities throughout the empire; and, not content with an act of extortion on which no former emperor had ventured, he stripped the temples of their richest offerings, and melted down the statues of gods, heroes, and emperors.

The rebellion, which such measures provoked throughout the empire, broke out at Thysdrus, in consequence of one particular act of oppression. M. Antonius GORDIANUS, the proconsul of Africa, a descendant of the Gracchi and of Trajan, equally distinguished for his learning, wealth and taste, was proclaimed emperor at the age of eighty; and his son, aged forty-six, who was

descended from Antoninus Pius, and bore a striking likeness to Scipio Africanus, was associated with him in the purple (Feb. A.D. 238). The Gordians fixed their court at Carthage, and the Senate had the courage to ratify their election; for Maximin was already carrying on a proscription against the order; and the fear to be worse destroyed was balanced by the hope of another dynasty of Antonines. But, while they were beginning to take measures for the defence of Italy, Capellianus, the governor of Mauretania, marched against Carthage. The younger Gordian, who sallied out to meet him, was defeated and slain; the father put an end to his own life; and Carthage opened her gates (March).

The insurrection was at an end in Africa, and Maximin was already on his march from his winter quarters at Sirmium, to glut his vengeance upon Rome. The Senate assumed the courage of despair, and conferred the purple upon two distinguished members of their own body, M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus, a rough but able soldier, and D. Cælius Balbinus, a poet and orator, who had governed provinces with success. On the demand of the populace, the rank of Cæsar was conferred on M. Antonius Gordianus, the grandson of Gordian I.* By the month of April, Maximin had crossed the Alps and laid siege to Aquileia, the key to Italy on the north-east. A brave resistance exposed his army to great sufferings in a district wasted by the order of the Senate; and Maximin enforced discipline with his wonted cruelty. The prætorians remembered that their wives and children were in the power of the Senate; and they assassinated Maximin in his tent, with his son Maximus (May). The other Maximus, returning in triumph from Aquileia, was met by Balbinus and Gordian, and the three entered Rome amidst the acclamations of the people, and the ominous silence of the prætorians, who followed in their train. It is reported that, in the freedom of conversation, Maximus asked his colleague, "What reward may we expect for delivering Rome from such a monster?" "The love of the Senate, of the people, and of all mankind,"—replied Balbinus. "Alas!" rejoined Maximus, "I dread the hatred of the soldiers, and the fatal effects of their resentment." He was right. The administration of the emperors, and the legislation of the Senate, had just begun to hold out the vain hope that the Republic might even yet be restored, when, at the time of the Capitoline games, a band of prætorians broke into the palace, dragged Maximus and Balbinus naked through the streets of Rome, and put them to a protracted death.

* Whether he was the son of Gordian II. or of a sister, is uncertain.

The youthful Gordian, whose name was dear to the Senate and the people, and whose tender age prevented his being feared by the soldiers, was carried to the prætorian camp, and saluted Imperator and Augustus (June, A.D. 238). In the first six months of a single year, Rome had had as many emperors, beginning with the savage barbarian of Thrace, and ending with a boy of twelve years old.

In the obscurity which involves the history of this whole period, we can only make out with certainty that GORDIAN III. escaped the tutelage of his mother's eunuchs by his affection for his instructor in rhetoric, Misitheus,* whose daughter he married before he was sixteen. The progress of the Persians called the emperor and his minister to the East; and it appears that Mesopotamia had been recovered, when Misitheus died, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by Philip, an adventurer of Arab race, who succeeded him in the office of prætorian prefect. If he committed the crime, it was but a step to one bolder still; for Gordian was soon after murdered in a mutiny of the soldiers, who elected Philip as his successor (March, A.D. 244). Though the last of the Gordians had reigned eight years, he did not live to be nineteen. A tumulus on the bank of the Euphrates, about twenty miles from Circesium, was pointed out as his tomb to the time of Julian.

PHILIP I., having appointed his son of the same name as Cæsar, was welcomed back to Rome by the Senate and people; and the completion of the city's millennium saw the great Secular Games celebrated with unusual pomp by an emperor of Arabian birth (April 21, A.D. 248).† But it was a short-lived glory both for Rome and her foreign lord. In the very next year the legions of Mœsia and Pannonia proclaimed a certain Marinus emperor; and Decius, a noble senator, who was sent to put down the rebellion, was compelled to become its leader, and to march with the insurgents into Italy. It is said that he foresaw the result, and warned Philip not to place him in a position which would compel him to violate his faith. The emperor paid for his over-confidence with his life, in a battle near Verona, in the autumn of A.D. 249. His son was put to death at Rome by the prætorian guards; and the dignity of Augustus, already conferred on Decius by the revolted legions, was ratified by the Senate. The brief reign of Philip is peculiarly interesting from the circumstance that the Christian

* This is the common form of the name, which seems rather to have been Timesicles or Timesitheus.

† This was the fifth celebration inclusive from that of Augustus; the intervening three were held by Claudius, Domitian, and Severus.

historians claim him as the first Christian emperor. The celebration of the secular games with old heathen ceremonies, and the use of pagan emblems upon his coins, are urged in disproof of the statement. The truth is very difficult to discover, nor is he a convert who would be eagerly claimed.*

What is far more certain is that the celebration of Rome's millennium was the preface to the drama of her fall. The mistress of the world decked herself in all the accumulated splendours of a thousand years to take her seat, like the Danish king, upon the margin of the flood of barbarian power, whose foremost waves were already dashing at her feet. At this epoch, then, we may pause, with the great historian of the age, to take that survey of the past and future, which must have forced itself upon the minds of the discerning few, amidst the throng who regarded the splendour of Philip's shows as the promise of still many a thousand years of empire.

"Since Romulus, with a small band of shepherds and outlaws, fortified himself on the hills near the Tiber, ten centuries had already elapsed. During the first four ages, the Romans, in the laborious school of poverty, had acquired the virtues of war and government: by the vigorous exertion of those virtues, and by the assistance of fortune, they had obtained, in the course of the three succeeding centuries, an absolute empire over many countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The last three hundred years had been consumed in apparent prosperity and internal decline. The nation of soldiers, magistrates, and legislators, who composed the thirty-five tribes of the Roman people, was dissolved into the common mass of mankind, and confounded with the millions of servile provincials, who had received the name, without adopting the spirit, of Romans. A mercenary army, levied among the subjects and barbarians of the frontier, was the only order of men who preserved and abused their independence. By their tumultuary election, a Syrian, a Goth, or an Arab, was exalted to the throne of Rome, and invested with despotic power over the conquests and over the country of the Scipios.

* The statement derives little weight from the eager partisanship of Orosius, and the epitome of Zonaras; and the slender grounds on which Niebuhr inclines to support it will appear from the statement of his own arguments:—Pagan emblems appear also on the coins of Constantine: Origen addressed letters to Philip on Christianity: the Arab city of Bostra was near Pella, the refuge of the Christians of Jerusalem: there is a tradition that Philip did penance, and was absolved, for the murder of Gordian: he may have been merely a catechumen, and not have received baptism till just before his death, as a purification from all his sins.

"The limits of the Roman Empire still extended from the Western Ocean to the Tigris, and from Mount Atlas to the Rhine and the Danube. To the undiscerning eye of the vulgar, Philip appeared a monarch no less powerful than Hadrian or Augustus had formerly been. The form was still the same, but the animating health and vigour were fled. The industry of the people was discouraged and exhausted by a long series of oppression. The discipline of the legions, which alone, after the extinction of every other virtue, had propped the greatness of the state, was corrupted by the ambition, or relaxed by the weakness, of the emperors. The strength of the frontiers, which had always consisted in arms rather than in fortifications, was insensibly undermined; and the fairest provinces were left exposed to the rapaciousness or ambition of the barbarians, who soon discovered the decline of the Roman Empire."

The decline of the empire was marked in those things which had been its greatest pride. Art had sunk into a state of barbarism, as is proved by the existing monuments. With the great exceptions of Dion Cassius, and the writers on Roman law—whose literary merits culminated and ceased in the first half of the third century—literature was almost extinct at Rome, while it was rising to importance among the Christians. "The barbarous character," says Niebuhr, "which commenced with the third century, gradually spread over all things in which taste can be displayed, even down to coins and inscriptions." The new power, which we have seen rising in the East, prepared a series of dangers and humiliating defeats for those princes who were bold enough to encounter it; and the dark cloud which had so long hung over the North began to pour down its deluge in the reign of Decius.

Such was the millennial state to which an empire founded on force was reduced by the righteous and never-failing laws of providential retribution. In the cry which called the Goths to "arise and glut their ire," the poet sees a just revenge for the torrents of barbarian blood drunk up by the sand of the amphitheatre. In the light of a higher revelation, the Christians beheld the answer to the cry of the martyrs, "How long, O Lord, holy and mighty, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" But all who believe in the working of the will of God for the final happiness of man in freedom may concur in acknowledging His judgment upon a system, the very essence of which was tyranny and oppression.

CHAPTER XLII.

IRRUPTIONS OF THE BARBARIANS. FROM DECIUS TO DIOCLETIAN. A.D. 249 TO A.D. 284.

"A multitude, like which the populous North
Poured never from her frozen loins, to cross
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands."—MILTON.

REIGN OF *DECIUS*—MISERY OF THE ROMAN WORLD—PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS—ORIGIN OF THE GOTHS—THEIR MIGRATION TO SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE—OSTROGOTHS AND VISIGOTHS—THEIR CONNECTION WITH OTHER TRIBES—THEY CROSS THE DANUBE—GOTHIC CAMPAIGN AND DEATH OF DECIUS—*GALLUS TREBONIANUS*—*ÆMILIANUS*—*VALERIAN* AND *GALLIENUS*—ORIGIN OF THE FRANKS—THEY INVADE GAUL, SPAIN, AND AFRICA—THE ALEMANNI INVADE ITALY AND ARE DEFEATED BY AURELIAN—PERSIAN SUCCESSES ON THE EUPHRATES—VALERIAN MADE PRISONER BY SAPOR—AN IMPERIAL HORSE-BLOCK AND STUFFED SKIN—SAPOR SACKS ANTIOCH AND CÆSAREA—THE SARACEN KINGDOM OF PALMYRA—ODENATHUS DEFEATS SAPOR—NAVAL INCURSIONS OF THE GOTHS—THEY TAKE TREBIZOND, RAVAGE BITHYNIA, SACK CYZICUS, PASS THE HELLESPONT, AND RAVAGE GREECE—THEIR RETREAT—BURNING OF THE TEMPLE OF EPHESUS—CONDUCT OF THE GOTHS AT ATHENS—THE *THIRTY TYRANTS*—ODENATHUS AND ZENOBIA IN THE EAST—POSTUMUS AND TETRICUS IN THE WEST—MACRIANUS AND AUREOLUS—DEATH OF GALLIENUS—PUBLIC CALAMITIES—*CLAUDIUS II. GOTHICUS* DEFEATS THE ALEMANNI AND GOTHS—*AURELIAN* EMPEROR—DEFEATS THE MARCOMANNI AND ALEMANNI—NEW WALLS OF ROME—AURELIAN DEFEATS ZENOBIA—DEATH OF LONGINUS—AURELIAN PUTS DOWN TETRICUS IN GAUL—HIS TRIUMPH AND DEATH—*TACITUS*—*PROBUS* DEFEATS THE BARBARIANS—*CARUS*, *CARINUS*, AND *NUMERIANUS*—SARMATIAN AND PERSIAN WARS—ACCESSION OF *DIOCLETIAN*.

"FROM the great Secular Games celebrated by Philip, to the death of the emperor Gallienus, there elapsed twenty years of shame and misfortune. During that calamitous period, every instant of time was marked, every province of the Roman world was afflicted, by barbarous invaders and military tyrants, and the ruined empire seemed to approach the last and fatal moment of its dissolution." From this summary by our great historian, it might seem that the period could be of little interest; but in truth it carries us beyond the boundaries of the empire, to see how new nations are approaching to fill their place in the History of the World. The emperor DECIUS * is lauded by the pagan writers for his firm and wise administration, and execrated by the Christians as the author of the *Seventh great Persecution*. One of its victims was Fabianus, bishop of Rome, and the emperor's motive of jealousy at the

* His full name was C. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius. He was a native of Illyricum, and had no real connection with the *Gens Decia*.

increasing importance of the church may be traced in the saying, that he would rather have a second emperor by his side, than have a bishop at Rome. But he had only enjoyed a few months of quiet on his new throne, when he was called to the Danube to meet an invasion of the GOTHS (A.D. 250). "This," as Gibbon observes, "is the first considerable occasion in which history mentions that great people, who afterwards broke the Roman power, sacked the Capitol, and reigned in Gaul, Spain and Italy. So memorable is the part they acted in the subversion of the Western Empire, that the name of *Goths* is frequently but improperly used as a general appellation of rude and warlike barbarism."*

The origin of this celebrated people is involved in obscurity; and their apparent good fortune in having an historian of their own has only had the effect of giving a deceitful appearance of authority to the very doubtful traditions of their early history.† From the testimony of Tacitus and other writers, and from the decisive evidence of the language, as preserved in the Gothic translation of the Bible made by the bishop Ulphilas in the fourth century, we learn that *the Goths were a German people*, and neither Slavonic, like some of their immediate neighbours even within the Vistula, nor Scandinavian, like the people of the peninsula of Norway and Sweden.‡ Their native name, which, we learn from Ulphilas, was *Gutthiuda*, assumes, in the Greek and Roman writers, the various forms of *Gotones* or *Gothones* or *Guttones*, *Gutæ*, and, last of all GOTHI. As early as the time of Alexander the Great,

* One most unfortunate misapplication of the name is its use to describe that magnificent style of architecture, which the native genius of the northern conquerors developed out of the Byzantine, and which, as far as our own island is concerned, attained such perfection between the tenth and fifteen centuries, as justly to claim the name of *English*. Another, and not unobjectionable use of the word in a wide generic sense, is that made of it in comparative grammar, to designate all the dialects both of Low and High German, in contradistinction to the Scandinavian languages.

† The work referred to is the *De Getarum* (*i.e.*, *Gothorum*) *Origine et Rebus Gestis* of Jornandes, a Goth, and secretary to the king of the Alani, in the time of Justinian. He became a Christian, and held a bishopric in Italy. His work was founded on the lost *History of the Goths* by Cassiodorus, a Roman, who was the chief minister of Theodoric the Great, in the first half of the sixth century.

‡ The tradition of the Ostrogoths, preserved by Jornandes, and adopted by Gibbon, traces the origin of the people from the peninsula of *Scandia*, where Ptolemy places a tribe of *Gutæ*, and where their former existence is still attested by the Swedish province of *Gothland*, as well as by several other names. These facts can only be accounted for by an early immigration from the opposite shores of the Baltic. The Goths of Sweden remained in the peninsula, after the southern immigration of the main body, and the temple of Upsala became the chief seat of their worship of Odin, Thor, and Freya, the deities of War, of Thunder, and of Generation.

Pytheas, the navigator of Marseilles, found Gothones on the southern coast of the Baltic, in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Danzig; and about the Christian era, the chief abodes of the people were on this coast, and along the left bank of the Vistula. By the beginning of the third century, they had made a great migration from the shores of Prussia on the Baltic, to the steppes of the Ukraine north of the Black Sea, and had begun to press forward into Dacia. The nation was now divided into the two great branches of the *Ostrogoths* and the *Visigoths*,* that is, the *Eastern* and the *Western Goths;* the former inhabiting the sandy steppes in the East, the latter the more fertile and woody countries in the west. The Visigoths now found themselves in the country formerly occupied by the Thracian *Getæ;* and this curious resemblance of the names has caused much confusion between the two peoples.† Nay more, the Goths have been confounded with the Sarmatians (the Scythians of the older Greek writers), whose country in the south of Russia they now occupied. "Those two great portions of human kind"—observes Gibbon—"were principally distinguished by fixed huts or moveable tents, by a close dress or flowing garments, by the marriage of one or of several wives, by a military force consisting, for the most part, either of infantry or cavalry; and, above all, by the uses of the Teutonic or of the Slavonian language." Still it must not be forgotten that the Goths, in their march across the wide plains and steppes between the Baltic and the Black Seas, the border region of the Teutonic and Slavonian nations, would naturally gather into their vast moving mass other tribes of various origin, from the Vandals,‡ who were their neighbours in the north, to the Sarmatians and Alani in the south, whom we have already seen united with the German Marchmen (Marcomanni) in their wars with Trajan. But, whatever other elements helped to swell

* Also called *Austrogothi* and *Wesegothi*. The *Gepidæ*, who are usually considered a third branch of the nation, followed the southward movement later.

† Dr. Latham regards the resemblance as no mere accident, and maintains that the name of *Get* or *Goth* was the general name given by the Slavonic nations to the Lithuanians, to which people he considers both the *Goths* at the mouth of the Vistula, and the *Getæ* on the Danube, to have belonged. He believes that the Goths of history were a German people, who migrated to the Danube, and first received the name of *Goths* when they settled in the country of the Getæ.

‡ It is still disputed whether the Vandals were a Teutonic or a Slavonic people. Their name is in favour of the latter view, as the Germans have always called the Slavonians *Wends* or *Vends;* and the authority of Tacitus is not decisive, as he would be apt to confound with the Germans any tribes of other race within their territory

the mighty wave that now burst upon the Danubian frontier, it derived its prevalent complexion and its name from the predominance of the Goths.

Dacia, whose fields cultivated by the Roman colonists offered a tempting prize, had been overrun during the reign of Philip; and such was the disorder of the Roman soldiers, that many took service under the barbarians. The Danube was crossed without resistance, and the colonies of Trajan in Mœsia were assailed. The bribe by which the people of Marcianopolis purchased the retreat of the barbarians proved but a retaining fee to ensure their return; and in A.D. 250, an immense host of Goths, under the king Cniva, crossed the Danube, and laid siege to Nicopolis in Lower Mœsia. On the approach of Decius, they retired to Philippopolis, at the southern foot of Mount Hæmus in Thrace, a foundation of the great Macedonian, which now became the scene of great events. Decius, incautiously pursuing them, was overwhelmed by a sudden countermarch of the Goths. The city was taken by storm, with the slaughter of 100,000 inhabitants. But the long siege had consumed the flower of the Gothic host, and exhausted the resources of the country. Decius, with his army recruited, barred their return across Mount Hæmus, and refused their offer to restore their prisoners and booty as the price of a safe retreat, believing their destruction to be sure. The armies met at a place called Abrutum or Forum Trebonii. The first and second lines of the Goths were broken through; but the third was posted behind a morass, which Decius rashly attempted at once to force. The defence was easy and triumphant. The Roman army perished in the marsh: and the body of the emperor was never found. His son, Herennius Etruscus, whom he had named Cæsar, had fallen early in the battle (Nov. A.D. 251). The younger son Hostilianus was named as Augustus, in conjunction with GALLUS TREBONIANUS, one of the generals of Decius, who returned to Rome, after purchasing the retreat of the Goths by a disgraceful peace, and the promise of an annual bribe. The policy even of Hadrian and the Antonines had staved off barbarian invasion by bribes; but this was the first time that Rome had bound herself to a regular payment as the price of peace. The public sense of humiliation was embittered by the sufferings of a terrible pestilence, to which Hostilianus was one of the first victims, and which scourged the whole empire for fifteen years; and when the vigour of ÆMILIANUS, the governor of Pannonia and Mœsia, proved that the Gauls were not invincible, he was at once saluted emperor on the field of his

victory. Gallus, marching to meet him as far as Spoleto, was put to death, with his son Volusianus, by his own soldiers, who passed over to Æmilianus. The new emperor was still (May, A.D. 253) at Spoleto, exchanging compliments with the Senate, and promising to chase away the barbarians both of the East and North, when he was overtaken by the same fate as Gallus. Publius Licinius VALERIANUS, a noble of such distinction that he had been called to the censorship by the unanimous voice of the Senate, when Decius made the attempt to revive the office,* had been sent by Gallus to bring the legions of Gaul and Germany to his aid. When the news of his master's murder met Valerian in Rhætia, his troops proclaimed him emperor, and he no sooner appeared at Spoleto, than Æmilianus was murdered by his own soldiers (Aug. A.D. 253).

Valerian's first act was to associate his son GALLIENUS in the government; and the vices of an effeminate youth went far to neutralize the tried virtue of the father's threescore years, at a time when the falling empire demanded all the energy of youth combined with all the wisdom of age. At the very time when the new and vigorous power of the Persians overran Syria, the northern barbarians, banded in confederacies under names before unheard but destined to lasting fame, broke in upon the empire across the Rhine and Danube, while the Goths opened a new path to its destruction over the waters of the Ægæan Sea. The many names of German tribes, which furnish us with such intricate problems in the pages of Tacitus, are now replaced by the two great leagues of the FRANCI (Franks) and the ALEMANNI, the *Freemen* and the *All-men*, the former in the north, the latter in the south; names which are still preserved as those of France and Germany.†

The FRANKS, who are supposed to have assumed the name as a proud contrast to the subject and Romanized Germans of the Tithed Lands,‡ embraced those tribes on the Lower Rhine and Weser, who had long since been famed for their resistance to the arms of Rome,—the Sigambri, Bructeri, Chatti, and others—and may be regarded as successors to the ancient league of the Cherusci. Under their new name, they finally burst the barrier of the Rhine, though the time was still distant when they were to give their name to France. Gallienus, sent into Gaul to oppose them, displayed the luxury of his court at Treves, while his able general, M. Cassianus Latinius Postumus, gained successes, which

* This was during the interval occupied by the siege of Philippopolis.

† In the French *Allemagne*. ‡ See p. 342.

enabled him soon to set up an independent power in the west. He is styled, on the medals of this time, the Conqueror of the Germans, and the Saviour of Gaul. Of his victories we have no details; but they did not prevent a large body of the Franks from traversing the whole of Gaul, and crossing the Pyrenees into Spain. Having sacked the Roman capital of Tarraco and ravaged the province, they at last carried over their booty into Mauretania, where we lose sight of them for the present. "The distant province was astonished with the fury of these barbarians, who seemed to fall from a new world, as their name, manners, and complexion were equally unknown on the coast of Africa."

From Coblenz upwards, the voyager traces the great gorge where the Rhine breaks through the barrier of the highlands of Southern Germany. These, as far as the valley of the Danube, were peopled in Cæsar's time by the tribes to whom he gives the common name of Suevi, who boasted their separation from the other Germans by the same distinction—the hair gathered up into a knot on the crown, so adding to their stature—which, among themselves, severed the freeman from the slave. Not content, like the northern confederacy, with the name of Freemen, they boasted of having no faint heart among them, and called themselves *All-men.** In the field the ALEMANNI were distinguished for their cavalry, scarcely more agile than the light infantry who marched and fought among them. Their name is first met with between the Main and Danube in the reign of Caracalla, who celebrated an alleged victory over them by the title of Alemannicus (A.D. 214). Their incursions upon the Danube, which began under Alexander Severus, were repulsed by Maximin (A.D. 237). In the year 255 a vast body of Alemanni poured down through the passes of the Rhætian Alps upon Cisalpine Gaul. They advanced as far as Ravenna and spread consternation to the capital. But Rome fortunately possessed a general fit to cope with them, in L. Domitius AURELIANUS, who afterwards, as emperor, earned the title of Restorer of the State. But his victory did not prevent the Ger-

* In High German, *alle männer*, latinized into ALEMANNI, a name assumed, says Gibbon, following the ancient historian Asinius Quadratus, "to denote at once their various lineage, and their common bravery." "This etymology, however, has not been received by all modern critics, and it has been observed that the *Al* in *Al*emanni may be translated by *alii* as well as by *omnes*, and that it was perhaps applied by the true and more unequivocal Germans of Suabia and Franconia to a mixed population from Wurtemburg and Baden, more especially as Asinius Quadratus said that the Alemanni were 'a gathered mob and a mixed race.'" (Dr. W. Smith's note on Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 363.)

mans from obtaining a permanent footing on the plains of Northern Italy.

It was about the time of this inroad, that Valerian departed for the East, in order to check the alarming progress of the Persian arms. Sapor I., who had succeeded his father Artaxerxes in A.D. 240, had conquered Armenia, compelled the Roman garrisons of Carrhæ and Nisibis to surrender, and so broken through the frontier of the Euphrates. After a long march through Thrace and Asia Minor, recently devastated by the incursions of the Goths, Valerian reached Mesopotamia, with an army enfeebled by famine and pestilence, to encounter a crushing defeat by Sapor. Whether the wiles of the Persian were aided by the prætorian prefect Macrianus, is uncertain; but the Roman army was completely surrounded, and Valerian, who had reluctantly consented to a personal interview with Sapor, was made prisoner (A.D. 260). The insulting victor heaped every indignity upon his captive. It is said that whenever the king of kings mounted his horse, he set his foot upon the neck of the Roman emperor; and when Valerian died, his stuffed skin was set up as a trophy in the chief Persian temple. Some even assert that he was flayed alive. The Persian followed up his victory by overrunning Syria and Cilicia. Antioch was sacked; the Taurus was passed; Cæsarea in Cappadocia was taken after a brave resistance; here it was that, from the two ends of the earth, the victorious Persians all but encountered the victorious Goths, returning, as we shall presently see, from the devastation of Greece. The cities of Asia Minor, long supposed to have no need of fortifications, seemed at the mercy of the conqueror, when he received a check from an unexpected quarter.

From the earliest ages, the caravans that traversed the great Syrian Desert found a resting-place about half-way between the Euphrates and Damascus, at the Oasis which received from its groves of *palm-trees* the significant names of *Tadmor* among the Hebrews and *Palmyra* among the Greeks. Here Solomon had built a city, which is said by an uncertain tradition to have been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. In the first century B.C. it was important enough to invite an attack from Mark Antony, on whose approach the inhabitants retired behind the Euphrates. Enriched by the commerce both of Rome and Parthia, Palmyra attained its highest splendour under Hadrian and the Antonines; and during the troubles of the ensuing period a powerful principality grew up unobserved in this secluded spot. The population consisted of Syrians and Arabs, whose king exercised so wide a

supremacy over the wandering tribes of the Desert, that he is styled *Prince of the* SARACENS, a name which now first appears in history.* This proud title is given to ODENATHUS, the husband of the more celebrated ZENOBIA. Upon the first successes of Sapor, Odenathus sent him a train of camels laden with rich presents. But the letter which accompanied the offering was in a tone far too little servile; and the Persian exclaimed, as he ordered the gifts to be thrown into the Euphrates, "Who is this Odenathus, that he thus insolently presumes to write to his lord? If he entertains a hope of mitigating his punishment, let him fall prostrate before the foot of our throne, with his hands bound behind his back!" Confident in the protection of the ocean of sand that begirt his island, the Palmyrene gathered an army of Arab and Syrian horsemen, hovered about the rear of the Persian army, as it returned laden with spoil, and inflicted heavy losses upon Sapor before he repassed the Euphrates (A.D. 262).

Meanwhile the Goths had poured down upon the empire from a new quarter. While their incursions by land upon Macedonia and Illyricum were met with vigour by Aurelian (A.D. 255—257), they overthrew the kingdom of Bosporus, which had long formed, under the protection of Rome, an outpost against the Sarmatians; collected a flotilla of light vessels, careless of security for the sake of plunder; and attacked the shores of Pontus (A.D. 253). Pityus, the extreme fortified post of the Roman empire on that coast, checked them for some years; but its fall was followed by the surprise and sack of the great city of Trapezus (*Trebizond*), A.D. 258. In the next year other swarms of vessels, issuing from the mouths of the Borysthenes, the Dniester, and the Danube, directed their course to the Thracian Bosporus, where Byzantium no longer stood to guard the pass. Chalcedon, on the opposite side of the strait, was abandoned by its numerous garrison, and its fate was shared by the rich capital of Nicomedia, and the

* This famous name, used by the medieval writers as a general description of the followers of Mohammed, is of much earlier origin. It is applied by Ptolemy to an Arab tribe dwelling somewhere about the neck of the peninsula, in the neighbourhood of the *Scenitæ*. But, in truth, both are generic terms, descriptive of the Bedouin Arabs. The *Scenitæ* are *dwellers in tents*, and the *Saraceni*, according to the most probable etymology, are *robbers*. This derivation is from the Arabic *saraka*, to *plunder*; but another is from *sharaka*, to *spring up* (that is, the people of the *East*); and a third from *Sarah*, the wife of Abraham, from whom the Bedouin Arabs were *not* descended, nor did they ever themselves adopt what would surely have been a proud ancestral name. Whatever its origin, the name was gradually extended to all the Arab tribes from Egypt to the Euphrates.

other chief cities of Bithynia. The advance of the Goths upon Cyzicus was stopped by the swollen waters of the Rhyndacus, just when the approach of autumn warned them to hasten back across the "inhospitable sea" (A.D. 259). But the barbarians were not to be restrained from the more inviting shores beyond the straits. At the very time when the captivity of Valerian had thrown the whole empire into confusion, they sailed into the Propontis with a fleet of five hundred ships, sacked the ancient city of Cyzicus, which had so long withstood the whole force of Mithridates, emerged through the Hellespont into the Ægæan, and, after desolating its fair islands, anchored off the harbour of Piræus (A.D. 262). The city of Themistocles had no better force to oppose to the assault of the Goths than a band of 2000 men under Dexippus, the historian of this war,* who took up a position in a mountainous and woody district (perhaps Cithæron), and struck several blows at the disorderly barbarians. But the expected imperial fleet did not appear, and the whole shores of Greece were ravaged, from Attica to Epirus, till the Goths threatened Italy from the coast of Illyricum. But the fitful impulse which urges on such hosts was now expended. Gallienus induced the Heruli, one of the many tribes who had accompanied the Goths, to enter the Roman service; and the great Gothic wave fell back in broken parts, one body returning by land to Mœsia, while another re-crossed the Ægæan, and ravaged Asia Minor on their way home. It was now that the last conflagration of the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus gave a foretaste of the war against the monuments of ancient civilization which has made Gothic barbarism a proverb. Nor can we refrain on the other hand from quoting Gibbon's relation of the doubtful story of the caprice which saved the still greater treasures of Greek literature:—"We are told that in the sack of Athens, the Goths collected all the libraries, and were on the point of setting fire to this funeral pile of Grecian learning, had not one of their chiefs, of more refined policy than his brethren, dissuaded them from the design by the profound observation, that as long as the Greeks were addicted to the study of books, they would never apply themselves to the exercise of arms. The sagacious counsellor (should the truth of the fact be admitted) reasoned like an ignorant barbarian. In the most polite and powerful nations genius of every kind has displayed itself about the same period; and the age of science has generally been the age of military virtue and success."

* The fragments of Dexippus are preserved among the *Scriptores Historiæ Byzantinæ*.

The empire, thus assailed on every side, was still nominally under the government of Gallienus, a prince of versatile abilities and confirmed indolence, who excelled in every art, save that of government. But the captivity of Valerian was the signal for the rise of pretenders, who were so numerous in every province, as to have received the name of the THIRTY TYRANTS.* The word was used in its Greek sense: most of the pretenders, though of obscure origin, were men of virtue and ability, who had been entrusted by Valerian with important commands; and it was at Rome that Gallienus, exasperated by the dangers rising around him, played the tyrant in the modern sense. The only provinces that remained really subject to Gallienus were Italy, with Rhætia and Noricum; the greater part of Greece; and North Africa, with the exception of Egypt. The Western Provinces, Gaul, Spain, and Britain (which afterwards formed the prefecture of Gaul), were under the separate government of Postumus, who put to death Saloninus, the son of Gallienus, after the latter had returned to Rome; and the East rewarded the prowess of Odenathus by proclaiming him Augustus (A.D. 264). By the act of triumphing for the victories of Odenathus, Gallienus in some degree acknowledged the Palmyrene monarchy, though as a dependency of the empire.† In the same year in which Odenathus was murdered by a court intrigue, and ZENOBIA succeeded to his power, Postumus, after brilliant successes against the Germans, was slain by his own soldiers, and, after the murder of his colleague Victorinus; the empire of the West passed, like that of the East, to a woman, VICTORIA, who soon devolved it upon TETRICUS ‡ (A.D. 267).

While the eastern and western provinces were thus rent from

* The name seems to have been borrowed by the writers of the Augustan history from the oligarchical government of Critias and his colleagues at Athens, after the close of the Peloponnesian War. But Gibbon well observes that "in every light the parallel is idle and defective. What resemblance can we discover between a council of thirty persons, the united oppressors of a single city, and an uncertain list of independent rivals, who rose and fell in irregular succession through the extent of a vast empire? Nor can the number of *thirty* be completed, unless we include in the account the women and children who were honoured with the Imperial title." The list is made out from the historians and from coins, some of which are suspected. Gibbon enumerates *nineteen;* and Clinton gives the following catalogue:—1. Cecrops; 2. Antoninus; 3. Cyriades; 4. Postumus; 5. Lælianus; 6. Marius; 7. Victorinus; 8. Tetricus; 9. Ingenuus; 10. Regalianus; 11. Aureolus; 12. Macrianus; 13. Odenathus; 14. Zenobia; 15. Piso; 16. Valens; 17. Æmilianus; 18. Saturninus; 19. Trebellianus; 20. Celsus.

† The Palmyrene monarchy is usually said to have embraced all Western Asia and Egypt; but it is very doubtful if it had so wide an extent.

‡ The capital of this western empire was at Treves, on the Moselle. The noble

the empire, the sovereignty of Rome itself was fiercely disputed. Macrianus, the prætorian prefect of Valerian, was proclaimed emperor by the army of Syria (A.D. 261); and was on his march to Rome, when he was encountered and slain in Illyricum by Aureolus, who had been proclaimed by the army of the Danube (A.D. 262). The decisive contest for the prize of empire between Aureolus and Gallienus did not take place till the year after the deaths of Odenathus and Postumus. Aureolus, who had established himself in Milan, was defeated by Gallienus, and shut up, dangerously wounded, within the city. He found means to corrupt the besieging army, and Gallienus was slain by a conspiracy among his officers (March 20, A.D. 268). To the disasters of the twenty years ending with his death, we have still to add a servile war in Sicily, arising, like those under the Republic, from the oppression of the great Roman landholders, "who often enclosed within a farm the territory of an old republic;"—an outbreak of the ever-tumultuary Alexandrians, so furious that the city was for twelve years the seat of a civil war, which began to work its final devastation;—and the revival of a robber state among the old fastnesses of the Isaurians, under Trebellianus, who assumed the purple, and conquered all the western mountainous region of Cilicia. Famine, the natural consequence of civil war and barbarian devastations, spread over all the fairest provinces of the empire, with plague as its inevitable attendant. The great pestilence which raged in its full fury for fifteen years (A.D. 250 to 265), but did not cease then, is said to have numbered at one time 5000 victims daily in Rome, and to have quite depopulated many cities of the empire. Of that rapid diminution of population, which is the last irreparable evil of a declining state, and which now affected the whole civilized world, a curious record has been preserved:—"An exact register was kept at Alexandria of all the citizens entitled to receive the distribution of corn. It was found that the ancient number of those comprised between the ages of forty and seventy had been equal to the whole sum of claimants, from fourteen to fourscore years of age, who remained alive after the reign of Gallienus. Applying this authentic fact to the most correct tables of mortality, it evidently proves that above half the people of Alexandria had perished; and, could we venture to extend the analogy to other provinces, we might suspect that war, pestilence, and famine had consumed, in a few years,

gateway with two basilicæ, called the *Porta Nigra*, is ascribed by Niebuhr to the time of Postumus.

the moiety of the human species."* Finally, the early part of the joint reign was disgraced by a general persecution of the Christians, the eighth enumerated by ecclesiastical historians, in which the celebrated CYPRIAN was put to death at Carthage (A.D. 258).

A brighter period opened after the death of Gallienus. The conspirators pacified the army with a liberal donative, and gave out that the dying emperor had named M. Aurelius CLAUDIUS as his successor. This able commander, whose victories won for him the surname of GOTHICUS, was the first of a new series of princes, sprung from the semi-barbarous province of Illyricum, who checked the downward progress of the empire. Gallienus had placed him in command of the Illyrian provinces; and such was his mingled respect and fear for his powerful lieutenant, that a suspicion of his fidelity was only regarded as a new reason for giving him no offence. Claudius was fifty-four years old when he accepted the purple. The overtures of his rival, who remained shut up within the walls of Milan, for a partition of the empire, were rejected with scorn, as fit to have been made to Gallienus, but not to Claudius. Aureolus was soon forced to surrender; and Claudius, having yielded his head to the demand of the troops, interceded with the Senate for an amnesty to his adherents, against whom they had begun a severe proscription. But the spirit in which he began his rule was more signally shown in one example. "The frequent rebellions of the provinces had involved almost every person in the guilt of treason, almost every estate in the case of confiscation; and Gallienus often displayed his liberality by distributing among his officers the property of his subjects. On the accession of Claudius, an old woman threw herself at his feet, and complained that a general of the late emperor had obtained an arbitrary grant of her patrimony. This general was Claudius himself, who had not entirely escaped the contagion of the times. The emperor blushed at the reproach, but deserved the confidence which she had reposed in his equity. The confession of his fault was accompanied with immediate and ample restitution."†

The man who was capable of such sacrifices in his own case was able to convince the army that continued license would involve them in the ruin of those who supported them. He then led them against the Alemanni in Northern Italy, and drove the barbarians back beyond the Alps. But about the same time the Goths

* Gibbon, chap. x. Niebuhr reckons the loss implied by the recorded numbers as one-third.

† Gibbon, c. xi.

poured forth again from the Euxine, with a fleet estimated at from 2000 to 6000 vessels, carrying 320,000 men. Such a host could afford the shipwrecks that befel them in the rapids of the Bosporus and Hellespont, and the losses inflicted by the resistance of the great cities on those who landed upon the already devastated shores of Asia Minor. While this division made descents upon Crete and Cyprus, the main body anchored beneath the peninsula of Mount Athos, ravaged Macedonia, and were engaged in the siege of Thessalonica, when the news of the approach of Claudius caused them to abandon their ships, and to march across the hills of Macedonia to meet him (A.D. 269).. The letter of Claudius to the Senate gives a woful account of the army, exhausted by the just rebellions against Gallienus, and scantily provided even with shields and weapons, while the real force of the empire was in Gaul and Syria, with Tetricus and Zenobia. Still there remained in the general a spirit worthy of Camillus. "If I vanquish them, your gratitude will reward my services. Should I fall, remember that I am the successor of Gallienus. Whatever we shall perform will be sufficiently great." His constancy was rewarded by the decisive victory of Naïssus, in Dardania, gained entirely by his own generalship. The legions were giving way before the overwhelming masses of the Goths, when the barbarians were assailed in the rear by a body of picked troops, whom Claudius had stationed in the mountain passes. Fifty thousand of the Goths perished, but the experience they had gained of civilized warfare enabled the remainder to cover their retreat by making a moveable fortification of their waggons. A desultory war followed, over the whole of Thrace, Macedonia, and Mœsia. The skill of Claudius was rewarded by an immense booty in cattle and captives, from whom a body of youths was selected for service in the army: the Gothic fleet was destroyed: their main body was pent up in Mount Hæmus, where famine, pestilence, and desertion caused greater losses than the constant attacks of the Romans: and a miserable remnant only were left at the return of spring (A.D. 270).

But all these successes were marred by the death of Claudius, who was carried off by the pestilence at Sirmium, after rendering his last, and perhaps his greatest service to the state, by designating L. Domitius Aurelianus as his successor (March A.D. 270). "The virtues of Claudius, his valour, affability, justice, and temperance, his love of fame and of his country, place him in that short list of emperors, who added lustre to the Roman purple.

Those virtues, however, were celebrated with peculiar zeal and complacency by the courtly writers of the age of Constantine, who was the great-grandson of Crispus, the elder brother of Claudius. The voice of flattery was soon taught to repeat, that the gods, who so hastily had snatched Claudius from the earth, rewarded his merit and piety by the perpetual establishment of the empire in his family."* What the two short years of his reign, however, permitted him to effect was as nothing compared with his designs. He left the Goths still within the Danube and the Germans pouring across the Alps. The eastern frontier was protected only by a rival though friendly monarchy; and the Western Provinces formed a separate and hostile empire. It was reserved for AURELIAN to gain, by the completion of the unfinished work of Claudius, a fame unequalled during the century from Marcus Aurelius to Diocletian. "The reign of Aurelian lasted only four years and a-half; but every instant of that short period was filled by some memorable achievement. He put an end to the Gothic war, chastised the Germans who invaded Italy, recovered Gaul, Spain, and Britain out of the hands of Tetricus, and destroyed the proud monarchy which Zenobia had erected in the East on the ruins of the afflicted empire" (Gibbon). Niebuhr, who calls attention to the incredible activity with which Aurelian marched from frontier to frontier, and carried on wars of the most dangerous kind, says of his reign:—"A happy restoration of the empire was brought about by Aurelian, and the history of his reign is delightful, like that of every period in which something that is decaying is restored; he was however by no means an ideal character."†

* Gibbon, c. xi.

† Niebuhr: *Lectures on Roman History*, Lect. 128. The great German historian adds the following most important remarks on the authorities for this period of Roman history:—"The history of the empire is far less known to us than that of the Republic, a fact which few persons seem to be aware of. We may, indeed, string together the scattered accounts, but that will never make a history, and, besides, the contradictions which they contain are quite monstrous. The only correct historical sources are the coins, and they again frequently contradict the written statements, so that it is utterly impossible to make up a genuine history. All that can be done has been accomplished by Gibbon, whose work will never be excelled." With regard to the testimony of the coins, however, as in the case of other monumental evidence, we must guard against assuming its authenticity simply because it is monumental. Coins are perhaps less exposed than inscriptions to those mechanical errors, which it is often forgotten that a workman is sure to commit; but, struck off by thousands in some moment of general excitement, they are peculiarly subject to wilful fabrications, for the purpose of exaggerating the glory or extenuating the failures of a prince or leader. Who would dream of constructing a history of Napoleon from the series of the Imperial medals?

His humble title to the great name to which he added lustre was derived from the clientship of his father, a peasant of Sirmium, to a rich senator and landholder, Aurelius. He belonged to that class of peasant soldiers, whose valour raised them by successive steps to the highest military rank; and, in the Gothic War, he was the commander of the cavalry. Valerian, whose letters to him are profuse in gratitude and confidence, raised him to the consulship, and procured his adoption by a Senator, Ulpius Crinitus, who traced his descent from the family of Trajan. The discipline which formed the secret of Aurelian's military success is attested by a letter, in which he gives minute directions for the management and behaviour of his troops. "The punishments of Aurelian were terrible; but he had seldom occasion to punish more than once the same offence. His own conduct gave a sanction to his laws, and the seditious legions dreaded a chief, who had learned to obey, and was worthy to command." Against such a man, designated by Claudius and saluted emperor by the army of the Danube, it was impossible to maintain the pretensions of Quintillus, the late emperor's brother, who was proclaimed at Aquileia and accepted by the Senate; and Quintillus withdrew from the contest by a voluntary death, after a nominal reign of seventeen days.

Aurelian, having long since established his character as a soldier, proved himself a statesman by his dealings with the Goths. He tempted them to exchange the incursions, in which their sufferings had probably equalled their gains, for a permanent settlement in Dacia; and the Roman garrisons and other inhabitants of that desolated province were placed for the time in comparative safety within the Danube. The memory of their removal was preserved, and the humiliation of contracting the bounds of the empire salved over, by the name of *Dacia Aureliani*, given to the central district on the right bank of the Danube, between Upper and Lower Mœsia. How large a number of the Romans chose still to remain in Dacia under the Goths is attested to this day by the name and language of the *Roumans* in Wallachia. The hostages taken to secure the good faith of the barbarians thus admitted within the empire became a means of recruiting its strength: the youths were enlisted into the imperial body-guard, and the maidens were given in marriage to Roman officers. The Goths were the more content with their new country, from their fancied connection with its old Getic inhabitants, and the resemblance of name "infused among the credulous Goths a vain persuasion that, in a remote age, their own ancestors, already seated in the

Dacian provinces, had received the instructions of Zamolxis, and checked the victorious arms of Sesostris and Darius." *

The peace thus concluded with the Goths set Aurelian at liberty to make a masterly movement against the Alemanni, who, with the Marcomanni, had again invaded Northern Italy. Marching westward from Dacia, he awaited on the north bank of the Danube the return of the barbarians, laden with their spoil. Masking his forces, Aurelian suffered about half the German host to cross the river, and then surrounded them. The offer of the barbarians to grant a purchased peace had been rejected, when Aurelian was called away by some emergency to Pannonia, leaving his lieutenants to complete their destruction. But the issue was very different. The Germans, unable to break through the legions in their front, recrossed the Alps; and when the emperor supposed the war ended, he received news that they were ravaging the Milanese. While waiting the arrival of the legions left in their rear, Aurelian marched against the invaders with the prætorian guard and the Vandal cavalry, and at first sustained a defeat at Placentia, so severe that the empire seemed on the point of ruin. Rallying his forces with admirable constancy, he tracked their advance along the Flaminian road, till he found an opportunity to fall upon them at Fanum (*Fano*), in Umbria. The banks of the Metaurus witnessed a battle as decisive, for the time, as that in which Hasdrubal had perished five centuries before; and a third engagement, at Pavia, finished the destruction of the Alemanni (A.D. 271).

Aurelian was, however, too far-sighted to imagine that the teeming myriads of the North would cease to follow the track opened to the pleasures and wealth of Italy. As upon the Danube, so even upon the Tiber, he postponed fame to safety, and tacitly admitted that Rome could no longer be left an open city, secured

* Gibbon, chap. xi. The allusion is to a tradition, preserved by Jornandes in his first book, that the Goths originally dwelt around the northern shores of the Euxine, from the Danube to the Sea of Azov, whence they finally retired, when Pompey approached the Caucasus, and migrated to Scandinavia under Odin. The only value of the tradition is as a testimony to the truth that the Goths, in common with the other nations of Western Europe, migrated in primeval times from Asia, pursuing a course on the northern side of the Black Sea.

ZAMOLXIS, so named (say the Greeks) from the bear-skin (ζάλμος) in which he was clothed from his birth, was a Getic slave to Pythagoras in Samos. On his manumission, he returned to civilize his countrymen with the wisdom he had learned, not only from his master, but from his travels in Egypt and the East, and to teach them the immortality of the soul. He seems to have been really the Getan deity of the other world.

by the remoteness of her enemies and the dread of her great name. Since the time of Servius Tullius, no addition had been deemed necessary to the ancient walls, which had a compass not exceeding seven miles, though the circumference of the city had grown to above thirteen miles.* This wider space was now enclosed by a new wall, which was repaired at a later period by Honorius, and coincides almost in all parts with the modern defences of the city, except in the region beyond the Tiber.†

Having begun this great work, the completion of which was reserved for Probus, Aurelian undertook the reunion of the dismembered empire, and marched first against the "Queen of the East."‡ This princess, whose name we have hitherto but barely mentioned, ranks in ancient history with Semiramis and Cleopatra; but the masculine virtues of the empress eclipse alike the shadowy glories of the Assyrian and the voluptuous graces of the Egyptian queen. Sprung, like Cleopatra, from the line of the Ptolemies,§ and endowed with an understanding equal to her matchless beauty, ZENOBIA cultivated the learning of the Greeks, as well as the languages of Syria, Egypt, and Rome. She drew up an epitome of oriental history for her own use, and studied the poets and philosophers of Greece under the great Platonist LONGINUS. But, unlike the modern princess, who was equalled with her in learning though not in fame, Zenobia was not to be found solacing herself with Plato when the chase was on foot or the troops called out. She pursued and struck the lions and bears of the Syrian desert among the foremost huntsmen, and headed the column of march on horseback. To her prudence and valour are mainly ascribed the victories in which her husband Odenathus twice pursued the Persians to the gates of Ctesiphon, and repulsed the Goths from Syria. It was soon after this last exploit that Odenathus was slain, with his son Herod, by his nephew Mæonius, in

* There can be no doubt that the statement of Pliny, which Gibbon understood as assigning a circuit of thirteen miles to the ancient walls, refers to the full circumference of the XIV. regions, into which the city and suburbs were divided, when, to use Pliny's expression, the houses passing the bounds (or *expatiating*, in Milton's sense of the word), added many cities to Rome (*exspatiantia tecta multas addidere urbes*). Though Gibbon follows some of the ancient writers in giving the wall of Aurelian a circuit of fifty miles, its actual measurement, allowing for modern additions, does not make more than twelve, or perhaps nearer eleven miles.

† See the plan of ancient Rome, in Vol. II.

‡ This is the order of events given by most of the ancient writers, and adopted by Clinton. Gibbon, following Eutropius and Eusebius, places the fall of Tetricus before that of Zenobia.

§ Some Christian writers make Zenobia a Jewess.

revenge for a personal affront (A.D. 267). Zenobia avenged the murder, and assumed the government as regent for one of her surviving sons, Vabalathus, and in nominal subjection to Gallienus. The vigour, prudence, and success, the magnificence supported by strict economy, with which she governed Syria and its dependencies, are more certain than the alleged extension of her power as far as Egypt on the one side and Galatia on the other. "The emperor Claudius acknowledged her merit, and was content that, while *he* pursued the Gothic War, *she* should assert the dignity of the empire in the East." The title of Augustus, which had been bestowed upon her husband, gave a colour of right to the ambition, which her merits and success could not but excite, to set up a co-ordinate, if not independent, monarchy in the East; but her design that such an empire should be truly Roman was indicated by the Roman education of her sons, whom she exhibited to the troops arrayed in the imperial purple.

Zenobia was surrounded with councillors, who probably saw in such a scheme the best hope for the maintenance of Greek and Roman civilization against the advancing tides from the East and the North. The chief of these was LONGINUS,* who, from the queen's tutor, had become her prime minister. This philosopher added to the immense learning, which earned for him the name of a "living library" and a "walking museum," a spirit of independent enquiry, which raised him above the grammarians and rhetoricians of his day, and made him the most conspicuous ornament of the last age of Greek classic literature. His discerning and impartial criticisms are expressed in a style unequalled since the days of the Attic orators; and the tone maintained in his treatise "Of the Sublime" is in such keeping with its subject, as to justify in substance the eulogy which youthful enthusiasm may have exaggerated in degree :—

> "Thee, bold Longinus! all the Nine inspire,
> And bless their critic with a poet's fire.

* The coincidence has scarcely been sufficiently remarked, by which the fate of the Roman power in the East was connected with this celebrated Roman name, borne as it was by the lieutenant of Crassus and colleague of Brutus, by Avidius Cassius, and by the minister of Zenobia. It is doubtful what was the connection of the latter with the *Cassii Longini*. He is called by the various names of *Dionysius Longinus*, *Cassius Longinus*, and *Dionysius Cassius Longinus*; and is supposed to have belonged to a family of *Dionysii*, who had obtained the Roman franchise as clients of some Cassius Longinus. At all events, there is no doubt that he was a Greek, and it seems likely that he was born at Athens, where he was brought up under his uncle, the rhetorician Fronto. After visiting several countries, and forming in Egypt the acquaint-

An ardent judge, who, zealous in his trust,
With warmth gives sentence, yet is always just;
Whose own example strengthens all his laws,
And is himself that great *Sublime* he draws." *

The free and ardent spirit, which led the philosopher to revert from the teachings of the Neo-Platonists to the pure fountain of thought and style in Plato himself, could hardly fail to be captivated with the project of reviving a Greek empire, which should renew the days of Alexander, and deliver the cause of civilization from the master of the Persian hordes and the creature of the Roman soldiery. It is the united testimony of our authorities, that Zenobia was mainly influenced by the advice of Longinus in proclaiming herself independent of Aurelian. The event proved that Zenobia had too much of the treacherous spirit of her race, and her army a character too thoroughly oriental, to realize the dream of the Athenian philosopher. The Queen of the East advanced into Syria to meet the Emperor of the West; and when the superiority of her mail-clad horse was disconcerted by Aurelian's tactics, the veteran legions who had fought with the Goths and Alemanni on the Danube found scarcely a resistance from the light infantry of Syria. The queen's first defeat at Antioch was followed by a second at Emesa, and Zenobia sought safety within the sands and walls that environed Palmyra, uttering the empty boast that she would cease to live when she ceased to reign (A.D. 272).

After his military skill had been severely tried in carrying his army across the desert, amidst the incessant attacks of the Arabs, with much loss of men and more of baggage, Aurelian was himself wounded while pressing the siege in person. His own account of his difficulties proves at once the greatness of the war, and how his martial pride was galled by the resistance of a woman:—"The Roman people speak with contempt of the war which I am waging with a woman. They are ignorant both of the character and of the power of Zenobia. It is impossible to enumerate her warlike preparations, of stones, of arrows, and of every species of missile weapons. Every part of the walls is provided with two or three *balistæ*, and artificial fires are thrown from her military engines. The fear of punishment has armed her with a desperate courage. Yet still I trust in the protecting deities of Rome, who have

ance of the great Neo-Platonists, Ammonius Saccas and Origenes (not the Christian and Father), he returned to Athens, and taught philosophy and criticism, as well as rhetoric and grammar, for some time before he removed to Palmyra.

* Pope: *Essay on Criticism.*

hitherto been favourable to all my undertakings." Zenobia appears to have calculated on a general rising of the Eastern princes against their arch enemy of the West; but they perhaps preferred the destruction of their nearer foe. All hope of succour from Persia was frustrated by the successive deaths of Sapor I. and his son Hormisdas I., within about a year (A.D. 272—273); and the new king, Varanes I. (Bahram), made active war against the Palmyrene empire. Aurelian meanwhile got the resources of Syria under his command; and Zenobia, who, in the early part of the siege, had refused his offers with insult, gave way to the inconstancy of a woman. Her swift dromedary carried her a distance of sixty miles to the banks of the Euphrates; but, before she could find safety on the further side, she was overtaken by the light horse, and carried back a captive. Palmyra soon afterwards surrendered; and the emperor, secure in the completeness of his conquest, was content with carrying off its immense treasures to Emesa, leaving a garrison of only six hundred archers. The vengeance which spared the citizens fell on the heads of the queen's advisers. Zenobia, when questioned by Aurelian concerning the motive of her rebellion, replied, "Because I disdained to consider as Roman emperors an Aureolus or a Gallienus: you alone I acknowledge as my conqueror and my sovereign." Her boldness exasperated the soldiers more than her deference moved their master. Alarmed by their clamours for her execution, she hastened to lay the whole blame upon her councillors, and especially on Longinus. The philosopher might console himself that he had nobly earned the awful fate of a martyred patriot; but his execution, with many other nobles of Palmyra, is an indelible blot on Aurelian's renown. "The fame of Longinus," says Gibbon, "will survive that of the queen who betrayed, or the tyrant who condemned, him. Genius and learning were incapable of moving a fierce and unlettered soldier, but they had served to elevate and harmonize the soul of Longinus. Without uttering a complaint, he calmly followed the executioner, pitying his unhappy mistress, and bestowing comfort on his afflicted friends." Still more terrible was the final fate which Palmyra provoked by its rebellion. The emperor had already crossed the Bosporus, when he received the news that the Palmyrenes had risen and put the Roman garrison to death. Returning by forced marches, Aurelian sentenced soldiers, old men, women, children, and peasants, to one common massacre. The miserable remnant were permitted to rebuild their city, if they could, around the splendid temple of the Sun which Aurelian

prided himself on restoring. But the impolitic cruelty by which the semi-barbarian emperor had sacrificed to his resentment the best eastern bulwark of his empire, was irreparable. The City of Palms dwindled into a petty Arab town, though inscriptions testify that Diocletian repaired some of its buildings, and Procopius tells us that it was fortified by Justinian. A wretched Arab village is now almost lost amidst the columns, the Roman origin of which is forgotten in the restored name of *Tadmor*.

Having completed the settlement of the East by the defeat and punishment of the rebel Firmus, an Egyptian merchant, who, at the head of a band of Arabs and Ethiopians, the agents of his trade with India, had seized Alexandria and assumed the purple, Aurelian turned to the work awaiting him in the West. This war is wanting in all the romantic interest that centres round the names of Palmyra and Zenobia. Tetricus, who had reigned for seven years by the sufferance of his licentious troops, is said to have had a secret understanding with Aurelian, and to have betrayed his own army, who, after a desperate resistance, were cut to pieces on the field of Châlons on the Marne.* The conqueror induced the Frank and Batavian invaders to recross the Rhine; and returned to Rome, to celebrate a triumph never surpassed for splendour in her palmiest days. The strange animals and gorgeous riches of the East were followed by envoys and presents from Ethiopia and Arabia, Persia and Bactria, India and China; and the long train of captive Goths, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alemanni, Franks, Gauls, Syrians, and Egyptians—in which even the fabled Amazons were represented by a small band of Gothic heroines—was closed by the forms of Tetricus and Zenobia, arrayed in the dress and insignia of their former empires. Both were of course fettered, but the chains of Zenobia were of gold, and their weight was supported by an attendant slave. But instead of being led aside to death at the foot of the Capitoline ascent, both were permitted to reside at Rome in the state of princes. The triumph was followed by the dedication of a splendid temple to the Sun, which Aurelian had built on the side of the Quirinal; so completely had this oriental worship become naturalized at Rome.

* Niebuhr interprets the valour with which the Gauls fought as proving the national desire for independence of Rome. "The French look upon the ancient history of their country as if there had existed no nationality at all in the times of the Romans; and it is quite surprising that no French historian has either perceived or described that national feeling, which was continually manifested in Gaul after the time of Cæsar, and which broke forth in several insurrections." He could hardly anticipate that, in the generation next his own, a French ruler and historian would celebrate a new apotheosis of the conqueror of Gaul.

The same vigour, by which the empire was reunited, characterized the domestic government of Aurelian. But the disorders of a century were not to be repaired within a lustre, even had the emperor known any better policy than the sternness of the Illyrian soldier. In one case the opposition to his reforms led to a sedition in the city which cost—if his own letter be genuine—the lives of 7000 soldiers; and the deep-seated conspiracy which Aurelian appears to have suspected beneath this commotion inflamed his native cruelty. "The noblest families of the capital were involved in the guilt or suspicion of this dark conspiracy. A hasty spirit of revenge urged the bloody prosecution, and it proved fatal to one of the nephews of the emperor. The executioners (if we may use the expression of a contemporary poet) were fatigued, the prisons were crowded, and the unhappy Senate lamented the death or absence of its most illustrious members. Nor was the pride of Aurelian less offensive to that assembly than his cruelty. Ignorant or impatient of the restraints of civil institutions, he disdained to hold his power by any other title than that of the sword, and governed by right of conquest an empire which he had saved and subdued." Such a ruler was only at home in the camp; and he felt in its full force the imperial necessity *ex bellis bella serendi*. A few months after his triumph, he left Rome for the East, where the progress of Persia was beginning to avenge the destruction of Palmyra. He had crossed the Bosporus, when he was murdered by his own chief officers, instigated (it was said) by his secretary, whom he had threatened with punishment for unfaithfulness, or, as seems probable, in revenge for his severities at Rome (March, A.D. 275). "He died regretted by the army, detested by the Senate, but universally acknowledged as a warlike and fortunate prince, the useful though severe reformer of a degenerate state. Such was the unhappy condition of the emperors, that, whatever might be their conduct, their fate was commonly the same. A life of pleasure or virtue, of severity or mildness, of indolence or glory, alike led to an untimely grave; and almost every reign is closed by the same disgusting repetition of treason and murder."

The Senate of Rome were surprised, therefore, not at hearing that another prince had been cut off by a conspiracy, but at receiving a dutiful epistle from the army, praying them to appoint a successor to the emperor, none of whose murderers, the soldiers had resolved, should reap the profit of their crime. But the fathers knew that their voice could only be heard, if it echoed the soldiers' will; and they referred back the decision to the army. The con-

tention that ensued is described by Gibbon as "one of the best attested, but most improbable events in the history of mankind." Thrice did each body press the choice upon the other; and it was not till after an interregnum of six months,* that the Senate bestowed the titles and powers of Imperator upon the chief of the order, M. Claudius TACITUS, whose character added lustre to the descent he claimed from the historian of the Cæsars. "Tacitus," says Niebuhr, "was great in everything that could distinguish a senator: he possessed immense property, of which he made a brilliant use; he was a man of unblemished character; he possessed the knowledge of a statesman, and had in his youth shown great military skill. On his election he promised the Senate that he would always look upon himself as their servant; and the senators already abandoned themselves to dreams of a restoration of the Republic and its freedom, and of the emperor being only the chief agent of the Senate, which was to be all-powerful. What was to become of the people, was a question which never entered their heads: they looked upon themselves as the Senate of Venice used to do. But that dream was of short duration." It was upon the 25th of September, A.D. 275, that Tacitus was saluted as emperor by the impulse of his colleagues, on his rising first, as *Princeps Senatus*, to speak to the question which the Consul had at length proposed; and he reluctantly accepted the purple, at the age of seventy-five, say the Greek writers, though Niebuhr denies that the Senate could have been guilty of the folly of an election only suited to an ecclesiastical state. Acknowledged joyfully by the provinces and the army, Tacitus at least felt himself vigorous enough to march against the Scythian Alani, who, having been invited by Aurelian from their tents about the Sea of Azov to invade Persia with their cavalry, and finding on their arrival that the scheme was broken off by his death, had overrun the eastern provinces of Asia Minor. The honourable discharge of their claims by Tacitus induced most of them to return home; and he had nearly cleared Asia Minor of the rest, when he died at Tarsus,† on April 12, A.D. 276. His last days were embittered by the growing insubordination of the soldiers, to whose violence some of the historians impute his death.

The deceased emperor's brother, M. Annius Florianus, availed himself of his presence with the army to usurp the purple; but, on

* During this interregnum, it appears from the coins that Severina, the widow of Aurelian, was acknowledged as empress at Alexandria.

† Or, as others say, at Tyana, in Cappadocia.

the approach of the veteran M. Aurelius Probus, the commander of the eastern provinces, who had been proclaimed by the legions of Syria, Florianus was put to death by his soldiers (July, A.D. 276). Born in the same peasant rank as Aurelian, and at the same place (Sirmium in Pannonia), Probus had risen under Valerian from step to step in the army, had conquered Egypt for Aurelian, and had been appointed by Tacitus to the command of all the East. He united to the military greatness of Aurelian the political prudence which that emperor wanted; and in every respect he deserves to rank with the best of the Roman emperors. He was forty-four years old, when he submitted his election by his soldiers to the Senate, with a deference that won an unbounded confidence, which was shared by the army and the people (August 3, A.D. 276).

The six years' reign of PROBUS is one succession of untiring activity in driving back the barbarians from the frontiers, and putting down disorders within the Empire. His first great enterprize was the deliverance of Gaul from the hosts of German invaders, Franks, Burgundians, and others, with whom were associated still more formidable Slavonian tribes from the banks of the Vistula.* Not content with driving back the Franks into the marshes of Holland, and the Alemanni, with their allies, into the central and southern forests, Probus crossed the Rhine, recovered Suabia, and is said to have repaired the ancient *limes*, or border line of defence, from the Rhine to the Danube. "It is believed," observes Niebuhr, "that it was his intention to make Germany a Roman province; and this plan would have been far more practicable then than before, for the southern Germans had made such changes in their mode of living, that they were no longer so foreign to the Romans as they had been two centuries earlier. Had Diocletian taken the same trouble, and established a Roman force in southern Germany, it would not by any means have been impossible to have formed that part of the country into a Roman province; for we find that the Germans, who had formerly hated living together in towns, began to inhabit regular villages or towns on the river Neckar, as early as the reign of Valentinian. In northern Germany, on the other hand, things were different, for there the people still lived in separate farms as at the present day in Westphalia." Without, however, going so far as the formation of a German province, Probus made a treaty with nine of the chiefs of tribes between the Neckar and the Elbe, who restored their

* The *Lygii*, who are specially distinguished on this occasion, are the *Lechs* of an old Russian chronicler, and the ancestors of the Poles.

captives and booty, and engaged to furnish corn, cattle, and horses to the Roman garrisons on the frontier.

The emperor carried further than any of his predecessors the system of recruiting the exhausted forces of the empire by the infusion of barbarian vigour. No less than 16,000 recruits were furnished by the Germans for the Roman army, and were distributed cautiously among the legions by bands of fifty or sixty; for, said the emperor, "the aid which the Republic accepted from the barbarians should be felt but not seen." Settlements of the barbarians were made at various points within the frontier, and they were encouraged to devote themselves to agriculture, that they might rear that hardy race of soldiers which the provinces supplied no longer. But the aversion of the barbarians to habits of settled industry made their assimilation with the provincials all but impossible; and their help was as dangerous for the future as it was useful in the present. The empire was continually disturbed by their rebellions; and many a band had to be exterminated for the safety of those for whose defence they had been called in. One example of their adventures may be related in the words of Gibbon:—"The successful rashness of a party of Franks was attended with such memorable consequences, that it ought not to pass unnoticed. They had been established by Probus on the sea-coast of Pontus, with a view of strengthening the frontier against the inroads of the Alani. A fleet stationed in one of the harbours of the Euxine fell into the hands of the Franks; and they resolved, through unknown seas, to explore their way from the mouth of the Phasis to that of the Rhine. They easily escaped through the Bosporus and the Hellespont, and, cruising along the Mediterranean, indulged their appetite for revenge and plunder by frequent descents on the unsuspecting shores of Asia, Greece, and Africa. The opulent city of Syracuse, in whose port the navies of Athens and Carthage had formerly been sunk, was sacked by a handful of barbarians, who massacred the greatest part of the trembling inhabitants. From the island of Sicily the Franks proceeded to the Columns of Hercules, trusted themselves to the ocean, coasted round Spain and Gaul, and, steering their triumphant course through the British Channel, at length finished their surprising voyage by landing in safety on the Batavian or Frisian shores. The example of their success, instructing their countrymen to conceive the advantages and to despise the dangers of the sea, pointed out to their enterprising spirit a new road to wealth and glory."

During the first three years of his reign, Probus had not only

restored order along the whole frontier of the Rhine and Danube, but had subdued the rebels of Isauria in Asia Minor, and the Æthiopian tribe of Blemmyes, whose incursions had repeatedly extended from Upper Egypt even as far as Alexandria, when he was called to resist new attempts to set up rival monarchies in the East and the West. Saturninus, whom he had appointed governor of all the Oriental provinces, while he himself was occupied in Gaul and Germany and Illyricum, was incited to rebellion by his friends and by the turbulent Alexandrians. Once committed to the attempt, he refused all offers of pardon from the emperor, by whom he was easily defeated and slain (A.D. 280). Scarcely had Probus returned to Rome, when he had to march westward to quell the insurrection of Bonosus and Proculus in Gaul; and this time also his success was unstained by cruelty (A.D. 280 or 281). The splendid triumph which he celebrated after these successes was the only one for which he found leisure amidst his untiring activity. But the very completeness of his victories over domestic and foreign enemies caused his destruction. So long as he led the licentious soldiers to victory, he was able to keep them under restraint; but when he attempted to employ their labour in useful works, they rebelled against him as a taskmaster. With the view of keeping the troops from the dangers of idleness, and of restoring his native region to fertility, he set the legions to drain the lands round Sirmium. Suffering probably from fever, as well as disgusted with labour such as the soldiers of the olden time had borne with patience, on one of the hottest days of summer the men threw down their tools, took up their swords, and by a sudden impulse put the emperor to death. Repenting of the deed as soon as it was done, they raised a monument to "*Probus*, the model of *probity;* the conqueror of all the barbarian tribes; the conqueror also of the tyrants" (Aug.-Sep. A.D. 282). Gibbon has pointed out that "the authority of the Senate expired with Probus; nor was the repentance of the soldiers displayed by the same dutiful regard to the civil power which they had testified after the unfortunate death of Aurelian." They at once conferred the purple on M. Aurelius Carus, the prætorian prefect, who notified his election to the Senate without even asking for their sanction.

CARUS, who was sixty years of age, began his reign by conferring the title of Cæsar upon his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus. Leaving the former to govern the West, he marched with the latter against the Sarmatians, who had overrun Illyricum.

Success inflamed his desire of conquest, and in the depth of winter he advanced through Thrace and Asia Minor to the confines of Persia. Bahram, the degenerate successor of Artaxerxes and Sapor, endeavoured to avert the storm by negociation; and the account of the audience given by Carus to his envoys forms a striking picture of the soldierlike simplicity restored by a succession of martial princes. "The ambassadors entered the camp about sunset, at the time when the troops were satisfying their hunger with a frugal repast. The Persians expressed their desire of being introduced to the presence of the Roman emperor. They were at length conducted to a soldier who was seated on the grass. A piece of stale bacon and a few hard peas composed his supper. A coarse woollen garment of purple was the only circumstance that announced his dignity. The conference was conducted with the same disregard of courtly elegance. Carus, taking off a cap which he wore to conceal his baldness, assured the ambassadors that unless their master acknowledged the superiority of Rome, he would speedily render Persia as naked of trees as his own head was destitute of hair." So far did he keep his word, that he is said to have taken both Seleucia and Ctesiphon, when a terrible portent cut short his career. On Christmas-day, A.D. 283, a tremendous storm burst over the camp; and, amidst the darkness and confusion, a cry was raised that the emperor was dead, and his tent was seen to be in flames. The manner of his death remained a mystery, but the ancient superstition, that when the prætorium was struck by lightning, the army was doomed to destruction, caused the soldiers to demand that Numerian would lead them back again. Meanwhile Carinus had disgraced his trust by indolence and vices more shameless than those of Commodus, to which, now that his father's restraint was removed, he added the cruelties of a Domitian. The gentle and virtuous Numerian seemed as unfit to control the turbulent soldiers, as Carinus was to win the respect of the citizens; and their joint empire was doomed to speedy dissolution. But before they even met, Numerian, whom weak health had kept for some time invisible in the prætorium, was found dead by the troops, who at length broke into the tent; and his murder was imputed to his father-in-law, the prætorian prefect Aper, who, guilty or not, had concealed the death, while he concerted measures for his own succession. This event took place at Perinthus, on the very day on which Carinus held a magnificent celebration of the great Roman games at Rome (Sept. 12, A.D. 284). Aper was carried

in chains to Chalcedon, where a solemn assembly of the army conferred the purple on C. Valerius DIOCLETIANUS. The new emperor's first act was to sit in judgment on Aper, who no sooner appeared before the tribunal, than Diocletian pronounced him the murderer of Numerian, and prevented a defence which might have been compromising to others by plunging his sword into his breast (Sept. 17). Like most of the soldiers of fortune who attained the honours of the purple, Diocletian was believed to have been long since designated by prophecies and omens; and his motive for killing Aper with his own hand is said by some authorities to have been the hope of thus fulfilling a prediction made to him in his youth by a Gaulish druidess, that he should mount the throne as soon as he had slain the *wild boar*.

The ensuing winter was spent in preparing for the struggle with Carinus, who was still supported by the legions of the West, though hated by the Senate and the people.* The armies met in the spring upon the plains of Margus in Mœsia; and the troops of Diocletian, enfeebled by the Eastern climate, were already broken by the fresh legions of the West, when Carinus was slain by a tribune whose wife he had dishonoured, and his fall gave the victory to his rival. The battle was fought early in A.D. 285; and Diocletian was at once acknowledged by the reunited legions, and soon after by the Senate. The years of his reign were dated from his proclamation in September, 284.

* On his march to meet Diocletian, Carinus defeated a pretender to the empire, Sabinus Julianus, in Illyricum.

CHAPTER XLIII.

PERIOD OF REVIVAL. DIOCLETIAN AND HIS COLLEAGUES. A.D. 285 TO A.D. 305.

"When Persecution's torrent blaze
Wraps the unshrinking Martyr's head,
When fade all earthly flowers and bays,
When summer friends are gone and fled,
Is he alone in that dark hour,
Who owns the Lord of love and power?

"Or waves there not around his brow
A wand no human arm may wield,
Fraught with a spell no angels know,
His steps to guide, his soul to shield?
Thou, Saviour, art his charmed bower,
His magic ring, his rock, his tower."—KEBLE.

EPOCH FORMED BY *DIOCLETIAN'S* ACCESSION—THE REVIVED EMPIRE BECOMES AN ORIENTAL MONARCHY—ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF DIOCLETIAN—HIS ASSOCIATION OF *MAXIMIAN* AS HIS COLLEAGUE—THE TWO AUGUSTI—REVOLT OF THE PEASANTS IN GAUL, PUT DOWN BY MAXIMIAN—USURPATION OF CARAUSIUS IN BRITAIN—HE DEFEATS MAXIMIAN, AND IS ACKNOWLEDGED BY DIOCLETIAN — APPOINTMENT OF TWO CÆSARS, *GALERIUS* AND *CONSTANTIUS*—QUADRUPLE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE —I. DIOCLETIAN IN THE EAST—HIS COURT AT NICOMEDIA—ITS ORIENTAL CHARACTER —II. ITALY AND AFRICA UNDER MAXIMIAN—DEGRADATION OF ROME AND THE SENATE —NEW IMPERIAL GUARDS—THE CAPITAL FIXED AT MILAN—III. GALERIUS IN ILLYRICUM—IV. CONSTANTIUS IN THE WEST—HE RECOVERS BRITAIN AND DEFEATS THE GERMANS—WARS OF GALERIUS AND MAXIMIAN ON THE DANUBE AND IN AFRICA—REBELLION OF EGYPT UNDER ACHILLEUS, SUPPRESSED BY DIOCLETIAN—HIS MEASURES AGAINST ALCHEMY—WAR WITH NARSES, KING OF PERSIA—A GLIMPSE OF CHINA: PRINCE MAMGO IN ARMENIA—DEFEAT OF GALERIUS—HIS SECOND CAMPAIGN AND DECISIVE VICTORY—PEACE GRANTED TO NARSES—EXTENSION OF THE EMPIRE—TRIUMPH OF THE EMPERORS—GREAT PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS—ABDICATION OF DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN—PARALLEL OF DIOCLETIAN AND CHARLES V.

ROME still stood erect and apparently victorious, after undergoing every possible form of calamity during the century that followed the death of Marcus Aurelius. Having survived the inroads of barbarians from without, and the cruelties of tyranny and civil war within, the ravages of pestilence and the diminution of population, it was still her destiny to enjoy a time of restoration for nearly another century, from the accession of Diocletian to the decisive victory of the Goths at Adrianople (A.D. 378). That century is mainly occupied with two great experiments, whether the empire could be better and more safely governed from two centres, in the East and West, than from Rome alone; and whether it might even yet recruit its own exhausted vigour, and fulfil the higher purposes of the Divine will, by placing the power

of the Cæsars beneath the banner of the Cross. Meanwhile the accession of Diocletian formed a new and important epoch in the development of the imperial system. The restoration of Roman greatness for a time was purchased at the cost of the last semblance of liberty; and the government, originally modelled on the forms of the Republic, assumed the undisguised character of an Eastern monarchy.

The period of revival had begun from the accession of Claudius; and the sixteen years spent in reuniting the severed empire, and repelling the attacks of Goths and Sarmatians, Franks and Alemanni, had been fruitful in military experience. "Carus, Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, Galerius, and a crowd of other chiefs, who afterwards ascended or supported the throne, were trained to arms in the severe school of Aurelian and Probus." Constantius, who was destined to found the dynasty under which the revived empire reached its highest pitch of greatness, is said to have been already chosen for an associate by Carus, when that emperor's sudden death prevented the fulfilment of his design; and the accident of Diocletian's presence with the army, at the death of Numerian, caused the preference to be given to him, of whom the historian says that, "as his reign was more illustrious than that of any of his predecessors, so was his birth more abject and obscure." That he was not himself a slave, as is often asserted,* may be inferred from his enlistment in a legion; and Niebuhr inclines to interpret the statement, that his father was a slave or a freedman, as signifying a *colonus* or serf on the Dalmatian frontier. At all events, the serf does not even appear to have had a client's title to the proud patrician name of Valerius, which he assumed as emperor, at the same time that he Romanized into Diocletianus the altogether foreign name of Diocles. Nor had even this name any connection with the Greeks among whom it had become illustrious;† for it was probably derived from his native village of Doclea or Dioclea, in Dalmatia, near the capital Salona, which was afterwards honoured with the emperor's residence.

We need not trace the steps through which the soldier of fortune rose by his own merit, and encouraged by favourable oracles, to the eminence which caused him to be unanimously hailed as the

* Gibbon, just after stating that the father was probably a freedman, proceeds, for the sake of rhetoric, to call the son a slave.

† Among the famous Greeks who bore it, was the Attic exile Diocles, who was honoured as a hero at Megara, in the feast of the Diocleia; and the popular leader and legislator of Syracuse, in B.C. 412.

successor and avenger of Numerian. That he was not free from the cruelty which we have already seen attaching to the rude Illyrian nature in Aurelian and Probus, is proved by his terrible persecution of the Christians; but the imputation of personal cowardice, at least in the common sense of the word, is declared unjust by the calm judgment of Niebuhr, as well as by the historian who imputes it to "the malice of religious zeal!"* "Yet," adds the same writer, "even calumny is sagacious enough to discover and to attack the most vulnerable part. The valour of Diocletian was never found inadequate to his duty, or to the occasion; but he appears not to have possessed the daring and generous spirit of a hero who courts danger and fame, disdains artifice, and boldly challenges the allegiance of his equals. His abilities were useful rather than splendid—a vigorous mind, improved by the experience and study of mankind; dexterity and application in business; a judicious mixture of liberality and economy, of mildness and vigour; profound dissimulation, under the disguise of military frankness; steadiness to pursue his ends; flexibility to vary his means; and, above all, the great art of submitting his own passions, as well as those of others, to the interest of his ambition, and of colouring his ambition with the most specious pretences of justice and public utility. Like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered as the founder of a new empire. Like the adopted son of Cæsar, he was distinguished as a statesman rather than as a warrior; nor did either of those princes employ force, whenever their purpose could be effected by policy." Such are the lofty principles in which only Christian calumny would dare to detect a flaw!

Diocletian was in his fortieth year when he began his long reign of more than twenty years. He at once proved that he understood his true position as the most successful among a band of generals who might have aspired to the purple, and whom it was his policy to attach to himself. His victory over Carinus was sullied by no acts of vengeance; and one of his first acts was to associate his most dangerous rival in the honours of the empire. M. Aurelius

* For higher purposes than a mere question of one prince's character, it is worth while to quote the words that roused Gibbon's spleen. The Christian orator, Lactantius, or whoever wrote the treatise ascribed to him, *On the Deaths of Persecutors*, besides making the imputation in two other passages (c. 7, 8), says of Diocletian (c. 9): "Erat *in omni tumultu* meticulosus et animi disjectus." The question between the admirers and detractors of great men upon this ground often turns solely upon what sort of courage is meant, to say nothing of the vulgar error which regards nervous susceptibility as the opposite of that courageous resolve which it frequently proves, just as the recoil of the gun proves the force it is exerting.

Valerius MAXIMIANUS, another Illyrian peasant by birth, was declared, first *Cæsar* (A.D. 285), and afterwards *Augustus* (April 1, 286). Sprung, like Aurelian and Probus, from Sirmium in Pannonia, Maximian expressed even in his dress and manners, the character of the rude unlettered soldier. While his martial courage qualified him to guard the empire against the barbarians, he was no less fitted by his savage nature to exercise over domestic enemies the tyranny which Diocletian reserved to himself the merit of tempering. The characters and functions of the two emperors were symbolized by the divine titles which they assumed, of *Jovius* and *Herculius*. "While the motion of the world (such was the language of their venal orators) was maintained by the all-seeing wisdom of Jupiter, the invincible arm of Hercules purged the earth from monsters and tyrants."

In thus creating a second Augustus, and assigning the West as his sphere of government, Diocletian not only began the partition of the empire, but indicated one of the leading motives of that policy, the separation of the supreme ruler from the direct influence of the Senate. Even while affecting to inaugurate a new empire, like Augustus, and to govern in the spirit of Aurelius, Diocletian severed the link which had connected the empire with the old constitution, by handing over that illustrious body to the tender mercies of a Maximian, while he himself filled the throne of an oriental monarch. The Senate, thus deprived of all authority by Diocletian, had to suffer the hatred which his rude colleague felt for the nobility.

The further development of the new system into the full quadruple hierarchy of two *Augusti* and two *Cæsars* was promoted by events that occurred in the West. Amidst the annals of imperial changes and wars, we obtain a rare glimpse of the social state of so important a province as Gaul. The Celtic peasantry had long since sunk into the condition of serfs to their own nobles or the Roman settlers—serfs bound to the soil, upon which they often worked in fetters. Aggravated as their oppression was by the troubles of that disastrous age, they took up arms, their masters escaping as they could to the protection of the towns. Under the name of *Bagaudæ* (that is, *rebels*, in Celtic) they were for some time masters of the open country, and two of the insurgents, Ælianus and Amandus, assumed the purple. The rebellion was speedily quelled and cruelly punished by Maximian, who was immediately called to cope with a more formidable revolt in Britain (A.D. 286).

The naval expedition of the Franks in the reign of Probus is but a specimen of the increasing boldness of the maritime enterprises of the people of Lower Germany, among whom the name of the Saxons now begins to be conspicuous.* To protect the shores of Gaul and Britain, a naval station was established at Gessoriacum or Bononia (*Boulogne*), under an officer who was called the *Count of the Saxon Coast* (*Comes Littoris Saxonici*), and the command was entrusted to a German named Carausius. He conceived the bold scheme of erecting a separate principality in Britain, relying on his fleet, and perhaps on the support of German tribes already settled on the British coasts. Carausius assumed the purple in A.D. 287, and for nearly ten years our island anticipated its future destiny by maintaining its maritime independence against all the power of the Continent. The British emperor retained Boulogne as a *tête-de-pont* upon the mainland, while his fleet not only commanded the ocean, and carried devastation up the Rhine and Seine, but entered the Mediterranean. After a year spent in preparation, Maximian found it impossible to cope with the powerful navy of Carausius; and the emperors in the East and West deemed it prudent to acknowledge him as their colleague in Britain (A.D. 290). Carausius defended his northern frontier against the Caledonians; maintained a close alliance with the maritime tribes of Lower Germany; and fostered the civilization of the province. His coins, executed in the best style of Roman art, prove that his designs were not bounded within his island. One, with the ancient effigy of the twins suckled by the wolf, bears the inscription, Roma renova; while on another, his agreement with Diocletian and Maximian, symbolized by the triple effigies of the emperors, is vaunted as a renewal of the Pax Augusta.

In the year after the peace with Carausius, Diocletian came from the East to hold a conference with Maximian; and the following year witnessed the completion of his plan for a division of the government between two Augusti and two Cæsars (A.D. 292). The latter dignity was conferred upon Galerius and Constantius. Their appointment is stated to have been made by Diocletian; but it was doubtless the result of an agreement between the emperors, with each of whom one of the Cæsars was regarded as more especially connected both by adoption and by

* Eutropius expressly mentions Saxons, as well as Franks, among the pirates of this age. The events now related have an important bearing on the question of Saxon settlements in Britain before the time of Hengist and Horsa; but this is not the place to enter on that controversy.

marriage.* Galerius was adopted by Diocletian, and received his daughter Valeria in marriage; while Constantius was adopted by Maximian, and married Theodora his step-daughter. But the name assumed by the former, Galerius Valerius Maximianus Cæsar, seems to indicate a special connection with Maximian, to whom he bore a close resemblance in character. GALERIUS, originally surnamed Armentarius (the herdman), from his father's occupation as a Dacian shepherd, brought to his dignity the character of a rude and ferocious soldier; and to his instigation is ascribed the cruel persecution which disgraced the close of Diocletian's reign. CONSTANTIUS was a man of very different mould, and the pale complexion, which gave him the surname of CHLORUS, was an outward sign of distinction, in race and spirit, from his peasant colleagues. He was the son of Eutropius, a noble Dardanian,† by Claudia, the daughter of Crispus, elder brother of the emperor Claudius Gothicus.‡ To this quasi-imperial descent Constantius added merits which had already designated him as the popular candidate for the purple; and he already had a son twenty years old, afterwards Constantine the Great, by his wife HELENA, who, though now divorced in favour of Theodora, attained the highest dignity as empress-mother and a Christian saint.§

The division (which was not yet a *partition*) of the empire

* The events that follow will be better understood by reference to the following table (from Clinton) of the persons who held supreme power from the division of the empire among the two Augusti and two Cæsars, to its reunion under Constantine :—

IN THE WEST.	IN THE EAST.
M. Aurelius Valerius MAXIMIANUS.	C. Valerius DIOCLETIANUS.
Flav. Val. CONSTANTIUS Chlorus.	GALERIUS Val. Maximianus.
Flav. Val. SEVERUS.	Galer. Val. MAXIMINUS Daza.
Flavius CONSTANTINUS.	Val. Licinianus LICINIUS.
M. Aurelius MAXENTIUS.	

For the pedigree of the Constantine family, see the following chapter.

† The Dardani were a very ancient people of Upper Mœsia and Illyricum, on the borders of Macedonia, about the river Margus.

‡ Whence he derived the name of *Flavius* is unknown. Gentile names were now so frequently assumed, as to furnish no certain proof either of descent or adoption.

§ The full name of Helena was *Flavia Julia Helena*, to which was added, on Constantine's accession, the title of *Augusta*. She was of low origin, some say the daughter of an innkeeper. The monkish chroniclers, who make her the daughter of a British prince, forget that her husband did not land in Britain till four years after her divorce. Her conversion to Christianity, probably at the instance of Constantine, and her pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where a revelation is said to have been made to her of the site of the Holy Sepulchre and the wood of the true cross (commemorated by a significant ambiguity, as the *Invention of the Cross*), made her a favourite theme with the Christian writers, and gained for her, at a later period, the honours of canonization. Some English readers may need to be reminded that her name is *not* to be pronounced after the vulgar corruption of the island called after her, *St. Helena*.

among the four princes, corresponded very nearly to the subsequent prætorian prefectures of Constantine.* The two great divisions of the empire, which included the ancient seats of eastern and western civilization, were naturally claimed by the Augusti; while the outlying provinces conquered from, and now threatened to be regained by, the Celts, Germans, and Sarmatians, were entrusted to the Cæsars.

I. Diocletian, taking under his own government *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, with *Thrace* as a covering to the East on the side of Europe, fixed his residence at Nicomedia, the old capital of the Bithynian kings, near the shore of the Propontis, at about equal distances between the Danube and the Euphrates. "By the taste of the monarch, and at the expense of the people, Nicomedia acquired, in the space of a few years, a degree of magnificence which might appear to have required the labour of ages, and became inferior only to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, in extent or populousness" (Gibbon). An oriental capital was suited to Diocletian's settled policy of finally replacing the constitutional forms on which the empire had been founded by Augustus, and which the most despotic of his successors had never professed to abandon, by the state of an Asiatic monarchy. The titles of the republican magistrates were either dropped or retained as unmeaning names, while the epithet of *Dominus*, so carefully eschewed by Trajan and the Antonines, was associated with that of *Imperator*, and the style of *our Lord the Emperor* was adopted even into the laws. Diocletian assumed the *diadem*, that broad fillet set with pearls, which every true Roman hated as the head-dress of the Oriental kings; the simple purple toga gave place to robes of silk and gold; and the soldier's boot was laid aside for shoes studded with precious stones. Above all, the social usages by which the emperors, surrounded by their noble councillors in the city and their brave comrades in the camp, had retained often more than the mere semblance of the equal chief among the senators or generals, were abandoned for the jealous precautions and the slavish ceremonial of a court like that of Persia. "Thenceforth the palace, the court, the table, all the personal attendance, distinguished the emperor from his subjects, still more than his imperial dignity. The organization which Diocletian gave to his new court attached less honour and distinction to rank than to services performed towards the members of the Imperial family. In proportion as the republican forms dis-

* See the map of the Roman Empire.

appeared one after another, the inclination of the emperors to environ themselves with personal pomp displayed itself more and more. The access to their sacred person was every day rendered more difficult by the institution of new forms and ceremonies. The avenues of the palace were strictly guarded by the various *schools*, as they began to be called, of domestic officers. The interior apartments were entrusted to the jealous vigilance of the eunuchs, the increase of whose numbers and influence was the most infallible symptom of the progress of despotism. When a subject was at length admitted to the Imperial presence, he was obliged, whatever might be his rank, to fall prostrate on the ground, and to adore, according to the Eastern fashion, the divinity of his lord and master. Diocletian flattered himself that an ostentation of splendour and luxury would subdue the imagination of the multitude; that the monarch would be less exposed to the rude licence of the people and the soldiers, as his person was secluded from the public view; and that habits of submission would insensibly be productive of sentiments of veneration. Like the modesty affected by Augustus, the state maintained by Diocletian was a theatrical representation; but it must be confessed that, of the two comedies, the former was of a much more liberal and manly character than the latter. It was the aim of the one to disguise, of the other to display, the unbounded power which the emperors possessed over the Roman world."

II. All this was in keeping with the locality of Diocletian's court, and the provinces under his immediate rule; for, even in Asiatic Hellas, Orientalism had long since stifled the Hellenic spirit. But the deep humiliation of Rome was seen when Maximian adopted the like forms in the court which he established at Mediolanum (*Milan*), as the ruler of the central regions, the ancient seats of Roman and Carthaginian empire, *Italy* and *Africa*. When these regions were assigned to the second of the Augusti, and when he removed his court to a city of Cisalpine Gaul, the final blow was given to that grand conception which had been the cynosure of every Roman patriot, from the famous discovery of the head which gave the CAPITOL its name and omen. That conception—we cannot too earnestly impress upon the reader—was not merely that Rome was the capital of a vast territorial empire; but that Rome was itself the empire, ruling over a conquered territory. The empire was *municipal*, not territorial, and the dominion over a subject world was centred in the citizens of Romulus and Servius Tullius, the SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS,

of whom the emperors had hitherto professed to be the leaders and in some sense the servants. Long after a corrupted populace, "the dregs of Romulus," had forfeited their share in this great name, the friendly contest which ensued upon the death of Aurelian had proved that the Senate retained at least some remnant of vitality. But now the death-blow was given by the hand of the Illyrian peasant, who made no secret of his entire want of sympathy with all the traditions of Roman greatness. Diocletian himself appears only to have paid two short visits to Rome, at the time of his triumph (A.D. 302), and at the festival of his twentieth year (A.D. 303); and Maximian's chief relations to the capital may be summed up in his measures for crushing the Senate and rendering the Prætorians powerless. While the rapacity of the rude soldier seconded the policy of his colleague, by involving all whose wealth he coveted, or whose dignity he envied, in the guilt of imaginary plots, the convenience of a partnership in government was seen in the affected respect and commiseration of Diocletian for eminent and suffering senators. But, whatever might be the professions of the emperors, "when they fixed their residence at a distance from the capital, they for ever laid aside the dissimulation which Augustus had recommended to his successors. In the exercise of the legislative as well as the executive power, the sovereign advised with his ministers, instead of consulting the great council of the nation. The name of the Senate was mentioned with honour till the last period of the empire; the vanity of its members was still flattered with honorary distinctions; but the assembly which had so long been the source, and so long the instrument of power, was respectfully suffered to sink into oblivion. The Senate of Rome, losing all connection with the Imperial court and the actual constitution, was left a venerable but useless monument of antiquity on the Capitoline hill."

This fate had been inevitable from the moment when the Senate's prerogative of naming the emperor had been usurped by the prætorian guards; and it was now the turn of that body to surrender their authority. We have seen how those proud cohorts, the *élite* of Italy, who disposed of the purple on the death of Caius and sold it after the murder of Pertinax, had been compelled by Severus to give place to barbarian levies. The presence and death of the Illyrian emperors in the field, at the head of their armies, had compelled the prætorians to be almost passive spectators of the disposal of the purple by the legions. And now "the numbers of the Prætorians were insensibly reduced, their

privileges abolished, and their place supplied by two faithful legions of Illyricum, who, under the new titles of *Jovians* and *Herculians*, were appointed to perform the service of the Imperial guards."

The choice of MILAN for the new capital of Italy was dictated by its proximity to the frontier, to guard which was a chief part of Maximian's office; and from this time forward it begins to assume the greatness of an imperial city. The ancient capital of the Insubrian Gauls, placed in the midst of the great plain of Northern Italy, half-way between the Po and the lakes that form the border of the Alpine region, in sight of the snow-capped chain, all the central passes of which, the Simplon, S. Gotthard, S. Bernhardino, Splügen, and Stelvio, converge towards it, while those further to the east and west are within easy reach,—seems to have been chosen as an advanced post, from which to watch the whole barrier that divides Italy from Gaul, Germany, and the Danubian lands, long even before it possessed that grandest of all watch-towers —the greatest glory of medieval architecture—whose white marble pinnacles rise in emulation opposite to the snowy peaks of Monte Rosa. But the very choice of such an outpost for a capital was a confession of the danger which was now ever threatening from the Alps. Niebuhr speaks of Milan as "a place which is destined by nature to be a great city, and one which very easily recovers even after the most severe calamities." But its peculiar exposure to those calamities, as all history testifies, makes it quite unfit for a capital. The Alpine barrier is its sole external defence; and that once passed, Milan, in the midst of a level plain, lies at the mercy of an invader, as the emperors of the West were soon doomed to learn.* Here, however, they fixed their new capital, to the deep humiliation of Rome. "Milan soon assumed the splendour of an Imperial city. The houses are described as numerous and well-built; the manners of the people as polished and liberal. A circus, a theatre, a mint, a palace, baths which bore the name of their founder Maximian, porticoes adorned with statues, and a new double circumference of walls, contributed to the beauty of the new capital; nor did it seem oppressed even by the proximity of Rome."

* Such reasons, strong even in the case of a power possessing the whole plain of Northern Italy, derive additional force from the condition under which Milan has generally been held, of having an open frontier either on the east or west, or both. In our own day, for instance, it would have been madness to have fixed the capital of Italy half way between a watchful enemy, who holds "the quadrilateral," and a no less watchful friend, who commands the passes of the Cottian and Graian Alps.

It must not be supposed that the two Augusti lived in oriental seclusion amidst their oriental state. The restless energy of Maximian could only be satisfied with war; and Diocletian removed to Antioch at the call of danger from the East; but the special duty of guarding the frontiers of the empire was assigned to the Cæsars.

III. Galerius, as more especially the lieutenant of Diocletian, governed the provinces included under the general name of *Illyricum*, in which barbarian name Greece itself is now absorbed; and watched from his capital at Sirmium the whole frontier of the Danube, besides aiding, when occasion required, in an Eastern war.

IV. Constantius was fortunate in holding the compact government of the Western and for the most part Celtic provinces of *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, which we have already seen tending to separation from the empire under Postumus and Tetricus, with his capital at Treves. On him fell first the task of vindicating the military prowess of the new system. With or without a pretext for breaking the peace with Carausius, Constantius prepared for the reduction of Britain (A.D. 292). First he took Boulogne, by blockading its harbour with a huge mole; and then proceeded, while collecting a fleet, to subdue the allies of Carausius on the mainland. Meanwhile Carausius was murdered by his first minister, ALLECTUS (A.D. 293), who in his turn assumed the purple, and kept it during the three years occupied by the preparations of Constantius. That able general distracted the enemy's attention by dividing his fleet and threatening descents on various points, till his lieutenant, Asclepiodotus, who had the unwonted boldness to put to sea in stormy weather, and the good fortune to pass the fleet of Allectus in a fog off the Isle of Wight, effected a landing in the West, and burnt his ships behind him. Allectus, marching in haste from the neighbourhood of London, met the whole Roman force with his disordered vanguard, and lost both empire and life in a single battle. Constantius landed unopposed in Kent, was welcomed by the inhabitants, and reunited Britain to the empire (A.D. 296). His valour was shortly after proved in repelling an irruption of the Alemanni across the Rhine. The incessant war waged by Galerius upon the Danube kept the barbarians at bay beyond the river; and, besides the captives who were distributed among the provincials, large bodies of Goths and Sarmatians were allowed to settle as agricultural serfs and herdsmen within the empire, as formerly under Probus. In the feeling

of interest and sense of superiority, excited by the strange manners of these new neighbours, the provincials forgot the dangers resulting from their presence.

To the attacks which had become habitual from the north, new perils were now added in Africa. While Maximian put down a usurper at Carthage, and repelled the attack of five Libyan tribes (who are called the *Quinquegentiani*, or *Five Nations*) on the Mauretanian frontier, Diocletian had to cope with a formidable rebellion in Egypt. The unfortunate city of Alexandria, where Achilleus had assumed the purple, was taken after a siege of eight months, and punished by a massacre, the cruelty of which, however, was exceeded in the utter destruction of Busiris and Coptos, cities of the highest consequence as the seats of ancient religion and of more recent commerce. The hostility shown by Diocletian to the occult arts of the Egyptians is viewed in different lights by ancient and modern writers. John of Antioch tells us that "he caused a diligent enquiry to be made for all the ancient books which treated of the admirable art of making gold and silver, and without pity committed them to the flames; apprehensive, as we are assured, lest the opulence of the Egyptians should inspire them with confidence to rebel against the empire." "But," observes Gibbon, "if Diocletian had been convinced of the reality of that valuable art, far from extinguishing the memory, he would have converted the operation of it to the benefit of the public revenue. It is much more likely that his good sense discovered to him the folly of such magnificent pretensions, and that he was desirous of preserving the reason and fortunes of his subjects from the mischievous pursuit." The historian further notices the very interesting fact that the persecution of Diocletian is the first authentic event in the history of alchemy. Pliny makes no mention of the transmutation of metals; and it was in Egypt that the Arabs learnt the pretended science which they diffused over Europe in the middle ages.

After suppressing the revolt in Egypt, Diocletian was engaged in the greatest and most successful war that the Roman emperors had yet carried on with the Persian Sassanidæ. When Armenia was conquered by Sapor,* Tiridates, the infant heir to the throne, was saved, and brought up under Roman tutelage. In the third year of Diocletian (A.D. 286) he returned to Armenia, where the people, oppressed by the intolerance of the Magian religion, had broken out into revolt. Among the adherents of Tiridates was

* See p. 625.

one whose presence in Armenia opens to us a glimpse of a region which, though the seat of an ancient civilization of its own, has had as yet no sufficient influence on the general current of the world's history to demand our notice. The vast table-land of Central Asia, into which both Cyrus and Alexander had penetrated, had since their time been partly subjected to the Chinese empire, which now extended as far as the frontier of Sogdiana. The vague name of *Serians*, which in the Augustan age denoted the unknown people from whose country *silk* had long been brought into Western Asia and Europe, acquired in the beginning of the second century a somewhat definite geographical meaning. The information derived from the traders, who maintained a regular traffic through Central Asia, enabled Ptolemy to lay down the positions of places in Serica, which can still be traced in the north-west of China, and further south among the *Sinæ*, whose name itself is sufficiently significant. In the reign of Trajan, Chinese armies are said to have marched as far west as the Caspian Sea, and the Chinese annals mention, in the year A.D. 166, an embassy from a prince called *An-thun*, whose name, concurring with the date, suggests M. Aurelius Antoninus. The historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote towards the end of the fourth century, is acquainted with the existence of the Great Wall of China, which he calls the *Ramparts of the Serians* (*Aggeres Serium*). During the eventful centuries from the end of the Second Punic War to the time of Diocletian, China was governed by the dynasty of Hân, which succeeded that of Tsin about B.C. 201. Mamgo, a prince (as is supposed) of this family, though he was only known to the Romans as a Scythian chief, expelled by the usurping dynasty of Wei, had sought refuge in Persia. He was claimed by the Chinese monarch, whose power was now so great that Sapor deemed it prudent to send the refugee into Armenia, replying to the Celestial ambassador, that he had banished him to the extremity of the earth where the sun sets, and sent him to certain death. In resentment of this inhospitality, Mamgo espoused the cause of Tiridates, whose success was promoted by a contest for the Persian tiara between Varanes III. (Bahram) and Narses (Narsi), the two sons of Varanes II. But when the conflict ceased (A.D. 294), Narses proved too strong for Tiridates, who became once more a fugitive at the imperial court. Diocletian resolved to effect his restoration; and took up his own station at Antioch to direct the war, the active conduct of which was entrusted to Galerius (A.D. 297).

By imitating the mistake of Crassus, in attempting to cross the sandy desert of Mesopotamia, Galerius exposed himself to a disaster, which had well-nigh proved as fatal. The escape of his army, and his reception by Diocletian at Antioch, prove the military efficiency and the personal ascendancy which the chief emperor maintained. "The haughtiest of men, clothed in his purple, but humbled by the sense of his fault and misfortune, was obliged to follow the emperor's chariot above a mile on foot, and to exhibit, before the whole court, the spectacle of his disgrace." For a new effort to wipe off this stain, Galerius was furnished with an army of veterans, drawn from the Danubian frontier, and strengthened by Gothic auxiliaries, amounting in all to 25,000 men. Following this time the strategy of Trajan, he made his advance through Armenia; surprised the Persian camp by night; drove the king a wounded fugitive into Armenia; and, besides the rich plunder of the royal tents, took prisoners the wives, sisters, and children of Narses, treating them with the respect shown by Alexander to the family of Darius.* Diocletian came up with his colleague at Nisibis, whither the Persian king sent his confidential servant, Apharban, to sue for peace on any terms that the emperors might be pleased to grant. The envoy appealed to their moderation, reminding them that the Roman and Persian monarchies were the eyes of the world, which would remain imperfect and mutilated if either of them should be put out.† The haughty reply of Galerius, upbraiding the envoy, who now talked of moderation, with the cruel indignities inflicted upon Valerian, was but a preface to milder counsels; and the prudence of Diocletian might well be satisfied with the cession of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and five districts beyond the Tigris. The river Aboras, or Chaboras (*Khabour*), was fixed as the boundary of the two empires, and the transfer by Persia to Rome of the protectorate of Iberia gave the latter power the command of the passes of the Caucasus, and a new defensible frontier against the Sarmatian tribes (A.D. 298).

Peace being restored throughout the empire, Diocletian and Maximian celebrated a splendid triumph for their own victories

* "An incident is mentioned," says Gibbon, "which proves the rustic but martial ignorance of the legions in the elegant superfluities of life. A bag of shining leather, filled with pearls, fell into the hands of a private soldier. He carefully preserved the bag, but he threw away its contents, judging that whatever was of no use could not possibly be of any value."

† We have already seen a Spartan urging a similar plea for moderation towards Athens, in the time of her humiliation.

and those of the Cæsars. "It was the last that Rome ever beheld. Soon after this period, the emperors ceased to vanquish, and Rome ceased to be the capital of the empire" (November 20, A.D. 302).* There still remained, however, one enemy to be subdued, before the new system of despotism could be regarded as established; and, like Charles V., who forms his nearest parallel in history, Diocletian undertook to crush the power of free thought and spiritual life, by which Christianity was now fully established as "an empire within the empire." The restoration of tranquillity, and the moderation of Diocletian's government, had left the minds of men free to weigh the claims of the old and new religions. In the last twenty years Christianity had made rapid progress: many churches had been publicly reared; believers were admitted to high office; and the empresses Prisca and Valeria are said to have been numbered among the converts, though not baptized. As in the time of Aurelius, the progress of a spiritual faith roused the antagonism of heathen devotees, who found a powerful ally in the Neo-Platonism of the Alexandrian philosophers. This school tried to infuse new life into the old mythology by a system of allegorical interpretation, which not only invested heathenism with a show of spiritual meaning, often borrowed from Christianity itself, but led to the corruption of Christian truth by the like methods of interpretation, especially in the hands of Origen.

That the policy of Diocletian would have left the conflict to the province of opinion, may be inferred from the lapse of nineteen years without his interference. But there was always one point at which Christianity tended to a collision with authority; and neither Maximian nor Galerius was disposed to smooth over the difficulty. Apart from the abstract question of the lawfulness of war, the terms of the military oath and the manner in which it was taken subjected the scrupulous consciences of Christian soldiers to the burthen of heathen conformity. That the difficulty did not oftener assume a practical shape, may be ascribed to the loyalty of the Christians, who would regard the spirit of the military oath before its form, and perhaps to a wise relaxation of the form for the sake of conciliating good soldiers. But extreme cases were sure to arise, in which a scrupulous conscience set authority and discipline at defiance. Under the rule of Maximian in Africa, a young recruit named Maximilian was put to death for declaring

* This is Clinton's date. Gibbon places the triumph a year later, in connection with the *Vicennalia*, held by Diocletian on the commencement of the twentieth year of his reign, which dates from Sept. 17, A.D. 303.

that his conscience forbade him to serve as a soldier. A centurion named Marcellus, who, when called upon to take part in the sacrifices of a heathen festival, publicly renounced the service of an idolatrous master, and declared that he would obey none but Christ the Eternal King, was beheaded at Tingi in Mauretania. There is a partial truth in the observation of Gibbon, — "Examples of such a nature savour much less of religious persecution than of martial or even civil law; but they served to alienate the mind of the emperors, to justify the severity of Galerius, who dismissed a great number of Christian officers from their employments; and to authorize the opinion that a sect of enthusiasts, which avowed principles so repugnant to the public safety, must either remain useless, or would soon become dangerous subjects of the empire." *

Such were probably the arguments by which Galerius, who spent the winter after the triumph at Nicomedia, prevailed on Diocletian to call a council of the chief civil and military officers, which resolved that the Christian religion should be suppressed throughout the empire. The first result of their decision was the demolition of the church at Nicomedia by the imperial guards (Feb. 23, A.D. 303); and on the following day, an edict was published, inaugurating a persecution such as no former emperor had conceived. All Christian churches throughout the empire were to be destroyed and their property confiscated, and all copies of the Scriptures were to be given up to be burnt in public by the magistrates; all who practised Christian worship in private were doomed to death; and Christians were deprived of their civil rights. Slaves were shut out from the hope of manumission; freemen from all honours and public employments. Debarred even from the common benefit of the law, they were placed at the mercy of informers; for, while the magistrates were enjoined to hear all causes against them, the Christians were forbidden to bring their complaints before the tribunals. The spirit in which the edict was likely to be received and enforced was immediately shown in

* The experience of our own army, as in India and in our Roman Catholic colonies, proves that even Christian states may involve themselves in similar difficulties of military discipline, the only solution of which lies in the unreserved extension of religious tolerance to individual consciences. Unless even the Roman emperors had learnt to act on this principle, the cases of Maximilian and Marcellus must have been of daily occurrence, and Christians must have been excluded from the army, or massacred by thousands for refusing to serve: and this is the reply to Gibbon's suggestion, if it is meant to excuse the conduct of Maximian and Galerius. The fact that the difficulty "of martial or even civil law" had been in some way generally solved, stamps their enforcement of it as "religious persecution."

an incident which the historian thus relates:—"This edict was scarcely exhibited to the public view, in the most conspicuous place of Nicomedia, before it was torn down by the hands of a Christian, who expressed at the same time, by the bitterest invectives, his contempt as well as abhorrence for such impious and tyrannical governors. . . . He was burnt, or rather roasted, by a slow fire; and his executioners, zealous to revenge the personal insult which had been offered to the emperors, exhausted every refinement of cruelty, without being able to subdue his patience, or to alter the steady and insulting smile which, in his dying agonies, he still preserved in his countenance." The fires which twice broke out in the palace of Diocletian within fifteen days of the publication of the edict were at once ascribed to the revenge of the Christians. The Christian officers of the palace were examined with exquisite tortures, and put to the most cruel deaths; and Galerius departed in haste from Nicomedia, giving out that he held his life insecure. Without attaching importance to the charge brought against Galerius himself of having caused the conflagration, we may feel sure that any Christian, who had for the first time used such a means of vengeance upon the persecutors, would have been a fanatic who would have claimed the glory of the deed. Even after these causes of mutual exasperation, the prudence of Diocletian suffered some months to pass before the edict was generally published in the provinces; and it was at first enforced against the churches and Scriptures rather than the persons of the Christians. Many even among the bishops and presbyters earned the by-name of *traditors* by delivering up the sacred books; and the first who suffered death for his refusal was an African bishop, named Felix. When it was found that his example was generally imitated, and when, in some places, the Christians defended their churches with armed force, new edicts were issued to the governors of all the provinces. The command to imprison all the ministers of religion was presently extended to the whole body of Christians; and their Pagan neighbours were threatened with severe penalties if they should protect them. These were the last measures of Diocletian's reign, and we may be allowed to hope that disgust at the course into which he had been urged was one motive for his abdication.

The system of government devised by Diocletian had now been tried by the experience of twelve years, and the result seemed even brilliantly successful abroad, while no disunion had yet

appeared among the four great potentates. "Every one was sovereign within his own jurisdiction; but their united authority extended over the whole monarchy, and each of them was prepared to assist his colleagues with his counsels or presence. The Cæsars, in their exalted rank, revered the majesty of the emperors, and the three younger princes invariably acknowledged, by their gratitude and obedience, the common parent of their fortunes. The suspicious jealousy of power found not any place among them; and the singular happiness of their union has been compared to a chorus of music, whose harmony was regulated and maintained by the skilful hand of the first artist." But the historian, who transcribes from Julian this glowing picture of imperial concord, has pointed out the vast increase of taxation required to maintain the dignity of four courts, of which two at least were on the pattern of oriental splendour, with the vast hierarchy of officials who were now multiplied in every province,* till, as the Christian writer Lactantius says, "the proportion of those who received exceeded the proportion of those who contributed." Since Gibbon wrote, a remarkable discovery has proved at once the effects of growing luxury and public expenditure, and the false principles of political economy, which might excite our surprise the more if we ourselves had escaped from them longer. In 1826, Colonel Leake found at Stratonicea (*Eski-hissar*), in Caria, a copy of an edict of Diocletian and his colleagues, referred to by Lactantius, and issued in A.D. 301, fixing the maximum prices of the necessaries of life throughout the empire, in consequence, as the preamble declares, of the hard-hearted, inhuman, unbridled cupidity of the dealers, who withheld from customers the benefits of abundance. "Among the articles of which the maximum value is assessed are oil, salt, honey, butchers' meat, poultry, game, fish, vegetables, fruit; the wages of labourers and artisans, schoolmasters and orators; clothes, skins, boots and shoes, harness, timber, corn, wine, and beer. The depreciation in the value of money, or the rise in the price of commodities, had been so great during the last century, that butchers' meat, which in the second century of the empire was in Rome about two *denarii* the pound, was now fixed at a maximum of eight: Colonel Leake supposes the average price could not be less than four: at the same time the maximum of the wages of the agricultural labourers was twenty-five. The whole edict is,

* The reader who wishes to see a vivid illustration of this statement should glance his eye over the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii.*

perhaps, the most gigantic effort of a blind though well-intentioned despotism to control that which is and ought to be beyond the regulation of the government."* The separation of the provinces of the Augusti and the Cæsars had given the death-blow to the political unity of the empire; nor ought it to have been expected that their personal concord would last beyond the first quaternion of princes. Diocletian was too sagacious not to feel such doubts; and having provided for the peaceful succession to the empire, he resolved himself to superintend the change.

The decision to take a step for which the whole history of the empire furnished no precedent,†—though Sulla had given one under the Republic—was prompted, or at least hastened, by a serious illness, which broke down the emperor's vigour at the comparatively early age of fifty-nine. He had left Rome after celebrating the festival of his twentieth year, and entered on his ninth consulship at Ravenna on the 1st of January, A.D. 304. His journey through Illyricum during a cold wet winter was so injurious, that he reached Nicomedia dangerously ill, and was not able to appear in public till the 1st of March, A.D. 305. Galerius was absent, and Diocletian must have often reflected on the danger of leaving the supreme power an object of contention between two such men as him and Maximian. He decided that the two Augusti should quietly give place to the two Cæsars; and he is said to have provided for the contingency by exacting an oath from Maximian, at the time of their joint triumph, to share the abdication which he was even then meditating. Accordingly, on the 1st of May, A.D. 305, the double act of resignation was performed at Milan and Nicomedia. While Maximian retired unwillingly to Ravenna, Diocletian took a solemn and graceful leave of the soldiers and people assembled in a plain three miles from Nicomedia, and withdrew to the retreat he had prepared near his native city of Salona, on the Adriatic coast. The magnificent palace, the completion of which was a chief amusement of his nine remaining years, has given its name to the modern village of

* Dean Milman's note to Gibbon, chap. xiii. For a copy of and commentary on the edict, see *Das Edict Diocletians de Pretiis Rerum Venalium*, herausgegeben von Theodor Mommsen, Leipzig, 1851. The value of the document is unfortunately lessened by our ignorance of the worth of the *denarius*, which was not the silver coin of that name, but a copper coin, worth much less.

† Eutrop. ix. 28 : Solus omnium post conditum Romanum imperium, qui ex tanto fastigio ad privatæ vitæ statum civilitatemque remearet.

*Spalato.** Its ruins were studied a century ago by Adams,† who by a comparison with the precepts of Vitruvius, made an ingenious restoration of the immense edifice, which formed an almost perfect square of from 600 to 700 feet, and covered a little more than eight acres. The building was composed of two principal parts, of which the one to the south contained the emperor's private apartments and two temples of Jupiter and Æsculapius.‡ Two streets intersected one another at right angles in the centre of the building, the chief one leading from the Golden Gate to a spacious court before the vestibule of the principal apartments, where the other crossed it. The entrance next in importance was called the Silver Gate; and the other gates were flanked by pairs of octagonal towers, sixteen in all. Diocletian's palace marks an era in the transformation of the Greco-Roman into the Byzantine architecture. Columns and arches were combined in such a manner, that the arches were at first made to rest upon the entablature, and afterwards were even forced immediately to spring from the abacus; and at length the entablature itself took the form of an arch. But, although this architecture offends against the rules of good taste, yet these remains may serve to show how directly the Saracen and Christian architects borrowed from Roman models many of the characteristics which have been looked upon as the creation of their own imagination.§

The locality which Diocletian chose for this magnificent retreat is thus described by Mr. Adams:—"The soil is dry and fertile, the air is pure and wholesome, and, though extremely hot during the summer months, this country seldom feels those sultry and noxious winds, to which the coast of Istria and some parts of Italy are exposed. The views from the palace are no less beautiful than the soil and climate are inviting. Towards the west lies the fertile shore that stretches along the Adriatic, in which a number of small islands are scattered in such a manner as to give this part of the sea the appearance of a great lake. On the north side lies the

* This name, often corrupted into *Spalatro*, is simply *S. Palatium, i.e., Salonæ Palatium*, the palace of Salona.

† Gibbon commemorates him as "an ingenious artist of our own time and country, whom a very liberal curiosity carried into the heart of Dalmatia." *Our* time has had a similar advantage in the researches of Sir Gardner Wilkinson.

‡ The temple of Jupiter is now the cathedral; that of Æsculapius the church of St. John the Baptist; and the Golden Gate, which is nearly perfect, forms the entrance into the market-place of Spalato.

§ See Adams, *Antiquities of Diocletian's Palace*, 1764; Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, vol. i. pp. 114—143; Fergusson, *Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 356.

bay, which led to the ancient city of Salona; and the country beyond it, appearing in sight, forms a proper contrast to that more extensive prospect of water, which the Adriatic presents both to the south and to the east. Towards the north the view is terminated by high and irregular mountains, situated at a proper distance, and in many places covered with villages, woods, and vineyards."

Very striking is the contrast of this scene to the gloomy cloister which, twelve and a-half centuries later, received the emperor whose abdication is so near a parallel to that of Diocletian. Both retired, in broken health and premature old age, from the attempt to subdue half the world to their despotic will. But the morose devotion of Charles V. will bear no favourable comparison with the natural pleasures which satisfied Diocletian. While the Austrian continued upon matter the experiments he had made on mind, till the truth dawned upon him that opinions are harder even than clocks to move to the standard of one time, the Illyrian derived from the growth of his garden the contentment he had never found in the prosperity of his empire. When solicited by the restless Maximian to reassume the purple, he observed, that if he could show his former colleague the cabbages he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he should no longer be urged to relinquish the enjoyment of happiness for the pursuit of power. Nor is the testimony less valuable, which he left to the blindness which must needs mislead the most sagacious and the best meaning despot. "How often" — he would exclaim in his familiar conversation—"How often is it the interest of four or five ministers to combine together to deceive their sovereign! Secluded from mankind by his exalted dignity, the truth is concealed from his knowledge; he can see only with their eyes, he hears nothing but their misrepresentations. He confers the most important offices upon vice and weakness, and disgraces the most virtuous and deserving among his subjects. By such infamous arts the best and wisest princes are sold to the venal corruption of their courtiers."

As objects, which have been seen indistinctly or with a distorted outline in the broad glare and tremulous atmosphere caused by a noon-day sun, stand out with startling clearness in the cool light of evening, so do the illusions of empire vanish when looked back upon in the light of the sun that has just set, whether from the Adriatic coast or the Atlantic rock. But one illusion is always left for dethroned despots to impose on themselves, and if pos-

sible on the world, the fond idea that the experience gained so late would bear fruit, if the opportunity should be given them again, or that it will teach wisdom to their imitators and admirers. While leaving to future despots, with their flatterers and apologists, this condemnation of the system he had spent his life in framing, Diocletian could not shut out all its evil results from the retirement into which he had escaped. "A just estimate of greatness, and the assurance of immortal fame, improve our relish for the pleasures of retirement; but the Roman emperor had filled too important a character in the world to enjoy without alloy the comforts and security of a private condition. It was impossible that he could remain ignorant of the troubles which afflicted the empire after his abdication. It was impossible that he could be indifferent to their consequences. Fear, sorrow, and discontent sometimes pursued him into the solitude of Salona. His tenderness, or at least his pride, was deeply wounded by the misfortunes of his wife and daughter;* and the last moments of Diocletian were embittered by some affronts, which Licinius and Constantine might have spared the father of so many emperors, and the first author of their own fortune. A report, though of a very doubtful nature, has reached our times, that he prudently withdrew himself from their power by a voluntary death."† He died in the ninth year after his abdication, just after Constantine had shattered, by his victory over Maxentius, the imperial fabric framed by Diocletian, and had reversed his religious policy by the Edict of Milan (A.D. 313).

* See Chap. xliv. † Gibbon, chap. xiii.

CHAPTER XLIV.

REUNION OF THE EMPIRE, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY. FROM CONSTANTINE TO JOVIAN. A.D. 306 TO A.D. 364.

"God forbid that I should glory, save in the CROSS of our Lord Jesus Christ."
ST. PAUL, *Gal.* vi. 14.

"HOC SIGNO VINCES."
Motto of Constantine.

CONSTANTIUS AND *GALERIUS* BECOME AUGUSTI—GALERIUS MAKES *MAXIMIN* AND *SEVERUS* CÆSARS IN THE EAST AND ITALY—CONSTANTINE THE GREAT—HIS BIRTH AND EARLY CAREER—HIS FLIGHT FROM NICOMEDIA TO BOULOGNE—DEATH OF CONSTANTIUS AT YORK—*CONSTANTINE* PROCLAIMED IN BRITAIN—HIS GERMAN VICTORIES AND CRUELTIES—*MAXENTIUS* PROCLAIMED AT ROME—MAXIMINIAN REASSUMES THE PURPLE—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF SEVERUS—GALERIUS ENTERS ITALY AND RETREATS—HE MAKES *LICINIUS* AUGUSTUS—SIX ROMAN EMPERORS AT ONCE—MAXIMIAN EXPELLED FROM ITALY: REBELS IN GAUL: IS DEFEATED AND PUT TO DEATH BY CONSTANTINE—DEATH OF GALERIUS—WAR OF CONSTANTINE AGAINST MAXENTIUS—VICTORIES OF TURIN AND SAXA RUBRA, NEAR ROME, AND DEATH OF MAXENTIUS—CONSTANTINE AT ROME—THE PRÆTORIANS ABOLISHED, AND ROME LEFT DEFENCELESS—CLOSE ALLIANCE OF CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF MAXIMIN—TYRANNY OF LICINIUS IN THE EAST—EDICT OF MILAN—REVIEW OF THE DIOCLETIAN PERSECUTION—IN THE WEST: MARTYRS OF SPAIN AND BRITAIN: ST. ALBAN—IN ITALY AND AFRICA: THE PERSECUTION STOPPED BY MAXIMIAN—IN THE EAST: SEVERE PERSECUTION: GALERIUS, DYING, ISSUES AN EDICT OF TOLERATION—CONDUCT OF MAXIMIN—CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE—STORY OF HIS VISION OF THE CROSS—QUESTION OF HIS CHRISTIANITY—HE PROCLAIMS UNIVERSAL TOLERATION—FIRST WAR WITH LICINIUS—CRISPUS, CONSTANTINE II., AND LICINIUS II. MADE CÆSARS—VICTORIES OF CRISPUS AND CONSTANTINE ON THE RHINE AND DANUBE—FINAL WAR WITH LICINIUS—BATTLE OF HADRIANOPLE—NAVAL VICTORY OF CRISPUS—BATTLE OF CHRYSOPOLIS—SUBMISSION AND DEATH OF LICINIUS—CHOICE OF BYZANTIUM FOR A NEW CAPITAL—THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA: ARIAN CONTROVERSY—FAMILY OF CONSTANTINE—DEATHS OF CRISPUS, THE YOUNGER LICINIUS, AND FAUSTA—DEDICATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE—ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE—GOTHIC AND SARMATIAN WAR—DEATH OF CONSTANTINE—*CONSTANTINUS II.*, *CONSTANTIUS II.*, AND *CONSTANS*—PERSIAN WAR—DEATH OF CONSTANTINE II.—WARS OF CONSTANS IN THE WEST—HIS DEATH—USURPATION AND DEFEAT OF MAGNENTIUS—ATHANASIUS AND THE ARIANS—RISE OF JULIAN: HIS WARS WITH THE GERMANS: AND PROCLAMATION AT PARIS—PERSIAN WAR—DEATH OF CONSTANTIUS—*JULIAN THE APOSTATE*—HIS ACTS IN FAVOUR OF THE PAGANS—HIS PERSIAN EXPEDITION AND DEATH—REIGN AND DEATH OF *JOVIAN*—ELECTION OF VALENTINIAN.

THE frail tenure of the security provided by Diocletian's elaborate plan was at once proved by the confusion that followed his abdication. The nine remaining years of his seclusion witnessed a succession of civil wars for the power he had resigned; nor was it till ten years after his death that peace was restored, with the restoration of a single government (A.D. 323). The first step was taken in due order: Galerius in the East, and Constantius in the West, succeeded to the dignity of the two Augusti, and the latter, though the successor of Maximian, seems to have been invested

with the precedence due to his superior age and merit. But he had no inclination to change the distant sphere of government, in which he wielded a compact and almost independent authority over attached subjects, for Italy and Rome. This decision at once deranged the balance adjusted by Diocletian, by leaving the ancient heart of the empire without the presence of an Augustus; and the result was virtually a new partition, in which Italy and Africa became dependencies of the East. Galerius seems to have taken this view, when he assumed the power of nominating both the Cæsars. The one was his own sister's son, who now exchanged the name of Daza, which he had borne in his original condition of an Illyrian peasant, for that of Galerius Valerius MAXIMINUS, but without changing a nature as savage and untutored as that of the first Maximin. The assignment to him of Syria and Egypt proved the resolution of Galerius to keep in his own hands the provinces which might soon be threatened either by the tribes of the North or the emperor of the West. Galerius placed Italy and Africa under SEVERUS, a faithful servant of his own; though the power was formally conferred by Maximian, and held in nominal subordination to Constantius. "According to the forms of the constitution, Severus acknowledged the supremacy of the western emperor: but he was absolutely devoted to the commands of his benefactor Galerius, who, reserving to himself the intermediate countries from the confines of Italy to those of Syria, firmly established his power over three-fourths of the monarchy. In the full confidence that the approaching death of Constantius would leave him sole master of the Roman world, we are assured that he had arranged in his mind a long succession of future princes, and that he meditated his own retreat from public life after he should have accomplished a glorious reign of about twenty years." These appointments were the more significant, as both the late and present Augusti of the West had sons, who might have expected the dignity of Cæsars. We shall presently see how the affront was resented by Maximian and his son Maxentius, who, in spite of personal faults like those which were even more conspicuous in Maximin, had been deemed worthy of becoming the son-in-law of Diocletian. It was probably the failing health of Constantius, and perhaps his reluctance to be the first to break the imperial harmony established by Diocletian, that made him leave the assertion of his own cause to the son whom he knew to be worthy to maintain it, and who arrived from the East just in time to assume the mantle as it fell from his dying father.

Flavius Constantinus, afterwards called Constantine the Great, the son of Constantius and Helena, was probably born at Naïssus, on February 27, about A.D. 274;* and was above thirty at this time. Being already of military age at the time of his mother's divorce (A.D. 292), he remained with the army of Pannonia, served with distinction in the Persian campaign of Galerius, and was made by Diocletian military tribune of the first rank. He was present both at the fire of the palace of Nicomedia, and at the abdication of the emperor, when Lactantius says that all eyes were turned upon him. The jealousy of Galerius, after already exposing Constantine to special dangers on the battle field, endeavoured now to detain him. Unable at last to refuse the urgent invitations of Constantius, Galerius one evening gave Constantine his signet-ring, and bade him come in the morning to take leave, intending probably to delay his journey till orders could be sent to Severus to intercept him. But Constantine started the moment the emperor had retired to rest, and by pressing all the relays of post-horses into his service, distanced his pursuers, evaded Severus, who was on his march to Italy, and thus traversing the length of Europe, from the Bosporus to the Straits of Dover, reached his father at Boulogne. Constantius was just setting out on his last visit to Britain, to repel the Caledonians; and he reached York only to die, on July 24, A.D. 306. With his last breath, according to Lactantius, he transmitted the empire to his son, and commended him to the soldiers. At all events the army of Britain, composed of the flower of the western legions, proclaimed Constantine immediately after his father's death, and he had no choice but to accept their nomination. "The throne was the object of his desires; and, had he been less actuated by ambition, it was the only means of safety. He was well acquainted with the character and sentiments of Galerius, and sufficiently apprised that, if he wished to live, he must determine to reign." After affecting a vehement resistance, he announced his father's death and excused the mode of his election to the purple which he claimed as his birthright, in a letter to Galerius, whose first transports of rage were checked by the sense of a nearer danger.

* Eusebius places his birth in A.D. 272. Naïssus (now Nissa), the birthplace of Constantine, and the scene of the great victory of Claudius over the Goths (see p. 631), was a town of Upper Mœsia, situated on an eastern tributary of the Margus (*Morava*). It is sometimes spoken of as in Dacia; that is, the new Dacia of Aurelian. It was enlarged and beautified by Constantine; destroyed by Attila; and rebuilt and fortified by Justinian.

In strict accordance with the order arranged by Diocletian, he raised the Cæsar Severus to the dignity of Augustus, and named Constantine as Cæsar over the western provinces. Though Constantine was not made Augustus till two years later, the years of his reign are dated from his proclamation by his troops on July 25th, A.D. 306. Content with the position that his father had held under Diocletian, till the conflicts of the other princes should invite his interference, Constantine engaged in successful war with the Franks, Alemanni, and other Germans; and proved that his father's mild training had not extirpated the cruelty of his Illyrian nature. After an immense slaughter of the barbarians, their captive chiefs and young men were thrown to the wild beasts in such numbers that, his very panegyrist declares, the brutes were weary with killing.

The elevation of Severus to the supreme rank in Italy filled up the measure of indignation in the breasts of Maximian and his son; and the humiliated Roman people, oppressed by the taxes which they now first shared with the provinces, made a last effort to shake off the dictation of the eastern prince. The Prætorians, as the Herculian guards of Maximian were now again called, rose against the party of Severus, and slew the magistrates and the prefect of the city; and the Senate once more assumed the prerogative of conferring the purple upon MAXENTIUS, who was residing in a villa near Rome (Oct. 26, A.D. 306). Whether through his son's invitation or his own restlessness, Maximian emerged from his retirement; and preparations were made to resist Severus, who was advancing by the orders of Galerius upon Rome. Encamping before the walls, he soon found himself deserted by a body of Moors formerly levied by Maximian, and by other troops who acknowledged the authority of their old leader and the Senate. Severus retired to Ravenna, where he was secure behind marshes and fortifications, and could receive aid by sea. But the arts of Maximian alarmed him into a capitulation; and, after resigning the purple on the promise of his life, Severus found that the sacrifice had only purchased the choice of a mode of death, which he accomplished by opening his own veins (Feb. A.D. 307).* After this victory, Maximian crossed the Alps in person, to win over Constantine to his party by the hand of his daughter Fausta, and the offer of the rank of Augustus. Both gifts were accepted by Con-

* So inconsistent, however, are the accounts of these events that, as Manso observes, two totally different narratives might be framed, almost upon equal authority.

stantine; but he kept aloof from any active part in the contest with Galerius, who marched into Italy, and advanced to Narnia in Umbria. But he found that he had to deal with the spirit of a united people, and his soldiers could scarcely be kept from deserting to Maximian. He was compelled to retreat, marking by the ravages of his troops the track in which he was closely pursued by Maxentius, who, however, avoided an engagement.

On his advance into Italy, Galerius had entrusted the command upon the Danube to Licinius, his old comrade in arms, and originally a Dacian peasant, on whom he now conferred the title of Augustus, vacant by the death of Severus, with the government of the Illyrian provinces * (Nov. 11, A.D. 307). The importunity of Maximin, who was in fact saluted Augustus by his army in Syria, extorted the same dignity for himself, and policy demanded its extension to Constantine, whom Galerius still hoped to win over. "For the first, and indeed for the last time," says Gibbon, "the Roman world was administered by six emperors. In the West, Constantine and Maxentius affected to reverence their father Maximian. In the East, Licinius and Maximin honoured with more real consideration their benefactor Galerius. The opposition of interest, and the memory of a recent war, divided the empire into two hostile powers; but their mutual fears produced an apparent tranquillity and even a feigned reconciliation, till the death of the elder princes, Maximian, and more particularly of Galerius, gave a new direction to the views and passions of their surviving associates."

Strange to say, the seeming concord was first broken by a contest for power between Maximian and Maxentius. The father's claim, that the direction of the government should be left to his experience, was spurned by the coarse and brutal son, who required Maximian again to resign his power. The case was heard by the prætorian guards, who had felt the weight of Maximian's discipline, and had been raised to new consequence by Maxentius. Driven into exile by their decision, and repulsed from Illyricum by the distrust of Galerius, the aged emperor retired to his last refuge in Gaul with Fausta and Constantine, who received him with real or affected kindness. He consented once more to resign the purple; but the absence of Constantine on an expedition against the Franks offered too tempting a bait to the old intriguer. He seized the treasure deposited at Arles; squandered it in bribing

* The full name of the new Augustus was now Publius Flavius Galerius Valerius Licinianus Licinius.

the troops; and was opening communications with Maxentius, when Constantine returned with marvellous rapidity from the Rhine. Maximian had only time to throw himself into Marseille, when Constantine arrived, and began to press the siege with a vigour prompted by the fear that the enemy might either escape or receive succour by sea from his son. The Massaliots relieved him of his anxiety by the surrender of Maximian; and the announcement that he had strangled himself in remorse for his crimes covered a deed on which Gibbon has pronounced a just judgment: "He deserved his fate; but we should find more reason to applaud the humanity of Constantine, if he had spared an old man, the benefactor of his father, and the father of his wife. During the whole of this melancholy transaction, it appears that Fausta sacrificed the sentiments of nature to her conjugal duties" (Feb. A.D. 310.)

In little more than a year Galerius also died; and the Christians could not fail to remark that the author of the greatest persecution perished, like Antiochus Epiphanes and Herod Agrippa, a prey to loathsome vermin* (May, 311). His dominions were divided between Maximin and Licinius, the former taking the Asiatic provinces, the latter the European, while they formed secret alliances respectively with Maxentius and Constantine, between whom war was now impending. The tyranny and profligacy of Maxentius had long made his subjects in Italy and Africa look to Constantine as a deliverer, when the former gave a pretext for war by throwing down the statues of the latter, in revenge for the like indignities to the memorials of Maximian. Constantine in Gaul received a deputation from the Senate and people of Rome; and resolved, against the advice of his council, to march to their deliverance. Leaving half his forces to guard the Rhenish frontier, he crossed the pass of Mt. Cenis at the head of about 40,000 men. The forces of Maxentius consisted of the prætorian guards, whom he had raised by new levies throughout Italy to the number of 80,000, a body of 40,000 Africans, and a large levy from Sicily; making, with his other troops, a total of 170,000 foot and 18,000 horse, to maintain which he had the wealth of Italy, and the corn-fields of Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. But the activity of Constantine went far to counterbalance the disparity of force. He had descended from the Alps and taken Susa, before Maxentius had any certain knowledge of his movements. It was in the plains of Turin that he encountered the first army of

* His disease was that which is described as the *morbus pediculosus*.

Italy under the lieutenants of Maxentius. "Its principal strength consisted in a species of heavy cavalry, which the Romans, since the decline of their discipline, had borrowed from the nations of the East. The horses, as well as the men, were clothed in complete armour, the joints of which were artfully adapted to the motion of their bodies. The aspect of this cavalry was formidable, their weight almost irresistible; and as, on this occasion, their generals had drawn them up in a compact column or wedge, with a sharp point and with spreading flanks, they flattered themselves that they should easily break and trample down the army of Constantine. They might, perhaps, have succeeded in their design, had not their experienced adversary embraced the same method of defence which, in similar circumstances, had been practised by Aurelian. The skilful evolutions of Constantine divided and baffled this massy column of cavalry. The troops of Maxentius fled in confusion towards Turin; and, as the gates of the city were shut against them, very few escaped the sword of the victorious pursuers."

The prize of the battle of Turin was the capital of Milan and the whole of northern Italy, except the fortress of Verona, which Constantine took after gaining a second great victory over Pompeianus. He was advancing to Rome along the Flaminian Road, before the taunts of the people and the remonstrances of his officers roused Maxentius from his indolent pleasures. Constantine was relieved from the fear of suffering the delay, and inflicting on Rome the horrors, of a siege, by finding the army of Maxentius drawn up at the Etrurian village of Saxa Rubra (the *Red Rocks*), a few miles from Rome, on the little river Cremera, which had long since been reddened with the blood of the three hundred Fabii. The battle, involving an issue, of which even Constantine himself had but a mysterious presentiment, was decided by his charge in person, at the head of his Gallic horse, upon the cavalry of Maxentius, whose flight left the infantry exposed upon both flanks. The prætorians alone made a desperate resistance. The flying troops were driven into the Tiber; and, as Maxentius attempted to escape to Rome over the Milvian bridge (*Ponte Mollo*), the crowd of fugitives forced him into the river. His body, sunk deep into the mud by the weight of his armour, was found with difficulty next day; and his head was exposed to the rejoicing Romans. Constantine put to death the two sons of Maxentius, and took measures to extirpate his family, but there his vengeance ceased. Those who had been exiled by Maxentius

were restored to their homes and property, and an edict of amnesty was issued. For the first time since their choice of Tacitus, the Senate heard an emperor mingling the recital of his exploits with expressions of regard and deference for their order, and enjoyed the show of authority by saluting Constantine as the first of the three surviving Augusti. Of the festivals and monuments by which the victory was commemorated, one survives as a lasting satire on the degeneracy of the age. The triumphal Arch of Constantine is merely the Arch of Trajan, rendered unseemly by the substitution of other sculptures, and marred by the addition of new ornaments in a rude style. "The difference of times and persons, of actions and characters, was totally disregarded. The Parthian captives appear prostrate at the feet of a prince who never carried his arms beyond the Euphrates; and curious antiquarians can still discover the head of Trajan on the trophies of Constantine." (Gibbon.) The battle of Saxa Rubra was fought on the 28th of October, A.D. 312; and the ensuing winter was spent by Constantine at Rome. The measures by which he redeemed his promises to the Senate were a great increase in the numbers of the order, who had to pay for their dignity by a heavy property tax, and the final abolition of the prætorian guards, a step which, in relieving Rome of an incubus, left it utterly defenceless, even before it was degraded from its rank by the foundation of Constantinople. The emperor only twice revisited Rome, to celebrate the festivals of his tenth and twentieth years; his residence being divided among the frontier provinces that required his presence.

In the following spring the two emperors of Europe met at Milan, where their alliance was cemented by the marriage of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine, to Licinius. Their measures against Maximin were anticipated by his passage of the Bosporus; the festivities were broken off; and Licinius marched to meet the invader, while Constantine was recalled to the Rhine by an irruption of the Franks. Maximin, defeated under the walls of Heraclea* (April 30, A.D. 313), achieved an almost incredible flight of 160 miles in twenty-four hours to Nicomedia.† Amidst his preparations to renew the war, he died at Tarsus about the end of August.

* This new name had not long been given to the ancient Thracian city of Perinthus, on the Propontis, the rival of Byzantium, now *Eski Eregli, i.e., Old Heraclea.*

† This account, if correct, adds another proof, besides the flight of Constantine from Nicomedia to Boulogne, of the perfect system of posts established by Diocletian.

"His death was variously ascribed to despair, to poison, and to the divine justice." Licinius, succeeding to the command of the eastern provinces, disgraced his triumph by the extirpation of his rival's house, and by the cold-blooded murders of Severianus, the son of Severus; of Candidianus, the natural son of his own ancient friend Galerius; and of Valeria, the daughter, and Prisca, the wife, of Diocletian, who was still alive to be afflicted by their fate.* In this same year, however, Diocletian was removed by death from the memory of past greatness and the sense of present sorrow, at the very epoch at which the religion he had persecuted was adopted by Constantine.

Constantine marked the restoration of tranquillity by promulgating the EDICT OF MILAN in favour of the Christians and for the establishment of that noblest of all political doctrines, which Christians cannot abandon without betraying their own want of faith—UNIVERSAL RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. During the last century, the growth of opinion, in our own country at least, enables us to admit the humiliating truth, which Gibbon records with exultation,—that states and even churches professing Christianity have outraged this great principle,—without confessing that any slur is thereby cast upon genuine Christianity. The Gospel of love and peace and liberty is guiltless of the crimes which despotism and priestcraft have committed in its name; crimes which are most chiefly marked as atrocious by the sacredness of the cause which they profane. They cannot sully the light that exposes their darkness. We may therefore record with indignation, unmingled with any shame for Christianity, that while the parallel between Diocletian and Charles V. was made complete in the legacy of religious persecution which each despot, upon his abdication, left to his successors, the cruelties of Alva in the Netherlands, to which 100,000 persons are stated, on the calm authority of Grotius, to have fallen victims, probably surpassed all that were inflicted on the Christians throughout the whole Roman empire.

The degree to which, in the West, the mild temper of Constantius mitigated the sufferings which he was compelled as Cæsar to permit his officers to inflict, cannot be fairly estimated from the partial testimony of Eusebius, the panegyrist of Constantine; but we cannot but suspect gross exaggeration in the statement preserved by Bede, that no less than 17,000 British Christians were martyred in a single month. Among these, tradition has recorded the name of St. Alban, which was transferred to Verulamium, the

* See Gibbon's account of their romantic story, chap. xiv.

old capital of the Trinobantes, and the place of his martyrdom.* In Spain the prefect Datianus enforced the decrees of Diocletian, with little regard to the wishes of Constantius. But the persecution in the West could not have lasted above a year (A.D. 303—304), for it ceased on the elevation of Constantius to the dignity of Augustus.

In Italy and Africa, Maximian, and after him Severus, were the fit agents of the cruelties proclaimed by Diocletian and Galerius; but, strange to say, the rise of Maxentius put a stop to the persecution. If his toleration sprang from the desire of rallying his Christian subjects to his support, his dealings with the bishops of Rome and Carthage proved, on the other hand, his resolution to permit no ecclesiastical encroachment on the civil authority. In the latter case especially it is interesting to trace the beginning of those attempts, by which the states of Christendom were afterwards convulsed, to screen clerical offenders from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. It was in the East, under Galerius and Maximin, that the persecution raged in full fury for eight years. But in the year 311, shortly before his death, Galerius issued an edict of toleration, which even Gibbon regards as the fruit of the frequent disappointments of his ambitious views, and of the salutary reflections which a lingering and painful distemper suggested to the mind of Galerius. The edict, which was published in the name of Constantine and Licinius, as well as his own, is a most interesting exposition of the motives, first for beginning, and then for abandoning, a persecution. After setting forth his intention "to correct and re-establish all things according to the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans," the emperor proceeds: "We were particularly desirous of reclaiming into the way of reason and nature the deluded Christians, who had renounced the religion and ceremonies instituted by their fathers, and, presumptuously despising the practice of antiquity, had invented extravagant laws and opinions according to the dictates of their fancy, and had collected a various society from the different provinces of our empire. The edicts which we have published to enforce the worship of the gods

* The tradition is that Alban, a pagan resident of Verulamium, charitably gave shelter to a Christian minister named Amphibalus, and was converted by him. Amphibalus having escaped by Alban's assistance, the latter was seized, and, refusing to renounce his faith, was scourged and beheaded. On the spot where he suffered martyrdom "a church, built of wonderful workmanship," afterwards arose, to which a monastic institution was added by king Offa, about 787, the abbot of which received from Pope Adrian IV. precedence above all others, on account of its patron saint being regarded as the proto-martyr of England. (*Annals of England*, vol. i. p. 37.)

having exposed many of the Christians to danger and distress, many having suffered death, and many more, who still persist in their impious folly, being left destitute of *any* public exercise of religion, we are disposed to extend to those unhappy men the effects of our wonted clemency. We permit them, therefore, freely to profess their private opinions, and to assemble in their conventicles * without fear or molestation, provided always that they preserve a due respect to the established laws and government. By another rescript we shall signify our intentions to the judges and magistrates, and we hope that our indulgence will engage the Christians to offer up their prayers to the Deity whom they adore for our safety and prosperity, for their own, and for that of the Republic." The spectacle of a heathen emperor restoring to a proscribed sect the free exercise of their religion, rather than leave them without any public worship, imposing no other condition than obedience to the laws, and even asking for the benefit of their prayers, may give a lesson to all surviving adherents of intolerance. Even Maximin, though his name was not included in the rescript, no sooner succeeded to the dominion of the East, than he suffered the inflexible obstinacy of the Christians to be pleaded as a reason of suspending the attempt to reclaim them. But the superstition, which he added to his cruelty, made him take part in the efforts of the philosophers to give new life to heathenism. Temples were repaired, and new orders of priests were established in the cities of the East; and the petitions of their people for the enforcement of the laws were answered by rescripts, enjoining the infliction upon the Christians of all punishments short of death; and even this, according to the Christian writers, was not spared. Fear of Constantine and Licinius seems to have imposed a check on Maximin; and, just before his death, he also, like Galerius, published an edict of toleration, laying the blame of the past upon the governors and magistrates, who had misunderstood his intentions. Among the details of the great Diocletian persecution, which the limits of our plan compel us to leave to the church historian, some of the most interesting are the questions which arose concerning the treatment of those who had lapsed into idolatry, and who, on the return of peace, sought restoration into the Church.

The death of Maximin, and the perfect accord established for

* This word, *conventiculum*, that is, a *place of assembly*, corresponding exactly to *synagogue*, was the regular name used in the Latin language for the buildings in which the Christians met for public worship.

the time with Licinius, left Constantine at liberty to carry out the policy of toleration which he had inherited from his father. But, if we are to believe one of the most celebrated traditions of ecclesiastical antiquity, the Edict of Milan was not merely the proclamation of a wise policy, but the thank-offering of a convert for a sign from heaven—as great as that vouchsafed to Paul—which preceded and assured the triumph of Saxa Rubra.

The story was related by Constantine, in the freedom of conversation, to his biographer Eusebius. He declared that, in the course of his march to confront Maxentius, he beheld in the heavens, surmounting and outshining the noonday sun, a figure of the Cross, inscribed with the legend, BY THIS CONQUER. The vision was seen by the whole army; but the vague astonishment, which the emperor at first shared with his soldiers, was changed into faith, when, in the following night, Christ himself appeared to him in a dream, holding a cross of the same form that he had seen in the sky, and commanded him to make a standard after the like pattern, and to bear it, in full assurance of victory, against Maxentius and all future enemies. The sacred standard, called *Labarum*, is still seen on the coins of the Christian emperors; and on one of Constantius II., the son of Constantine, it is accompanied with the motto:—"By this sign thou shalt conquer." It is represented as a long pike, with a transverse rod, from which hung a silken banner bearing a device expressive at once of the form of the Cross and of the Greek initials of the name of Christ.* The Labarum was entrusted to a guard of fifty men, distinguished not only by pay and honours, but, in the popular belief, by a special exemption from danger on the battle-field.

The actual use of the banner, and the enthusiasm it excited in the army of Constantine, are more substantial facts than the alleged cause of its invention. Eusebius has too often betrayed a weakness of judgment, and a tendency to represent doubtful facts in the form most favourable to the Christian cause, to be regarded as an impartial narrator of the communication made to him alone of what Constantine alone had seen. Still more suspicious is the unsupported testimony of the emperor. In an age when Christians, regretting the loss of the primitive miraculous powers, had borrowed from the heathen priests the evil principle of *pious*

* In some cases the monogram was worked in gold on the top of the staff, and the banner was embroidered with the figure of Christ, or with those of the emperor and his children.

frauds, the temptation was great for Constantine to imagine or to feign himself the divinely sent champion of the cause which he had victoriously espoused. Of his feelings in relation to Christianity, at the time of his war with Maxentius, we have no clear knowledge. The principles learnt from his father doubtless disposed him to view the Christians with favour; and policy may have taught him to look for the support of a body which even a Maxentius sought to conciliate. A mind exalted by the decisive contest to which he was committed, may have so acted upon a frame excited by the fatigue of the march under an Italian sun, as to imagine amidst the noonday glare the bright vision of the symbol of the Christian faith; nor was it less easy in after days for memory to play fantastic tricks with the prince whom churchmen flattered as the nursing father of the faith. It is not, however, the business of the historian to balance conflicting theories of fanaticism or imposture, nor to speculate on the verisimilitude of such a stamp of divine authority being set upon the former character and the subsequent career of Constantine. As a question of evidence, it is impossible to accept the miracle on the unsupported testimony of the man who was so deeply interested in imposing the belief of it on others and on himself.* It is incredible—and here is a most marked distinction between the visions of Paul and Constantine—that a man could have thus "seen Christ" without henceforth devoting himself to the Christian cause; and the uncritical believers of the miracle accept it to the full extent of Constantine's conversion. It is a sufficient comment on this view, that one of Constantine's first acts at Rome was to accept the dignity of Chief Pontiff; and we have many other proofs that he was not yet a Christian. At what time he became one, until he was baptized on his deathbed, is indeed so doubtful, that the question is still open whether he himself can be considered a Christian at all. The character of the man who made Christianity the established religion of the empire has been naturally debated, with all the keenness of party spirit, not only as between believers and unbelievers, but between those who view his patronage as a benefit or an injury to Christianity itself. The fairest judgment upon the

* The statement that the vision was seen by the army would be worthless as resting on the sole testimony of Constantine, years after the event; and when we remember how notorious the truth would in that case have become, and how many witnesses might have been brought forward to support it, the argument is turned against the reality of the vision. Besides, a confirmation that appeared so important might easily have been slipped in by a narrator so little scrupulous as Eusebius too often proves himself.

whole is that of Niebuhr:—"Among those who have written upon the history of Constantine, some are fanatic panegyrists, others just as fanatic detractors; there are but few who treat him with fairness. Gibbon judges of him with great impartiality, although he dislikes him. The exaggerated praise of oriental writers is quite unbearable, and makes one almost inclined to side with the opposite party. I cannot blame him very much for his wars against Maxentius and Licinius, because in their case he delivered the world from cruel and evil rulers. The murder of Licinius and that of his own son Crispus, however, are deeds which it is not easy to justify; but we must not be severer towards Constantine than towards others. *Many judge of him by too high a standard, because they look upon him as a Christian, but I cannot regard him in that light.* His religion must have been a strange compound indeed, something like the amulet recently discovered at Rome.* The man who had on his coin the inscription *Sol Invictus*,† who worshipped Pagan divinities, consulted the *haruspices*, indulged in a number of pagan superstitions, and, on the other hand, built churches, shut up pagan temples, and presided at the council of Nicæa, must have been a repulsive phenomenon, and was certainly not a Christian. He did not allow himself to be baptized till the last moments of his life; those who praise him for this do not know what they are doing. He was a superstitious man, and mixed up his Christian religion with all kinds of absurd superstitions and opinions. When, therefore, certain of the oriental

* "This amulet is an example of that curious mixture of Judaism, Christianity, and Paganism, which we so frequently meet with from about the beginning of the third century. It is of finely-wrought silver, with magic inscriptions, the seven-branched candlestick of Jerusalem, and the usual Christian monogram. The inscription is Greek, mixed with barbarous and unintelligible forms. It contains, however, express allusions to Christianity, and states that whoever wore the amulet would be sure to please gods and men."

† This legend occurs, with the figure of the Sun-god, on the reverse of a coin of Constantine, which bears on its obverse the monogram of Christ, "as if he could not bear to relinquish the patronage of the bright luminary which represented to him, as to Augustus and Julian, his own guardian deity" (Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 193). Dean Stanley adds,—"The same tenacious adherence to the ancient god of light has left its trace, even to our own time, on one of the most sacred and universal of Christian institutions. The retention of the old Pagan name of *Dies Solis* or SUNDAY, for the weekly Christian festival, is in great measure owing to the union of Pagan and Christian sentiment, with which the first day of the week was recommended by Constantine to his subjects, Pagan and Christian alike, as the 'venerable day of the Sun.' His decree regulating its observance has been justly called a new era in the history of the Lord's Day. It was his mode of harmonizing the discordant religions of the empire under one common institution." (Compare Dr. Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 77–89.)

writers call him the equal of an apostle (ἰσαπόστολος), they use words without reflection. To speak of him as a saint is a profanation of the word."

It is but fair to add the comment of Dean Stanley upon this passage:—"This is true in itself. But, in order to be just, we must bear in mind that it probably describes the religion of many in that time besides Constantine. And it is indisputable that, in spite of all these inconsistencies, he went steadily forward in the main purpose of his life, that of protecting and advancing the cause of the Christian religion. The Paganism of Julian, if judged by the Paganism of Cicero or of Pericles, would appear as strange a compound as the Christianity of Constantine, if judged by the Christianity of the Middle Ages or of the Reformation. But Julian's face was not more steadily set backwards than was Constantine's set forwards. The one devoted himself to the revival of that which had waxed old and was ready to vanish away; the other to the advancement of that which year by year was acquiring new strength and life."*

The Edict of Milan itself is not couched in language which indicates a profession of Christianity; nor does this circumstance detract from its importance as a noble declaration of universal tolerance. While reinstating the Christians in their civil and religious rights, and commanding that their churches and all other property should be restored to them without delay or expense, the two emperors proclaim to the world that they have granted a free and absolute power to the Christians, *and to all others*, of following the religion which each individual thinks proper to prefer, to which he has addicted his mind, and which he may deem the best adapted to his own use. The motives assigned for this act of toleration are not less noble than the principles it avows; they are "the humane intention of consulting the peace and happiness of their people, and the pious hope that by such a conduct they shall please and propitiate the *Deity*, whose seat is in heaven."

The harmony between Constantine and Licinius did not last long. War broke out in 314; and Licinius, defeated in two

* "Lectures on the Eastern Church," Lect. VI. See the admirable illustration, in the same lecture, of the wavering between Paganism and Christianity in the Roman Empire, by the parallel case of the wavering between Catholicism and Protestantism in the English Reformation, of which Elizabeth is a type almost as striking as Constantine. Upon the whole subject, the reader should consult Merivale's *Bampton Lectures, On the Conversion of the Roman Empire.*

great battles, at Cibalis in Pannonia, and at Mardia near Hadrianople, resigned to Constantine all his European possessions, except Thrace. He still retained, in the Eastern division of the empire, provinces richer and more abundant in resources than the Western; and his son Licinius was soon associated in the rank of Cæsar with Crispus and Constantine, the sons of Constantine (A.D. 317). Nine years of internal peace were spent by Licinius in slothful and vicious indulgence; by Constantine in the enactment of important laws, and in defence against the barbarians. While the young Crispus vindicated the hopes with which he was regarded, by his victories over the Franks and Alemanni on the Rhine (A.D. 320), Constantine himself repulsed the Gothic and Sarmatian hordes, who, recruited by a peace of fifty years, had once more crossed the Danube. Having repaired the bridge of Trajan, he pursued the barbarians into Dacia; and the Goths purchased peace by consenting to furnish 40,000 recruits to the Roman armies. The memory of these successes is still preserved by coins bearing the proud legends, *The Gothic Victory: Sarmatia conquered: To the subduer of all the Barbarian Nations;* and the flattery of Eusebius declares that all Scythia, to the remotest North, was added by Constantine to the empire (A.D. 322).

Such greatness could no longer brook the rivalry of the aged and slothful Licinius, and a new civil war began in 323, we are not told upon what pretext. Licinius roused himself to a mighty effort, and mustered an army of 150,000 foot and 15,000 horse on the plains of Hadrianople; while his fleet of 350 triremes commanded the passages from Europe into Asia. This navy was furnished, like that of the ancient Persian kings, by the maritime cities of Asia Minor, Cyprus, Phœnicia, and Egypt; while those of Greece and the Adriatic could only supply Constantine with 200 small vessels, which he placed under the command of Crispus. It was the first time since the battle of Actium that Roman sovereigns had had the use of powerful fleets; and it is surprizing that Licinius did not, like Antony, avail himself of his naval superiority to attack his rival on the Adriatic or Ægæan. The caution of old age may have induced him to await the approach of the army of 120,000 men, which Constantine collected at Thessalonica. Licinius formed an entrenched position on the steep slope rising from the bank of the Hebrus to the city of Hadrianople. The conflict which ensued, after some days spent in skirmishing, will be best told in the words of Gibbon:—"In this place we might relate a wonderful exploit of Constantine, which, though it can scarcely be

paralleled, either in poetry or romance, is celebrated, not by a venal orator devoted to his fortune, but by an historian, the partial enemy of his fame. We are assured that the valiant emperor threw himself into the river Hebrus, accompanied only by *twelve* horsemen, and that by the efforts or terror of his invincible arm, he broke, slaughtered, and put to flight a host of an hundred and fifty thousand men. The credulity of Zosimus prevailed so strongly over his passion, that, among the events of the memorable battle of Hadrianople, he seems to have selected and embellished, not the most important, but the most marvellous. The valour and danger of Constantine are attested by a slight wound which he received in the thigh; but it may be discovered, even from an imperfect narration, and perhaps a corrupted text, that the victory was obtained no less by the conduct of the general than by the courage of the hero; that a body of five thousand archers marched round to occupy a thick wood in the rear of the enemy, whose attention was diverted by the construction of a bridge; and that Licinius, perplexed by so many artful evolutions, was reluctantly drawn from his advantageous post, to combat on equal ground on the plain. The contest was no longer equal. His confused multitude of new levies was easily vanquished by the experienced veterans of the West. Thirty-four thousand men are reported to have been slain. The fortified camp of Licinius was taken by assault on the evening of the battle; the greater part of the fugitives, who had retired to the mountains, surrendered themselves the next day to the discretion of the conqueror; and his rival, who could no longer keep the field, confined himself within the walls of Byzantium." The Battle of Hadrianople was fought on the 3rd of July, A.D. 323.

Licinius had still a stronghold in Byzantium, which had been restored and fortified; and his superior naval force, rightly used, could not only have kept the city supplied, but have crushed the fleet on which the besiegers were depending. But while they lay inactive in the Hellespont, Constantine commanded his son Crispus to force the passage. A two-days' sea-fight ensued. About noon of the second day the south wind, which is needed to overcome the outward current, came to the aid of the western fleet, and the courage and conduct of Crispus did the rest. Amandus, the admiral of Licinius, withdrew the shattered relics of his fleet to Chalcedon, opposite to Byzantium, with the loss of 130 ships and 5000 men. Constantine now pressed the siege of Byzantium with such vigour, that Licinius fled with his treasures to Chalcedon:

and, by a last vigorous effort, he raised an army of from fifty to sixty thousand men in Bithynia. But these raw levies were powerless against the division of his veteran army with which Constantine in person crossed the Bosporus. The decisive battle was fought at Chrysopolis (the modern Scutari), and Licinius retired to Nicomedia (Sept. 18). The intercession of his wife Constantia, the sister of Constantine, procured his pardon at the cost of abdication. But his arrival at Thessalonica, his place of banishment, was soon followed by his execution, on the pretext of a conspiracy, in violation of his conqueror's oath (A.D. 324). Meanwhile the reunion of the empire under Constantine was signalized by the appointment of his third son, Constantius, to the dignity of Cæsar, already held by Crispus and Constantine (Nov. 8, A.D. 323).

The fall of Byzantium ensued, as a matter of course, upon the last defeat of Licinius; but its resistance had the most memorable consequences. It was doubtless during the siege, that Constantine was struck with those advantages of its position, which had long before attracted the attention of Polybius, and which mark it as the one spot of the Old World best fitted to be the capital of an universal empire. For, let it be observed, we are still concerned with times and nations that had not unlearned that fatal dream. For such, a capital was required, central in regard to the countries round the basin of the Mediterranean, which formed the area of ancient civilization. But the higher civilization of modern times, which is based on the willing concord of free states, and developed by the spontaneous energy of free commerce, demands—we will not say a capital, for it renounces the idea of empire—but a centre of influence, placed in a very different position, where it may command the limitless ocean, which is at once its universal path and the type of its all-embracing freedom. But the Bosporus is the true site for the capital of such an empire as Diocletian and Constantine aspired to perpetuate, for such as has since tempted the barbarian ambition of the Moslem and the Russ. Diocletian had set the example of choosing a site upon the frontiers of Europe and Asia, whence he could at once "curb with a powerful arm the barbarians who dwelt between the Danube and the Tanaïs, and watch with an eye of jealousy the conduct of the Persian monarch, who indignantly supported the yoke of an ignominious treaty." But the immense advantages of the site of Byzantium even over that of Nicomedia give a decisive proof of the higher genius of Constantine. Placed on the inner of

the two straits which connect the Euxine and the Ægæan, the narrow passage and rapid adverse current of the Hellespont needs only the addition of moderate defences to protect it against an attack from the Mediterranean, while its own fleets, for which the inlet of the Golden Horn forms a splendid harbour, can issue forth at will on this side, and command on the other the rich corn-fields of the Ukraine and the northern shores of Asia Minor, from which access is gained to every portion of the continent. Constantine might be pardoned for not foreseeing those political combinations, which in the course of centuries would cause a position so impregnable to be at the mercy of protecting powers on the one side, and to be overawed on the other by a strong arsenal, placed in the very midst of what seemed a Byzantine lake, and belonging to a mighty empire that should arise among the barbarians of the north. Much less could he foresee that the city thus threatened, while still bearing his name, would be in the hands of another power, which, springing up among the Turanian races of Central Asia, should overthrow the Persian monarchy, and force its way through Asia Minor to take Constantinople in reverse; or that it would be defended by other mighty nations, sprung from the western barbarians whom he had so lately conquered, one ruling in the distant island where his army had raised him to the purple, and another holding military possession of Rome. But this at least may be said for his sagacity, that the city of his choice remained the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire in unbroken succession for eleven centuries; and that, exactly four centuries after its capture by the Turks, we have seen it saved, in our day, from conquest by the Russians. Among the many ways in which the history of the world may be divided, there is much to be said for that which should choose the foundation of Constantinople in 324, its capture by the Turks in 1453, and its rescue from the Russian attack in 1853, as three signal epochs.* The foundations of the new city were laid in the year 324, but it will be most conveniently described in connection with its dedication in 330, after we have noticed the events, some of them of deep and tragic interest, which occurred during the seven years that it took in building.

The year after the death of Licinius, which was the twentieth

* It was currently reported, at the time of the late Crimean War, that the Emperor Nicholas, who was no little of a fatalist, was influenced in the choice of the time for his attack by a prophecy, or a popular belief, that the cycle of four centuries would complete the term of Turkish domination on the Bosporus.

of the reign of Constantine, was also a memorable epoch in the history of the Christian Church. From the moment that Constantine found himself the sole master of the empire, he openly declared in favour of Christianity, and recommended its adoption by circular letters to his subjects. Succeeding, according to the most ancient traditions of the Roman state, to the headship of the national religion, he was not prepared to draw subtle distinctions between his supremacy over his Christian subjects in matters civil and ecclesiastical. There was no formal act by which Constantine made Christianity the established religion, in the sense of making a general provision for its ministers, or making its profession a condition of civil privileges; nor was it till after his time that any direct attempt was made to legislate against Paganism. But the edict of toleration issued from Milan had already been followed by the decree for the observance of Sunday, already noticed, the use of prayers in the army, the abolition of crucifixion, the encouragement of the emancipation of slaves, the discouragement of infanticide, the prohibition of private divinations, of licentious and cruel rites, and of gladiatorial games. "Every one of these steps was a gain to the Roman empire and to mankind, such as not even the Antonines had ventured to attempt, and of those benefits none has been altogether lost." The emperor himself practised the forms of Christian worship. "Not only did he at the festival of Easter spend the night in prayer with every appearance of devotion, and even preside at the most sacred ceremonies, but he alternately, as student or teacher, took part in Christian preaching. . . . . If he did listen to the sermons of others, it was regarded as an act of the highest condescension. Eusebius has left us an account of one which he himself delivered to *the marvellous man*, as he calls him, on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It was in the palace. There was a crowded audience. The emperor stood erect the whole time; would not be induced to sit down on the throne close by; paid the utmost attention; would not hear of the sermon being too long; insisted on its continuance; and, on being again entreated to sit down, replied, with a frown, that he could not bear to hear the truths of religion in any easier posture. More often he was himself the preacher. One such sermon has been preserved to us by Eusebius. These sermons were always in Latin; but they were translated into Greek by interpreters appointed for the purpose. On these occasions a general invitation was issued, and thousands of people flocked to the Palace, to hear the emperor turned preacher. He stood erect; and then, with a set countenance and grave voice,

poured forth his address; to which, at the striking passages, the audience responded with loud cheers of approbation, the emperor vainly endeavouring to deter them by pointing upwards, as if to transfer the glory from himself to heaven. He usually preached on the general system of the Christian religion; the follies of Paganism; the Unity and Providence of God; the scheme of redemption; the judgment; and then attacked fiercely the avarice and rapacity of the courtiers, who cheered lustily, but did nothing of what he had told them. On one occasion, he caught hold of one of them, and drawing on the ground with his spear the figure of a man, said, 'In this space is contained all that you will carry with you after death.'"* He built churches,† and showed personal favour to certain bishops; and assumed the power of a moderator, presiding over the settlement of questions of faith and practice by the voice of the bishops, whom his sole rule enabled him now first to assemble from all quarters of the empire. It was in this character that he convened at Nicæa in Bithynia, a city not far from the imperial residence of Nicomedia, that which is properly regarded as the *First Œcumenical Council*,‡ which is commonly known by the name of the COUNCIL OF NICE, and which framed that great symbol of the Christian faith, the NICENE CREED.§

Such councils have never been convened except for the settlement of controversies already dividing the Church. "The meeting of a General Council," it has been well said, "is, in ecclesiastical

* Stanley, *Eastern Church*, Lect. vi. The custom of applause from the audience in the churches is frequently alluded to in the homilies of John Chrysostom, the "golden-mouthed" bishop of Constantinople.

† It is from the age of Constantine that we are to date the origin of that form of ecclesiastical architecture, which was modelled upon the Roman *basilica*, or court of justice, in which the main body of the building (called the *nave*, from its resemblance to the interior of a ship, *navis*) accommodated the throng of persons assembled by business or curiosity; the *aisles* (*alæ*, wings), divided from the nave by the pillars that upheld the principal roof, afforded freer passage as well as retirement from the crowd; while the semicircular end (or *apse*) of the building gave accommodation to the prætor or judge and his assessors, with those who had to appear before his tribunal. These divisions of the *basilica* became severally the *nave*, the *aisles*, and the *choir* of the *church*, which often retained the name of *basilica*. Among the oldest and finest examples of these Christian basilicæ were those of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, the former erected by Constantine on the site of the present St. Peter's, the latter built by Honorius.

‡ The title *Œcumenical*, which may be loosely rendered *Universal*, is explained in a note on p. 692.

§ It should, however, be remembered that the *Nicene Creed* of our Liturgy contains more than the creed framed by the Council of Nice. The latter part, concerning the divinity of the Holy Ghost, was added by the First Council of Constantinople, in A.D. 381, which also made alterations in the former part of the creed, and thus broke through its *finality*.

history, what a pitched battle is in military history;" * nor can it be denied that the parallel has ever held good in respect of the passion, and sometimes even the personal violence, brought to the decision of the points at issue. The controversy to be decided in the present case was that raised by ARIUS, a native of Cyrenaïca, and presbyter of Alexandria, respecting the divine nature of Jesus Christ. The debate, which has lasted from the time when St. John wrote his Gospel down to our own day, had come by this time to involve "the excess of dogmatism founded upon the most abstract words in the most abstract region of human thought." Not content with the mystery of the Deity, taught without explanation by John and Paul, concerning the Divine Word, who was in the beginning with God, and was God, — God manifested in the flesh, — divines imbued with the spirit of oriental subtlety speculated on the manner in which the terms *Father*, *Son*, and *Only-begotten* could be explained, and in which the Holy Trinity could subsist as three co-equal persons and yet one God. In the year 318, Alexander, the Patriarch of Alexandria, having asserted in a conference with his clergy the unity of substance in the persons of the Trinity, was accused by Arius of falling into the error of Sabellius, who had taught that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost were but manifestations of the One God. Arius maintained that the Son derived his being from the Father, within the limits of time, though before the creation of the universe; that thus the Son was the first of created beings, though infinitely above all others; and that he was endowed by the Father with such a plenitude of divine attributes, as rightly to be called God, though in a secondary sense. The character of Arius, whom Alexander himself had raised to the highest place among his clergy, and the fame of his ascetic piety, soon gained him numerous adherents among the clergy and people who shared his fervid African temperament; and he enlisted the populace on his side by embodying his dogmas in songs which were sung by sailors on their watches, by millers at their work, and by travellers on the road. Condemned by a synod of 100 African bishops in A.D. 321, Arius travelled about, propagating his doctrines, as a persecuted man. The excitement which ensued throughout Egypt is thus described by Eusebius: — "Bishop

* Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, p. 83. The reader is referred to the Lectures ii.—vi. for a most exhaustive and graphic account of the Council of Nice, and the whole relations of Constantine to Christianity.

rose against bishop, district against district, only to be compared to the Symplegades dashed against each other on a stormy day." What was afterwards said of Constantinople, when the dispute had reached its height, must have been true of Alexandria thus early: "Every corner, every alley of the city, was full of these discussions — the streets, the market-places, the drapers, the money-changers, the victuallers. Ask a man, *How many oboli?*—he answers by dogmatizing on *generated and ungenerated being.* Inquire *the price of bread*, and you are told, *the Son is subordinate to the Father.* Ask *if the bath is ready*, and you are told, *The Son arose out of nothing.*"*

Meanwhile the views of Arius found favour in the imperial city of Nicomedia, whose bishop, Eusebius, absolved him from the Alexandrine excommunication, convened a synod in Bithynia on his behalf, and wrote a letter to Constantine in his favour.† The emperor attempted the part of a mediator, in a letter to the Alexandrian Church, which throws a most interesting light upon the state of his mind at this epoch (A.D. 324). "He describes (as usual, with the attestation of an oath) his mission of uniting the world under one head. He expresses the hope with which he turned from the distracted West to the Eastern regions of his empire, as those from which Divine light had first sprung. *But, oh! divine and glorious Providence, what wound has fallen on my ears—nay, rather on my heart!* And, with an earnestness which it is difficult to believe not sincere, and with arguments, which modern theologians have visited with the severest condemnation, but which the ancient and orthodox historian Socrates has not hesitated to call wonderful and full of wisdom, he entreats the combatants to abandon these futile and interminable disputes, and to return to the harmony which became their common faith. *Give me back my calm days and my quiet nights; light and cheerfulness instead of tears and groans.* He had come as far as Nicomedia, the capital of the East; he entreats them to open for him the way to the East, and to enable him to see them and all rejoicing in restored freedom and unity."‡ When this appeal had proved in vain, and a western bishop, Hosius of Corduba, sent to

* In allusion to their dogma, that the Son, like the material universe, was created out of nothing, the Arians were called *Exoukontians* (from the phrase ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *out of what does not exist*).

† Eusebius must not be confounded with his more celebrated namesake, the bishop of Cæsarea, who was also inclined to Arianism.

‡ Euseb. *Vit. Const.* ii. 68—73; Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 87.

make inquiries at Alexandria, had returned with a report unfavourable to Arius, Constantine himself conceived "by a kind of divine inspiration"—for such are his own words—the first idea of convening a Council of the representatives of the whole Church. Let it never be forgotten that, whether for good or for evil, the first attempt to fix a standard of *Catholic* doctrine, by the voice of the majority in a representative assembly of the whole Curch, was the first fruit of the union of the supreme civil and ecclesiastical authority. The Council of Nicæa, like all the eighteen general councils that followed it, down to that of Trent, was called into existence by the State. By this first example a General Council was exhibited as "part of the original constitution of the Christian empire," and the doctrine was established that "General Councils may not be gathered together but by the commandment and will of princes."* The importance of the epoch is not exaggerated by Dean Stanley:—"It was the earliest great historical event, so to speak, which had affected the whole Church since the close of the apostolic age. In the two intervening centuries, there had been many striking incidents, two or three great writers, abundance of curious and instructive usages. But all was isolated and fragmentary. Even the persecutions are imperfectly known. We are still in the catacombs: here and there a light appears to guide us; here and there is the authentic grave of a saint and a martyr, or the altar or picture of a primitive assembly; but the regular course of ecclesiastical history is still waiting to begin, and it does not begin till the Council of Nicæa. Then, for the first time, the Church meets the Empire face to face. The excitement, the shock, the joy, the disappointment, the hope of the meeting, communicate themselves to us. It is one of those moments in the history of the world which occur once, and cannot be repeated. It is the last point whence we can look back on the dark, broken road of the second and third centuries. It is the first point whence we can look forward to the new and comparatively smooth and easy course which the Church will have to pursue for two centuries, indeed, in some sense, for twelve centuries onwards. The line of demarcation between the Nicene and the ante-Nicene age is the most definite that we shall find till we arrive at the invasion of the barbarians."

* Article xxi. of the Church of England. Dean Stanley points out that this was almost implied in the phrase, "*Œcumenical* Synod," that is, an "*Imperial* Gathering;" for the technical meaning of the word οἰκουμένη (literally, *the inhabited world*) was the *Roman Empire*, even in the Greek of the New Testament. (Luke ii. 1.)

In obedience to the imperial letters, 318 bishops, each attended by two presbyters or deacons and three slaves (this, at least, was the retinue allowed), assembled at Nicæa about Whitsuntide of the year 325. Amongst its most important members, Alexandria was represented by the Patriarch, or *Pope*, Alexander,* by the Heresiarch Arius, and his destined opponent, ATHANASIUS, "a small, insignificant young man, of hardly twenty-five years of age, and of bright, serene countenance. Though he is but the deacon—the chief deacon, or archdeacon†—of Alexander, he has closely

* Like the Bishop of Rome at a later age (*but not yet*), the Patriarch of Alexandria was already called officially THE POPE. "*Papa*, that strange and universal mixture of familiar endearment and of reverential awe, extended in a general sense to all Greek Presbyters and all Latin bishops, was the special address which, long before the name of *patriarch* or *archbishop*, was given to the head of the Alexandrian Church. This peculiar application of a name, in itself expressing simple affection, is thus explained:—Down to Heraclas (A.D. 230), the Bishop of Alexandria, being the sole Egyptian bishop, was called *Abba* (father), and his clergy *Elders*. From his time more bishops were created, who then received the name of *Abba;* and consequently the name of PAPA (*ab-aba*, *i.e.*, *pater patrum*=grandfather) was appropriated to the primate. The Roman account (inconsistent with facts) is that the name was first given to Cyril, as representing the Bishop of Rome in the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431). The name was fixed to the Bishop of Rome in the seventh century." (Stanley.)

† This was "an office very different from that which is called by the same name among ourselves. It was then literally what the word implies, 'the Chief of the Deacons,' the head of that body of deacons whose duty it is to attend upon the bishop. Of this kind is the office which still bears the name in the Eastern Church, and which is rendered illustrious to Eastern Christians by the two great names of Archdeacon Stephen and Archdeacon Athanasius." Athanasius, who was probably a Copt, or pure Egyptian, had attracted the attention of Alexander, and been appointed to his office, in consequence of a most singular event. From the windows of a lofty house, in which Alexander was entertaining his clergy, his attention was attracted by a game in which some children were engaged on the sea-shore. On being brought to the bishop, they reluctantly confessed that they had been enacting a baptism, and that one of them, having been chosen by them to play the part of a bishop, had dipped them in the sea. Finding that this boy-bishop had administered the sacrament with all the proper forms, he pronounced the sacrament valid, himself added the oil of confirmation, and, struck with the knowledge and gravity of the boy-bishop, he took him under his own charge. "This little boy was Athanasius, already showing the union of seriousness and sport which we shall see in his after years. That childish game is the epitome of the ecclesiastical feelings of his time and of his country. The children playing on the shore, the old man looking at them with interest,—these, indeed, are incidents which belong to every age of the world. But only in the early centuries could have been found the immersion of the baptised, the necessity of a bishop to perform the ceremony, the mixture of freedom and superstition which could regard as serious a sacrament so lightly performed. In the Coptic Church is there the best likeness of this Eastern reverence for the sacred acts of children. A child still draws the lots in the patriarchal elections. By children is still performed the greater part of their innocent child-like services." In a few weeks after the close of the Council of Nicæa, Alexander died, and Athanasius was elected to succeed him in the see of Alexandria.

riveted the attention of the assembly by the vehemence of his arguments. He is already taking the words out of the bishop's mouth, and briefly acting in reality the part he had before, as a child, acted in name, and that in a few months he will be called to act both in name and in reality." Besides the other Egyptian bishops and presbyters, amongst whom were the firmest friends of Arius, there appeared his fanatic enemies, the wild ascetic hermits from the interior, "not Greeks, nor Grecized Egyptians, but genuine Copts, speaking the Greek language not at all, or with great difficulty; living half or the whole of their lives in the desert; their very names taken from the heathen gods of the times of the ancient Pharaohs." Among the Syrian bishops, the one next in rank to Eustathius, Patriarch of Antioch, but of far higher personal distinction, was EUSEBIUS, Bishop of Cæsarea and Metropolitan of Palestine. "We honour him as the father of ecclesiastical history—as the chief depositary of the traditions which connect the fourth with the first century. But in the bishops at Nicæa his presence awakened feelings of a very different kind. He alone of the Eastern prelates could tell what was in the mind of the emperor; he was the clerk of the imperial closet; he was the interpreter, the chaplain, the confessor of Constantine." He was strongly suspected of Arianism, and was supported by most of his suffragan bishops from Palestine. The remoter East sent as its representatives James, Bishop of Nisibis, whose ascetic sanctity and miraculous fame had earned for him the name of the Moses of Mesopotamia; his cousin Aristaces, Bishop of Armenia, and, from beyond the frontier of the empire, John the Persian, who bore the title of Metropolitan of India. Among the prelates of Asia Minor was Eusebius, Bishop of the imperial city of Nicomedia, and two who had already obtained a fabulous reputation, Nicolas, Bishop of Myra in Lycia, and Spiridion of Cyprus, since the patron saint of the Ionian Islands. In short, the Council of Nicæa was in substance a synod of the Eastern Church. Of its 318 bishops, no less than 310 came from the division of the empire embraced in the name of Hellenism, and which soon formed the Greek empire.

Of the Latin Church, Sylvester, the Bishop of Rome, himself too aged for the journey, sent the two presbyters who should have attended him. "In this simple deputation later writers have seen (and perhaps by a gradual process the connexion might be traced) the first germ of *legati à latere*. But it must have been a very far-seeing eye which in Victor and Vincentius, the two unknown

elders, representing their sick old bishop, could have detected the predecessors of Pandulf or of Wolsey." Milan, Calabria, Sicily, and Gaul, sent each one bishop; and the most remote, but most important, was Hosius, of Corduba in Spain, the confidant of Constantine. Pannonia sent Domnus, and even the Goths were represented by Theophilus, the teacher of the great evangelist of the nation, Ulphilas. The bishops alone voted; but the presbyters took an active part in the discussions, the course of which must be left to the ecclesiastical historians. It is enough to say that the main issue was at last reduced literally to "one jot" (the Greek letter *iota*). Both parties were prepared to subscribe the same creed, except for the difference of that single letter in a single word. In the confession:—"I believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, *Being of one substance* * with the Father,"—the general form of which was first proposed by the semi-Arian, Eusebius of Cæsarea,—the Arians would have been content with the substitution of the phrase, "*Being of a like substance* † with the Father." On this point, which gave the two parties the names of *Homousians* and *Homoiousians*, the decision turned: Arius was anathematized by the Council, for no affirmation of truth was henceforth deemed valid without a curse on its deniers; and the civil arm followed up the sentence by banishing him to Illyricum, with two African bishops, who alone of all his friends remained firm against the persuasions of their brethren and the threats of Constantine. The later history of Arius is obscure: we only know that he was restored to the communion of the Church, but not permitted to return to Alexandria. His death, which seems to have taken place at Constantinople in 336, was ascribed by the Athanasian party to a divine judgment, on the eve of his formal reception into fellowship, and by some of the Arians to poison. The relation in which the Nicene Council left Constantine himself to the Christian Church is well defined by Dean Stanley:—"His leading idea was to restore peace to the Church, as he had restored it to the Empire. In the execution of this idea two courses of action presented themselves to him, as they have to all ecclesiastical statesmen ever since. He stands at the head of all, in the

* Ὁμοούσιος, or ὁμούσιος, in English characters, *Homousios*.
† Ὁμοιούσιος, *Homoiousios*.

fact that he combined them both in himself. In him both the latitudinarian and the persecutor may find their earliest precedents, which were both alike approved by the ecclesiastics of that age, though in later times he has been as severely condemned for the one as he has been praised for the other. No scheme of comprehension has been broader, on the one hand, than that put forward in his letter of advice to Alexander and Arius; and on the other, when this failed, he still pursued the same end, with the same tenacity, by the directly opposite means of enforcing uniformity, to us long familiar, but first introduced by him into the Church,—the hitherto unknown practice of subscription to the articles of a written creed, and the infliction of civil penalties on those who refused to conform."

If in some features of this picture we recognise a parallel to the first princely "head upon earth of the Church of England," the resemblance is not diminished by those domestic tragedies which marked the latter part of Constantine's reign as far worse than the beginning—a deterioration which we may ascribe in part to the flattery of his ecclesiastical courtiers, and in part to the demoralizing influence of oriental habits. In the year after the Council of Nice (A.D. 326), he visited Rome to celebrate the festival of his *Vicennalia*. His arrival happened just before the 15th of July,

"The proud Ides of Quinctilis,"

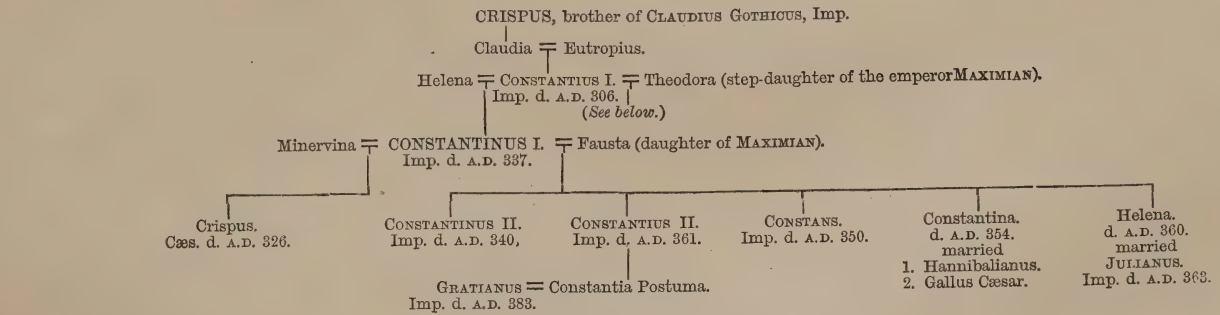
when the battle of the Lake Regillus was celebrated by the annual procession of the equestrian order

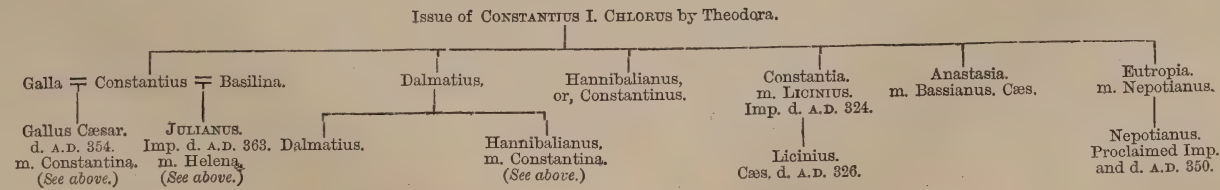
"From Castor in the Forum
To Mars without the wall."

The emperor was so imprudent as to deride the pageant in which he had refused to share; and when, in the riot that ensued, word was brought to him that stones had been thrown at the head of one of his statues, he drily replied, as he passed his hand over his face, "It is very surprising, but I do not feel in the least hurt."

This dangerous comedy was succeeded by a fearful domestic tragedy, only paralleled in later history by those of Philip II., Isabella, and Don Carlos, of Peter the Great and his son Alexis. The imperial family consisted, first, of the emperor and his mother Helena, and his three half-brothers, the sons of Constantius by Theodora, the step-daughter of Maximian. Next, Constantine, like his father, before his union to Maximian's other daughter, Fausta, had contracted an alliance with the low-born Minervina, who became the mother of Crispus, while Fausta had borne to him

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF CONSTANTIUS.



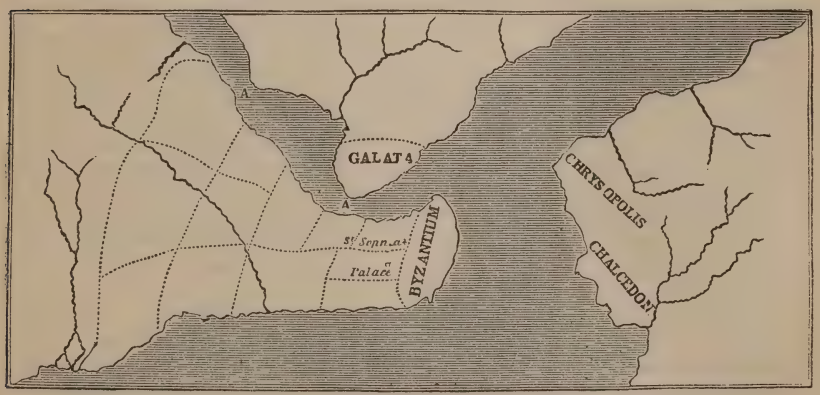


Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. Moreover, Constantia, the sister of Constantine, married to Licinius at Milan in the year 313, had a son Licinius, on whom Constantine had conferred the dignity of Cæsar, as well as upon his own sons, in A.D. 317. Amongst the members of this august family, Crispus was as conspicuous for his personal merits as for his position next the throne. His amiable nature was trained and his accomplishments cultivated by the great Christian orator Lactantius, and his victory in the Hellespont had established his military reputation. He became the favourite of the people; but that very favour inflamed the jealousy between his father and himself, which was the natural result of his position as the son of a repudiated wife. The appointment of his half-brother Constantius to the prefecture of the Gauls, with the title of Cæsar, while still an infant, seems to have determined Crispus to claim the dignity of Augustus, which Constantine refused him. The events that followed are obscure; but amidst the darkness there is evidence of intrigues, in which it is impossible to determine whether Crispus had or had not a share. It would have been strange indeed if Constantine, the conqueror in a civil war, and the patron of a new religion, had been exempt from the plots which are the constant terror of monarchs; and many perfidious flatterers must have surrounded the young prince, ready to urge him on to any rashness.

As early as the 1st of October, A.D. 325, we have an edict in which Constantine alludes to a secret conspiracy, and, while praying for the protection of the Deity, he follows the example of his worst predecessors by inviting informers to accuse even his most trusted officers and his nearest friends. The certainty that such wretches would not spare Crispus may be connected with the probability that Rome, the centre of the ancient faith, which had been deserted, like herself, by the emperor, might seek a new Augustus in his son; and the tumult of the Julian Ides might well strengthen such a suspicion. The 24th of the same month was the twentieth anniversary of Constantine's accession, and Crispus shared with his father the congratulations of the Senate and the people. "Every eye and every tongue affected to express their sense of the general happiness, and the veil of ceremony and dissimulation was drawn for awhile over the darkest designs of revenge and murder"—are words which perhaps apply to more than one of the actors in the pageant. In the midst of the festival Crispus was arrested, and, after a brief examination in private, sent secretly to Pola in Istria, where he was soon afterwards put

to death. The young Licinius was involved in his fate, with many of their noble friends. But the story that the empress Fausta, after instigating Constantine to the murder of her step-son, fell herself by the revenge of Helena, who discovered to Constantine his wife's intrigue with a groom of the imperial stables, is at least doubtful.* The Roman populace once more asserted their freedom of comment on the actions of their princes by lampoons affixed to the palace gate, which declared that the age of Nero had returned.

After this tragedy, Constantine took his final departure from Rome; and four years later the imperial city was degraded from the rank of the capital by the dedication of CONSTANTINOPLE, the "city of Constantine" (A.D. 330). The accompanying map will convey a clear idea of that unrivalled site, which we can spare but a few words to describe.



PLAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE. (AA, Chrysoceras, Golden Horn.)

The voyager, who passes from the beautiful Archipelago of the Ægæan into the vast land-locked sea, whose name was changed

* "Those," observes Gibbon, "who have attacked, and those who have defended the character of Constantine, have alike disregarded two very remarkable passages of two orations, pronounced under the succeeding reign. The former (by Julian) celebrates the virtues, the beauty, and the fortune of the empress Fausta, the daughter, wife, sister, and mother of so many princes. The latter (a monody on Constantine II.) asserts, in explicit terms, that the mother of the younger Constantine, who was slain three years after his father's death, survived to weep over the fate of her son."

As to the execution of Crispus, the unsparing censure of Gibbon should be compared with Niebuhr's more qualified opinion:—"If people will make a tragedy of this event, I must confess that I do not see how it can be proved that Crispus was innocent. When I read of so many insurrections of sons against their fathers, there seems to me nothing improbable in supposing that Crispus, who was Cæsar, and demanded the title of Augustus, which his father refused him, may have thought, 'Well, if I do not make something of myself, my father will not, for he will certainly prefer the sons

by Greek superstition from the Inhospitable (Axenos) into the Euxine (*i.e.*, Hospitable), first works his way against the rapid current, which flows for sixty miles between winding shores only three miles apart, but belonging to different continents. The channel received from the fables of mythology the name of *Hellespont*, and the fame of the mythic Dardanus is still preserved in the name applied to it from the Turkish forts of the *Dardanelles*, which guard the entrance, near which Troy once stood. A sail of 120 miles carries us across the Sea of Marmora, the *Vestibule to the Pontus* (Propontis), to the mouth of the inner channel, which gives direct access to the Euxine, having a length of about seventeen miles and an average breadth of one and a-half, while its least width (600 yards between the Old Castles of the Greek emperors) afforded an easy ferry to the old pastoral tribes, who therefore called it *Bosporus*, that is, the *Ox-ford*.* The mouth of

of Fausta to me, the son of a repudiated woman.' Such a thought, if it did occur to Crispus, must have stung him to the quick, and might easily have driven him into a conspiracy against his father. That a father should order his own son to be put to death is certainly repulsive to our feelings, but it is rash and inconsiderate to assert that Crispus was innocent. It appears to me highly probable that Constantine himself was quite convinced of his son's guilt. I infer this from his conduct towards the three step-brothers of Crispus, whom he always treated with the highest respect; his unity and harmony with his sons are in fact truly exemplary." This conclusion is supported by the certain falsehood of the story that Constantine was ever after tormented with remorse, and that he erected a statue to Crispus with the inscription, "To my son, whom I unjustly condemned."

* *Bosphorus* is a corruption to be resisted with the utmost pertinacity. The inner Ox-ford, at the mouth of the sea of Azov, was called the Cimmerian Bosporus, the outer being the Thracian. Besides the retention of the old name of Bosporus, the strait is now called the *Channel of Constantinople*, in Turkish *Boghas*. The narrow part, at which the *Old Castles* were built by the Greek emperors, is said to have been the place where Mandrocles built the bridge of boats for Darius, though the exact spot must have been a little higher up, where the sea is more tranquil. The Old Castles were restored by Mahmoud II. before the final siege of Constantinople: they are now called *Rumili-Hisar* and *Anadoli-Hisar*, *i.e.*, the Castles of Roumelia (in Europe) and Anatolia (in Asia). The *New* or *Genoese Castles* were built on the summits of two opposite hills, upon the foundations of old temples of Serapis and Jupiter Urius, to command the mouth of the strait and levy the toll on vessels entering the Bosporus. Outside the mouth were the *Cyaneæ Insulæ*, so called from the colour which the volcanic rocks owe to the presence of copper. Strabo describes them as two little isles, one upon the European, and the other on the Asiatic side of the strait, separated from each other by twenty stadia (two geographical miles). The fabled motion of these rocks, embodied in the name *Symplegades*, is supposed to have been suggested by a circumstance described by Tournefort:—"Each of them consists of one craggy island, but when the sea is disturbed, the water covers the lower parts, so as to make the different points of either resemble insular rocks. They are in fact each joined to the mainland by a kind of isthmus, and appear as islands when this is inundated, which always happens in stormy weather." The Bosporus itself forms in its

this strait, where the Argonauts passed safely between the fabled rocks (*Symplegades*), whose collision crushed the hapless mariner, received from early Greek colonists the more effectual guard of the two cities of Chalcedon on the Asiatic and Byzantium on the European shore, both founded by the Megarians.

In addition to the central position, and the wonderful command both of sea and land, common to the two cities, there is one feature which perfects the site of Byzantium, the magnificent harbour formed by the arm of the Bosporus, called from its shape and from the riches daily brought into it, the Golden Horn (*Chrysoceras*, in Greek). The little river Lycus pours a constant flow of fresh water into this inlet, which is about seven miles in length, and, from the absence of tides in the Mediterranean, of a constant depth. The lower part expands into a splendid basin, nearly three quarters of a mile in width, contracting again to a breadth of only 500 yards, where a chain could be drawn across the mouth of the harbour. Between the Golden Horn and the Propontis lies a tongue of land, which gradually contracts from a wide base to an obtuse point, opposite to the site of the ancient harbour of Chalcedon, — Chrysopolis, the modern *Scutari*. The peninsula slopes down from the high ground of Thrace to the level of the sea, as if to link the continent of Europe to that of Asia; and the undulations of its descent form themselves into seven hills —a fortunate resemblance, as it was esteemed, to the site of Rome. On the last of these hills, now occupied by the *Seraglio*, stood the Acropolis of Byzantium, and the city spread over the point of land now covered by the gardens of the Seraglio, and probably over the three adjacent regions of the city of Constantine. It had a circuit of about four geographical miles.* But the design of Constantine embraced the whole peninsula, with all its seven hills. He professed himself to be under the guidance of a divine inspiration, alike in the choice of the site and in the settlement of its limits.† "The

windings a chain of seven lakes. According to the law of all estuaries, these seven windings are indicated by seven promontories, forming as many corresponding bays, on the opposite coast; the projections on the one shore being similar to the indentations on the other. Seven currents, in different directions, follow the windings of the coast. Each has a counter-current, and the water, driven with violence into the separate bays, flows upward in an opposite direction in the other half of the channel. It is from this cause that an upward current, constantly thrown into the Golden Horn, serves the same purpose of preventing the stagnation of its waters, that the tide does in our own harbours.

* In some respects the site of Byzantium resembled that of Carthage.

† The emperor's silence respecting the mode of this intimation is supplied by the imagination of later chroniclers, "who describe the noctural vision which appeared to

day which gave birth to a city or colony was celebrated by the Romans with such ceremonies as had been ordained by a generous superstition; and though Constantine might omit some rites which savoured too strongly of their Pagan origin, yet he was anxious to leave a deep impression of hope and respect on the minds of the spectators. On foot, with a lance in his hand, the emperor himself led the solemn procession, and directed the line which was traced as the boundary of the destined capital, till the growing circumference was observed with astonishment by the assistants, who at length ventured to observe that he had already exceeded the most ample measure of a great city. *I shall still advance*, replied Constantine, *till* HE, *the invisible guide who marches before me, thinks proper to stop.*" The walls which stretched across the base of the peninsula were fifteen stadia (a geographical mile and a-half) beyond the ancient walls, and enclosed five of the seven hills: the remaining two were afterwards built over, and formed a suburb, which was surrounded with a new wall by Theodosius in A.D. 413. "From the eastern promontory to the Golden Gate, the extreme length of Constantinople was about three Roman miles, the circumference measured between ten and eleven, and the surface might be computed as equal to about 2000 English acres. The suburbs of Pera and Galata,* though situate beyond the harbour, may deserve to be considered as a part of the city; and this addition may perhaps authorise the measure of a Byzantine historian, who assigns sixteen Greek (about fourteen Roman) miles for the circumference of his native city. Such an extent may seem not unworthy of an imperial residence. Yet Constantinople must yield to Babylon and Thebes, to ancient Rome, to London,† and even to Paris."

In imitation of Rome, the city was divided into fourteen wards (*regiones*), and provided with public buildings for business, state, and recreation. The chief FORUM, which was of a round shape, stood upon the second hill, on which Constantine had pitched his tent during the siege of Byzantium. Its centre was marked by a

the fancy of Constantine, as he slept within the walls of Byzantium. The tutelar genius of the city, a venerable matron, sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, was suddenly transformed into a blooming maid, whom his own hands adorned with the symbols of imperial greatness."

* *Galata*, on the projection which contracts the mouth of the Golden Horn, on the side opposite to the city, corresponds to the ancient Sycæ (or *Fig Trees*), which formed the XIIIth region of the city.

† This was the London of Gibbon's time. What would he have said of the London of 1865?

column, composed of ten cylinders of porphyry, each 10 feet high, upon a pedestal of white marble 20 feet high, and surmounted by a bronze colossus of Apollo, supposed to be the work of Phidias. The statue of the Sun-god,—whom the artist had represented with a sceptre in his right hand, the globe of the world in his left, and a crown of rays glittering on his head,—was invested with Christian emblems,* and made to do duty as the image of the emperor—a medley of heathenism, Christianity, and imperialism, which may be regarded as a fit type of Constantine's system of government in church and state. The site of the splendid HIPPODROME—destined to be deluged with blood by the factions of white, red, blue, and green—is still marked by one of the goals (*metæ*), a curious bronze pillar formed by the entwined bodies of three serpents, whose heads supported the golden tripod dedicated at Delphi by the united Greeks after the defeat of Xerxes. Other trophies of art were transported in immense numbers from all parts of the Hellenic world, to adorn this building and the whole city, which, like the empire itself, owed its splendour to the plunder of the universe, not to a spontaneous growth of art.† Stripped of its innumerable statues, the Hippodrome (in Turkish, *atmeidan*) served the Moslem conquerors as a place for equestrian exercise, till it was burnt in 1808 in a revolt of the Janissaries. From the emperor's seat in the Hippodrome, a private staircase descended to the PALACE, which, together with the dependent courts, gardens, and porticoes, covered a considerable extent of ground on the shore of the Propontis, between the Hippodrome and the church of S. SOPHIA. This, the principal church of Constantinople, built on the site of an old temple of Wisdom, suffered for its proximity to the Hippodrome by being twice

* An ancient author asserts that the rays of the sun were replaced by the nails of the Passion. Afterwards Constantine gave way to Julian, and Julian to Theodosius, and at last the statue fell in the reign of Alexius Comnenus, and was replaced by the cross. The palladium was said to be buried under the column, the mutilated fragment of which, still standing, is called the *burnt pillar*.

† These inestimable treasures of Greek art were destroyed at the taking of Constantinople by the Latin Crusaders and the Venetians in A.D. 1284; their only remains being the four bronze horses, which adorn the piazza of St. Mark at Venice. Since that time Constantinople has suffered more from the Greeks than from the Turks.

‡ In the court called the *Forum Augusteum*, one side of which was formed by the palace and the other by the church, stood the *Milliarium Aureum*, not, as at Rome, a gilt marble pillar, but a spacious edifice, the centre from which all the roads of the empire were measured, and on the walls of which the distances to all the chief places were inscribed.

destroyed in the triumphs of the Blue and Green factions.* It was rebuilt by Justinian, and formed the grandest of those works of the new Byzantine architecture, which gained for that emperor the title, formerly borne by Hadrian, of "Restorer of the World." But, while dedicating the church to the *Holy Eternal Wisdom* (*S. Sophia*),† Justinian, and his architects, Anthemius of Tralles, and Isidorus of Miletus, showed, as Mr. Hope remarks, but little of the wisdom of man. Disregarding the cardinal rule, that all architectural trick is inconsistent with good taste, they endeavoured to make the dome appear entirely hovering in air, without the least earthly resting-place. The attempt was unsuccessful, for, in A.D. 558, twenty-one years after the dedication, an earthquake nearly destroyed it. Another Isidorus, nephew of the former, was employed to restore it. An elevation of 20 feet more than it had before its fall was given to the dome, and the original circular was changed to an elliptical form. Though such was the lightness of the dome, that it appeared suspended "by a chain from heaven," it rested on four strong arches, supported on four massive piles, assisted on the north and south sides by four columns of granite, each having a shaft 40 feet in length. Two larger and six smaller semi-domes encircled the central cupola. The ground-plan describes the figure of a Greek cross within a quadrangle, but on the inside it was oval. It is to the magnificent boast of Michael Angelo, that he would rear the dome of S. Sophia in the air, resting it upon a proper basis, that we owe those perfect specimens of domed architecture, St. Peter's at Rome and our own St. Paul's. As to the other edifices of Constantinople, we must be content with the summary of Gibbon:—"A particular description, composed about a century after its foundation, enumerates a capitol or school of learning, a circus, 2 theatres, 8 public and 153 private baths, 52 porticoes, 5 granaries, 8 aqueducts or reservoirs of water, 4 spacious halls for the meetings of the Senate or courts of justice, 14 churches, 14 palaces, and 4383 houses which, for their size or beauty, deserved to be distinguished from the multitude of plebeian habitations. Some estimate may be formed of the expense bestowed with imperial liberality on the foundation of Constantinople, by the allowance of about £2,500,000 for the construction of the walls, the porticoes, and the aqueducts. The forests that overshadowed the shores of the Euxine, and the celebrated quarries of white marble in the little island of Procon-

* For a full account of these factions and their fights, see Gibbon, chap. xl.

† Proverbs viii., &c.

nesus, supplied an inexhaustible stock of materials, ready to be conveyed, by the convenience of a short water-carriage, to the harbour of Byzantium." The emperors who, after Constantine, did most to embellish and restore the city, were Theodosius the Great, Arcadius, and Justinian.

The new capital was dedicated on the 11th of May, A.D. 330, and solemnly named the NEW or SECOND ROME by an edict graven on a marble column. But the all-powerful arbitress, Custom, forbade the confusion of the Eternal City with the capital of a despot, and, while preserving the one from profanation, gave the other a *monumentum ære perennius*, in the name of CONSTANTINOPLE.* The population of the city was as artificial as its decorations. "Many opulent senators of Rome and of the eastern provinces were induced by Constantine to adopt for their country the fortunate spot which he had chosen for his own residence. He bestowed on his favourites the palaces which he had built in the several quarters of the city, assigned them lands and pensions for the support of their dignity, and alienated the demesnes of Pontus and Asia, to grant hereditary estates by the easy tenure of maintaining a house in the capital. But these encouragements and obligations soon became superfluous, and were gradually abolished. Wherever the seat of government is fixed, a considerable part of the public revenue will be expended by the prince himself, by his ministers, by the officers of justice, and by the domestics of the palace. The most wealthy of the provincials will be attracted by the powerful motives of interest and duty, of amusement and curiosity. A third and more numerous class of inhabitants will insensibly be formed, of servants, of artificers, and of merchants, who derive their subsistence from their own labour, and from the wants or luxury of the superior ranks." Nor were these the only classes who lived at the capital upon the revenues of the empire. The system of largesses, which had worked such mischief at Rome, was imported to Constantinople, without the same excuse. "A nation of legislators and conquerors might assert their claim to the harvests of Africa, which had been purchased with their blood; and it was artfully contrived by Augustus that, in the enjoyment of plenty, the Romans should lose the memory of freedom. But the prodigality of Constantine could not be excused by any con-

* The city has preserved its ancient name, not only in European use, but in the Arabic *Constantije*. The Turkish *Istambul*, or *Stambul*, is a corruption of *εἰς τὴν πόλιν* (*to the City*), just as Nicæa and Nicomedia became *Isnik* and *Ismik*. The *Sublime Porte* is a title derived from the great gate of the Seraglio.

sideration either of public or private interest; and the annual tribute of corn imposed upon Egypt for the benefit of his new capital was applied to feed a lazy and insolent populace at the expense of the husbandmen of an industrious province."

The new capital was invested with the *Jus Italicum*, which consisted in these three points: the right of a free constitution; the exemption from taxes; and the title of the land to be regarded as Quiritarian property. It received the title of a *Colony*, the first and most favoured daughter of ancient Rome. "The venerable parent still maintained the legal and acknowledged supremacy, which was due to her age, to her dignity, and to the remembrance of her former greatness."* The municipal council received the name of Senate, but with none of the privileges of the august order. A new system of government was devised, in which a hierarchy of officials derived their powers and honours from their sovereign. Then were introduced those elaborately graduated titles, which still so strangely captivate the ears even of freemen: your *Sincerity*, your *Gravity*, your *Excellency*, your *Eminence*, your *sublime and wonderful Magnitude*, your *illustrious and magnificent Highness*. From that age we have first handed down to us those curious *diptychs* or folding tablets, usually of ivory, carved with figures of the officers whose patents they formed, of the provinces they governed, and the emperors who appointed them.† Chateaubriand has well said that Constantine, who replaced the great Patriciate by a titled nobility, and who changed with other institutions the very nature of Latin society, is the true founder of modern royalty. All the superior magistrates were arranged in three ranks: the Illustrious (*Illustres*); the Respectable (*Spectabiles*); and the Honourable, or perhaps we should rather say, Right Honourable (*Clarissimi*). Those who were not raised to the Senatorian rank bore the two lower titles of *Perfectissimi* and *Egregii*: the Senators were *Clarissimi*: and the two higher ranks were reserved for the superior officials.

The title of ILLUSTRIOUS included those only who may be regarded as the Nobles in the highest sense:—

I. *Consuls and Patricians.* 1. The *Consuls* became, from the time

* Gibbon cites several proofs of this. For example, Julian celebrates Constantinople as not less superior to all other cities than she was inferior to Rome. It was not till the division of the empire between Arcadius and Honorius in A.D. 395, that equal dignity was assigned to Rome and Constantinople.

† See an example figured in the *Student's Gibbon*; and consult for full information Labarte's *Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages.*

of Diocletian the direct nominees of the emperors; but the ancient traditions of the office were respected in their investiture with the insignia of royalty and of the imperium, and in the use of their names to mark the years in the *Fasti*. A shadow of their ancient jurisdiction was represented in the single act of manumitting a slave on the day of their inauguration; but their only function was the presidency of the games. 2. The *Patrician* order had for ages lost the distinctive character which we have seen to mark it from the beginning of the Republic; and even the superior nobility of the patrician gentes had long since disappeared. The title was revived by Constantine as a dignity purely personal, and no longer hereditary, a sort of life peerage created at the pleasure of the sovereign, and conferred usually on the favourites and ministers who had grown old in the imperial court. They yielded in rank to none but the two consuls during their year of office.

II. The name of *Prætorian Prefects* was retained, after the prætorian cohorts were abolished, but as the title of purely civil functionaries. Diocletian's quadruple division survived the reunion of the empire under Constantine; but each part formed a *prætorian prefecture*, each prætorian prefect (*præfectus prætorio*) being the lieutenant of the emperor, ruling over the governors and people of the provinces with a power more absolute than that of the proconsuls and proprætors of the Republic. "From all the inferior jurisdictions an appeal in every matter of importance, either civil or criminal, might be brought before the tribunal of the prefect; but *his* sentence was final and absolute; and the emperors themselves refused to admit any complaints against the judgment or the integrity of a magistrate whom they honoured with such unbounded confidence. His appointments were suitable to his dignity; and if avarice was his ruling passion, he enjoyed frequent opportunities of collecting a rich harvest of fees, of presents, and of peqruisites. Though the emperors no longer dreaded the ambition of their prefects, they were attentive to counterbalance the power of this great office by the uncertainty and shortness of its duration."

The four prefectures were subdivided into 13 *dioceses*, each governed by a vice-prefect or *vicar* (*vicarius*), who shared the dignity of "respectable" with the military commanders of the provinces, who were styled *counts* (*comites*) and *dukes* (*duces*). The Provinces were subdivided, till their number amounted to 116, of which 3 were governed by *proconsuls*, 37 by *consulars*, 5 by *correctors*, and 71 by *presidents*. All these magistrates were chosen

from the legal profession, which henceforth became the avenue to wealth and rank. These were all *Clarissimi*, except the proconsuls, who were *Spectabiles*. The following is the outline of the four prefectures:—

i. The *Prætorian Prefecture of the East* embraced all the Asiatic provinces, with Egypt and Cyrenaica on the African side, and Thrace, with Lower Mœsia, on the European. Under the Prefect, Cilicia, Syria, and Arabia, and the provinces to the East, were subject to a vice-prefect, who bore the proud title of *Count of the East* (*Comes Orientis*):* Egypt and the adjacent parts of Africa were under the *Augustal Prefect*; and the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, had their respective *Vicars*.

ii. The *Prefecture of Illyricum* contained the countries between the Danube, Ægæan, and Adriatic—Pannonia, Dacïa, and Illyricum, Macedonia and Greece. The diocese of Dacia was directly under the *prefect*; Macedonia under his *vicar*, and Achaia under a *proconsul*.

iii. The *Prefecture of Italy* extended northwards beyond the Alps, over Rhætia, Vindelicia, and Noricum, to the Danube, and southwards across the Mediterranean to the Atlas and the Sahara, including Africa Proper, Numidia, and nearly all Mauretania. Northern Italy, with Rhætia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Western Illyria, were under the *Vicar of Italy;* the African provinces under the *Vicar of Africa*, except Africa Proper, whose proconsul obeyed only the emperor. Of Rome we have presently to speak.

iv. The *Prefecture of the Gauls* embraced the Western provinces beyond the Rhine and the Alps—Gaul and Spain, with the British Islands, and the Western part of Mauretania.† This

* The word *comes* (*companion* or *attendant*) was anciently distinguished from *socius* (a *fellow* or *comrade*), which implied some bond of union. The retinue of magistrates, the young men who shared, as cadets or pupils, the tent or house of a general or provincial governor, and, in a looser sense, the hangers-on, the maintenance of whom Horace (*Sat.* I. vi. 101) counts as one of the miseries of wealth, were *comites*. Under the empire the word had the indefinite sense of the modern *courtier*; but it came also to be applied to certain officers in the palace and the provinces (*comites palatini* and *provinciales*). It first appears in the time of Constantine as a regular title of honour, including various ranks (*comites ordinis primi, secundi, tertii*); and hence we may trace its modern use as a title of nobility. In England we have identified it with the rank, and replaced it by the title, of *earl*, the Danish *yarl*. It is also worthy of notice that, in the nobility of the later Roman empire, the title of *count* was superior to *duke* (*dux*, i.e., *leader*), the latter being applied exclusively to military officers in the provinces, under the *Magistri Militum*.

† See the Map of the Roman Empire. A full list of the provinces is given in Smith's Gibbon, and in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, art. Constantinopolis.

corner of Africa fell under the *Vicar of Spain*, all Gaul under the *Vicar of the Seven Provinces*, and the British Isles under the *Vicarius Britanniarum*.

Some idea of the magnitude of the provincial establishments, and of the vast army of officials that fed upon the empire, may be formed from the statement, that the Count of the East employed in his immediate service 600 *apparitors*, who would now be styled secretaries, clerks, ushers, or messengers.

On a perfectly equal footing of rank with the four prætorian prefects were the two *Prefects of Rome and Constantinople*, in whose hands were placed the entire police and jurisdiction of each capital and the country for a hundred miles round. The prefect of Rome had also, in his capacity of *Vicarius Urbis Romæ*, the government of central and southern Italy, and Sicily, from Etruria and Umbria southwards.

III. The military functions of the old prætorian prefects were transferred to the two *Masters Generals* (*Magistri Militum*) of the cavalry and infantry, afterwards increased to eight, each pair of officers being stationed on the frontiers of the Rhine, the Upper and Lower Danube, and the Euphrates. Under them were thirty-five commanders, of whom ten were *counts* and the remainder *dukes*. The entire separation of the civil and military authorities was a great safeguard against revolt; but at the cost of enfeebled powers of defence; and similar effects resulted from the reduction of the force of the legions from 6000 to 1000 or 1500 men. Their number was 132, and the complete force of legionaries and auxiliaries amounted to 645,000 men, holding 583 permanent stations on the frontiers of the empire. The *Palatines*, or household troops, were stationed in the interior, and distinguished from those of the frontier, the *Borderers*, by higher pay and privileges. While the former, enfeebled by luxury and insolence, grew unfit to cope with barbarian invaders, the latter, exposed to constant hardships, and degraded by the sense of inferiority, showed a spirit which provoked dreadful menaces from Constantine. They would even share in the spoil of the barbarians; and the increasing difficulty of raising levies produced an increased infusion of barbarian troops.

IV. *Seven Ministers of the Palace* exercised "sacred" functions about the person of the emperor:—the *Præpositus*, or *Prefect of the Bedchamber*, a eunuch who waited on the emperor himself, and had charge of the private apartments: the *Master of the Offices*, who was the supreme magistrate of the palace;—the *Quæstor*, or

head of the judicial administration, who composed the orations and edicts of the emperor;—the public treasurer, or *Count of the sacred largesses;*—the *Private Treasurer* of the revenues of the imperial estates;—and the two *Counts of the Domestics*, who commanded the imperial body-guard, and thus represented the prætorian prefects of the early empire.

The taxes required to support this vast machine were raised in part by the old methods, but chiefly by a tribute, assessed on the whole empire in a manner which has perpetuated the name as one of the landmarks of chronology. The *Indiction* was properly the edict, bearing the imperial sign-manual in purple ink, for the collection of the tribute at intervals of fifteen years.*

At the head of this system stood the imperial family, which received its most important addition by the birth of Julian, in the very year after the dedication of Constantinople (A.D. 331). Two years later, Constans, the youngest son of Constantine, received the rank of Cæsar, to which his brothers had already been raised (A.D. 333). At the celebration of his *Tricennalia* in A.D. 335, Constantine bestowed the same rank on his nephew Dalmatius, and conferred on his other nephew Hannibalianus the special title of *Nobilissimus*, making a new division of the provinces among the five young princes (A.D. 335). Meanwhile, the peace which had been generally preserved on the frontier for twenty years was broken by a bloody war between the Sarmatians and Goths. Constantine took the field in person, with his son Constantine, and gained a great victory over the Goths (A.D. 332). But subsequent hostilities between the hostile tribes resulted in a disastrous defeat of the Sarmatians, who sought refuge within the Roman empire; and no less than 300,000 obtained settlements in Illyricum and Italy (A.D. 334). Constantine was already engaged in preparing for a new Persian war, provoked by the ambition of

* For further particulars of the form in which the tribute was collected, see Gibbon, c. xvii.

In chronology the *Epoch of the Indictions* is September 1st, A.D. 312; but when a certain indiction is mentioned, it denotes *the year* in some period of fifteen years, without saying which period. From the twelfth century, however, the term *indiction* was applied to the *periods themselves*, which were reckoned from the actual birth of Christ, or rather from the beginning of the ensuing year, which was B.C. 3; and thus Constantine's first indiction (the twenty-second Christian) was made to date from the first day of A.D. 313 (for $3+312=21\times15$). The "Roman indiction" of our almanacks signifies the particular year of the current indiction, and is the remainder found by adding 3 to the number of the year and dividing by 15. Thus $(1865+3)\div15=124$ with remainder 8; that is, 1865 is the 8th year of the 125th Christian indiction, or the 104th of Constantine.

Sapor II., when he died at the age of sixty-four, at his palace in the suburbs of Nicomedia, on the 22nd of May, A.D. 337.

As if to complete the precedent he had established for the forms of later monarchies, his body was laid in state amidst all the accustomed ceremonials of the court. The pageant answered the purpose formerly served by concealing the death of an emperor. Time was gained for excluding Dalmatius and Hannibalianus from any share in the succession; and Constantius, who was on the spot, included them, with five others of his cousins, his two uncles, the patrician Optatus, and the prefect Ablavius, in a massacre, the more odious as it was committed under the pretended authority of a scroll, which Eusebius, the Bishop of Nicomedia, produced as the writing of the emperor whom he had just baptized upon his deathbed. Gallus and Julian, the two sons of Julius Constantius, were alone saved by their tender age and the care of their protectors. The share of Constantius in this tragedy may have been exaggerated by the common hatred with which he was regarded both by Christians and pagans.

The three surviving sons of Constantine, CONSTANTINUS II., CONSTANTIUS II., and CONSTANS, now succeeded to the empire; and they ratified in a personal interview the division based on that last made by their father. Constantine, who was twenty-one years old, retained the prefecture of the Gauls; Constans, who was seventeen, added to the Italian prefecture the province of Greece, which had become vacant by the murder of Dalmatius: while Constantius, who was twenty years old, and the ablest of the three, kept Thrace and the East, acknowledging, however, his elder brother's right to the capital. On Constantius fell the burthen of the Persian War, which never entirely ceased during his long reign. Sapor II., surnamed the Great, succeeded to the throne as a posthumous son in A.D. 310, and his reign and life lasted for the almost unequalled period of seventy-one years (to 381).* On the death of Constantine, he began the effort to wrest from Rome the countries beyond the Euphrates, in which he finally succeeded by the defeat of Julian (A.D. 363). His progress against Constantius was chiefly checked by the resistance of Nisibis, from which he was thrice repulsed, after sieges of 60, 80, and 100 days (A.D. 338, 346, 350). Meanwhile, an invasion of the Massagetæ lost him the opportunity of profiting by the civil war that soon broke out among the sons of Constantine.

Constantine II., dissatisfied with his share of the empire,

* Louis XIV. of France reigned for seventy-two years.

required Constans to yield up Africa. Not content with this, he crossed the Julian Alps at the head of a disorderly band; fell into an ambush; and was slain (A.D. 340). The empire of the West, thus gained, was held by Constans for ten years, during which he carried on war with the Franks upon the Rhine, and with the Picts and Scots in Britain. But his time was chiefly spent in the society of his eunuchs, and his vices and tyranny at length provoked an insurrection in Gaul. MAGNENTIUS, an ignorant barbarian, assumed the purple at Augustodunum (*Autun*), and Constans was endeavouring to escape to a sea-port, when he was overtaken and put to death at the foot of the Pyrenees (A.D. 350). Magnentius was now acknowledged through the prefectures of Gaul and Italy; and Nepotianus, the son of Eutropia, who had been proclaimed at Rome, was put to death by Marcellinus, the lieutenant of Magnentius, after a reign of twenty-eight days. In Illyricum, however, the prefect VETRANIO declared his firm adherence to the house of Constantine. But the voice of his troops, and the persuasions of Constantina, the widow of Hannibalianus, decided him also to assume the purple in Pannonia, and to make common cause with Magnentius.

The news of these events reached Constantius while he was still crippled by his great defeat at Singara in 348. He called forth his cousin Gallus from the honourable confinement in which he had been brought up, and sent him to command at Antioch, while he marched to the West. Vetranio was enticed to a conference at Sardica, where his troops deserted to Constantius, who permitted the usurper to retire to Prusa in Bithynia (Dec. 350). The contest with Magnentius lasted through the following summer, and was at length decided by the great battle of Mursa on the Drave, near its confluence with the Danube, where 54,000 men are said to have fallen (Sep. 28, A.D. 351).* Magnentius fled to Aquileia; but, finding his cause abandoned by the Italians, he crossed the Alps into Gaul, where he was defeated by Constantius, and put an end to his own life (A.D. 353).

Meanwhile Gallus, on whom Constantius had conferred the title of Cæsar and the hand of his sister Constantina (A.D. 351), had begun to govern the East with the most cruel tyranny; and Constantius despatched the Oriental prefect, Domitian, to reform the administration. Gallus resisted his authority; and Domitian was murdered, with the quæstor Montius, by the populace of

* Mursa, now *Essek*, the capital of Slavonia, is famed for its bridge of boats, five miles long.

Antioch. Constantius dissembled his anger, and induced Gallus, by pressing letters, to come to him at Milan. On his arrival at Petovio in Pannonia, the Cæsar was hurried away a prisoner to Pola, where he soon after followed the fate of Crispus (Dec., A.D. 354).

His brother Flavius Claudius Julianus, who was now twenty-three years old, was brought from Ionia to Milan as a prisoner. The intercession of the empress Eusebia, followed up by the ability with which Julian pleaded his own cause before the emperor, procured him an honourable exile to Athens, a residence doubly congenial to the young philosopher who had already secretly returned to the pagan faith. Here he had for his fellow students the celebrated Christian fathers, Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Cæsarea. The same year witnessed the decision, as it was vainly supposed, of the great ecclesiastical controversy of the age. The very prince who had presided over the Council of Nicæa had shown during his later years a leaning to Arianism, and had been baptized *in extremis* by Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia. Two years before his death, ATHANASIUS, the unflinching champion of orthodoxy, deposed by the council of Tyre, appealed to Constantine, who sent him into an honourable banishment at Treves, but kept the see of Alexandria vacant. Restored on the death of Constantine, and again expelled by the council of Antioch (A.D. 338), Athanasius lived in the West under the protection of Constans. His sentence was revoked by the Council of Sardica (A.D. 347), and Constantius, yielding to his brother's threats, suffered him to return to Alexandria (A.D. 349).

And now, as sole master of the empire, Constantius avenged himself for this compliance by summoning a council of 300 bishops at Milan, to confirm the sentence passed at Tyre (A.D. 355). Thus condemned by the Western as well as the Eastern Church, Athanasius was only driven from his see by force (A.D. 356). For six years he was concealed in the desert, never ceasing by his writings to encourage the orthodox and to brand the emperor as Antichrist. Restored by Julian in A.D. 362, he had just time to renew the peace of the Church, and to receive back most of the leading Arians, at the Council of Alexandria, when he was again exiled. Another gleam of favour, under the orthodox Jovian (A.D. 363), was eclipsed by the accession of Valens, a zealous Arian, and Athanasius sought refuge in his father's tomb (A.D. 364). But his removal excited a rebellion at Alexandria, and the emperor prudently permitted Athanasius to return in peace. After

one more confirmation of the orthodox doctrine by a council held at Alexandria in A.D. 369, the archbishop quietly ended (about A.D. 372 or 373) that wondrous life which verified the motto, *Athanasius contra Mundum.**

Julian had only spent six months at Athens, when Constantius found his own attention distracted by the renewed attacks of the Persians in the East, of the Sarmatians on the Danube, and of the Franks and Alemanni. The Gauls, whom he had himself invited across the Rhine to fight against Magnentius, had committed the most terrible devastations, sacked all the famous cities, such as Treves, Cologne, Mayence, Strasburg, and devastated a wide belt of land on the left bank of the Rhine. Constantius summoned Julian to Milan, declared him Cæsar, and sent him into Gaul (Nov. 6, A.D. 355), while he himself undertook the war upon the Danube. The young prince, teazed for the first time with military details, exclaimed, "O Plato, Plato, what a task for a philosopher!" but none the less did he aspire to martial fame. In four campaigns, he drove the Germans beyond the Rhine, carried the Roman arms into their territory, and restored order to the province he had saved (A.D. 356—359). Meanwhile Constantius, after securing the frontier of Rhætia, and paying one visit to Rome (April 28, A.D. 357), had passed the Danube into the country of the Quadi, when he was summoned to meet a new invasion of Mesopotamia by Sapor, who took Amida on the Tigris after an obstinate siege (A.D. 359—360). The desire to obtain the use of the veteran legions of the West concurred with his jealousy of Julian, to suggest the same policy by which he had before weakened Gallus. In his winter-quarters at Paris, Julian received an order to dispatch four legions, with 300 chosen youths from each of the others, to the East. The Cæsar had made preparations for real or affected obedience, when the troops assembled for their departure took the matter into their own hands by saluting him as *Augustus*. He wrote to Constantius, asking his confirmation of the title, while he denied all complicity in the revolt, and modestly signed himself Cæsar. Finding his overtures scornfully rejected, he made a masterly movement down the Danube, of which the first information conveyed to Constantius at Antioch was that Sirmium had surrendered to his cousin. Though it was the depth of winter, the emperor at once began his march; but he died at Mopsucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarsus in Cilicia, on the 3rd of November,

* The "Athanasian Creed" is not found among his writings, and is probably a production of the fifth century.

A.D. 361.* His death left the empire to the undisputed possession of Julian, who entered Constantinople amidst the acclamations of a people delivered at once from a hated emperor and an impending civil war (Dec. 11).

JULIAN at once proclaimed that change of religion, which earned for him the surname of the APOSTATE, and which has caused his character to be eulogized and assailed with equal partiality. Only blind prejudice can deny his unsullied virtue; his civil and military ability; his untiring industry, of which Gibbon well says that "by this avarice of time, he seemed to protract the short duration of his reign"; his strict justice; and his earnest desire to reform the corruptions above which he had risen superior. Of his literary excellence, we need only cite the judgment of Niebuhr:—"He was a true Attic, and since the time of Dion Chrysostom, Greece had not produced such an elegant author."† Nor should we forget that even his enmity to Christianity may have been provoked in great measure by the strife of sects amidst which he had grown up. But when that enmity is vaunted as philosophical moderation, it must be replied that Julian, like Aurelius, was himself a persecutor. His edict of toleration was followed up by the appointment of pagans to all the offices of the court, and by attempts to suppress Christianity. The most insidious of these was his edict forbidding Christians to teach rhetoric and grammar in the schools; an act of hateful oppression, which has been justly quoted as an indirect testimony to the value of Christian learning. His encouragement of the Jews, as being the enemies of Christianity, is stamped with insincerity by the contempt which he felt for both "superstitions" alike.‡ In his whole conduct in this matter, passion—that sort of passion which betrays the consciousness of a doubtful cause—prevailed over sound policy. Well does

* The years of Julian are reckoned from this date.

† The extant works of Julian are his *Letters* and *Orations*, which are of immense importance for the history of his time; the *Cæsars* or the *Banquet*, a satirical discussion of the characters of his imperial predecessors; *Misopogon* or the *Enemy of the Beard*, a satire on the licentious and insolent people of Antioch, who, as in the time of Hadrian, had excited the emperor's contempt, while they ridiculed his austerity, and in particular his long beard. The work of Julian *Against the Christians* is lost; but extracts from it are preserved in the reply of Cyril.

‡ The well-known legend of the miraculous frustration of Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem is now too generally rejected to need discussion. Those who attach importance to the story fail to perceive that the design of Providence and the word of prophecy were already fulfilled in the destruction of the Temple, and could gain nothing from such marvels. Nor does it appear that Julian's success would have been any frustration of prophecy.

Niebuhr say that "his attempt to restore the pagan religion was a senseless undertaking, even irrespective of the truth of Christianity. The pagan religion, in its truth, that is, its popular belief, had long since become extinct. New Platonism, which properly aimed at monotheism, and was artificially decked out with oriental demonology and theology, with theurgy and thaumaturgy, had taken its place: the ancient mythological fables were allegorized; people saw in Homer, and the other ancient writers, everything except what the Greeks had seen in them. Had Paganism still had a living tradition, it might have been able to struggle for existence; but this was now impossible. The artificial system, partly adopted from Christianity itself, was at best good for a few philosophers; with the exception of Julian, his advisers, and the court philosophers, there were perhaps not five hundred, or at the utmost one thousand persons, who embraced it. In the provinces, moreover, the emperor had many negative followers, who only opposed Christianity without believing in the rival doctrines. Julian's undertaking was thus a truly counter-revolutionary attempt: he wished to introduce into paganism a hierarchy, to institute a new paganism, which was more akin to Gnosticism than to Hellenism: to the latter, in fact, it was diametrically opposed. The impossibility of carrying this plan into effect led Julian to commit acts of tyranny and fraud; but he was nevertheless unable to succeed. Christianity, it is true, had not yet been adopted by anything like the majority of the population, but it had taken firm root." Julian's character is summed up by the contemporary Christian poet Prudentius:—

> "Bravest in arms, and famous for his laws,
> His country's champion both with mouth and hand,
> Faithless to God, but faithful to the world."

Julian spent the first part of the year 362 at Constantinople, and wintered at Antioch, occupying himself with great preparations for war with Persia. Ardent in all his schemes, he seems to have designed not only to recover *Azerbijan*, which Sapor had wrested from Armenia, but to make Babylonia a Roman province and to crush the power of the Sassanidæ for ever. "His plan," says Niebuhr, "was well devised, but he had reckoned too much upon the success of all his operations." He counted also on the support of the Iberians and of Armenia; but the former proved hostile, and the Christian Arsacid house of Armenia disliked the Apostate even more than the Persian Magians. His great error was in waiting till the spring was far advanced, before entering so

hot a country. He left Antioch on the 5th of March, A.D. 363, and pursued the route across the Euphrates to Carrhæ, famed for so many former expeditions. Here he dispatched 30,000 men, under Procopius and Sebastian, to secure the frontier on the side of Nisibis, and to rejoin him in the heart of the enemy's country, with the expected succours from Armenia. He himself, with 65,000 soldiers, moved down the Euphrates in the track followed of old by the younger Cyrus, devastating the country, and capturing the only two cities that resisted him, Perisabor on the Euphrates, and Maogamalcha on the Tigris. Here, at the distance of only eleven miles from Ctesiphon, his difficulties began. The neutrality of the Armenian king had disconcerted his combinations in the north, and his lieutenants, instead of hastening to rejoin him, were quarrelling with each other. A retreat had become necessary; but, afraid to fall back on the wasted country in his rear, Julian followed the advice of a perfidious Persian, who had joined him under the pretence of desertion, to strike off eastward for the mountains of Assyria. He burned his now useless fleet of 1100 vessels upon the Tigris, with all his magazines and stores; and, taking provisions for only twenty days, plunged into the desert plains under the burning heat of a Midsummer sun (June 16). The march was impeded by the attacks of the Persian cavalry; and the Romans were soon surrounded. The robust soldiers from the Rhine and Danube began to faint, and the provisions to run short. The emperor, while conducting the retreat with a skill only equalled by his personal bravery, was pierced with a mortal wound, and his admirers compare the scene that followed in the tent of Julian to that which Plato has drawn in the prison of Socrates; not without the confession that there was something in it of an affected imitation.* And, indeed, the whole character of Julian was marred by the affectation of a spirit which he must have known himself powerless to restore.

* The narrative is given by the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who was serving in the army. The sober testimony of a pagan historian, whose whole work is marked by truthfulness, though written in an inflated style, must be accepted in preference to the imaginary pictures of Christian orators of the wounded Apostate clutching the sand with his dying grasp, and exclaiming, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered." The real triumph of Christianity needs no such melodramatic inventions, conceived in the spirit of an age of ornate rhetoric. Ammianus Marcellinus was a Greek of Antioch, who eventually settled at Rome, and there wrote his history, in thirty-one books, from the accession of Nerva (A.D. 96), where Tacitus breaks off, to the death of Valens in A.D. 378. The first thirteen books are lost, and the extant portion begins with the seventeenth year of Constantius (A.D. 353).

He disposed of his fortune, enquired after the fate of his friends, consoled those who stood around, and, after reviewing the course of his reign, entered upon an argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maximus on the nature of the soul. The effort hastened his death: his wound began to bleed afresh: his breathing failed: he drank a cup of water, and expired calmly, about the midnight of June 26, A.D. 363, in the 32nd year of his age, after a reign of one year and eight months from the death of Constantius. With him ended the house of Constantine, whose proud inheritance, declined by the prætorian prefect Sallust, on account of his advanced age, was conferred by the troops on Flavius Claudius Jovianus, the chief of the imperial household, and the son of a Count Varronianus who had been distinguished for his services under Constantine.

"JOVIAN seems to have been a man of great mediocrity, of whom neither good nor bad can be said. He was a Christian, and has acquired great renown by his edict, granting unconditional liberty of conscience." In these few words Niebuhr has told all that needs to be known of the seven months' reign, which began on the plains of Mesopotamia with the treaty which surrendered to Persia the five provinces beyond the Tigris and abandoned Nisibis and Armenia, as the price of the safety of the army; and which ended with the sudden and mysterious death of Jovian, in his winter-quarters at Ancyra, in Phrygia, on the 17th of February, 364. During an interval of ten days, the army was led to Nicæa, and the council of ministers and generals at length found a successor to the purple in the same Illyrian race that had filled the throne from Claudius to Constantine.

FLAVIUS VALENTINIANUS was the son of Count Gratian, a native of Cibalis in Pannonia, who had risen from obscurity to the military commands of Africa and Britain, and under whom his son had served with distinction. Valentinian, now in his 44th year, added to a noble person, a manly character, and a virtue as austere as that of Julian himself, the merit of having incurred risk by his zealous adherence to Christianity, and the distinction of recent services in the Persian War. A month after his accession, he conferred the title of Augustus upon his brother FLAVIUS VALENS, who was in his 36th year (March 28th). Shortly afterwards, the emperors repaired from Constantinople to Naïssus; and the birthplace of Constantine witnessed the formal partition of the empire he had reunited. Valentinian kept the WEST and conferred the EAST on Valens (June, A.D. 364).

CHAPTER XLV.

THE DIVISION OF THE EAST AND WEST: AND THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE. A.D. 363 TO A.D. 476.

"As it now stands, the Coliseum is a striking image of Rome itself—decayed, vacant, serious, yet grand—half-gray and half-green—erect on one side and fallen on the other, with consecrated ground in its bosom—inhabited by a beadsman; visited by every caste; for moralists, antiquaries, painters, architects, devotees, all meet here, to meditate, to examine, to draw, to measure, and to pray."—FORSYTH.

PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE BETWEEN *VALENTINIAN I.* AND *VALENS*—CAMPAIGNS OF VALENTINIAN IN THE WEST—HE IS SUCCEEDED BY *GRATIAN* AND *VALENTINIAN II.*—VALENS, IN THE EAST, PUTS DOWN PROCOPIUS—HIS TYRANNY AND ARIAN FANATICISM—THE GOTHS, EXPELLED BY THE HUNS, ARE RECEIVED INTO MŒSIA—THEIR REBELLION, AND VICTORY OVER VALENS AT HADRIANOPLE—*THEODOSIUS I. THE GREAT*, EMPEROR OF THE EAST—PEACE WITH THE GOTHS—ULPHILAS—REVOLT OF *MAXIMUS* IN BRITAIN—DEATH OF GRATIAN—FALL OF MAXIMUS—THEODOSIUS AT MILAN—MASSACRE OF THESSALONICA—AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN—PENANCE OF THEODOSIUS—SUPPRESSION OF PAGAN WORSHIP—MURDER OF VALENTINIAN II. BY ARBOGASTES, WHO PROCLAIMS *EUGENIUS*—THEIR DEFEAT AND DEATH—THEODOSIUS SOLE EMPEROR—HIS DEATH AT MILAN—FINAL DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE BETWEEN *ARCADIUS* IN THE EAST, AND *HONORIUS* IN THE WEST—RUFINUS AND STILICHO—RISE AND FALL OF RUFINUS, EUTROPIUS, AND GAINAS—THE EMPRESS EUDOXIA—DEATH OF ARCADIUS—*THEODOSIUS II.*—THE EASTERN EMPIRE—ALARIC DEVASTATES GREECE, AND INVADES ITALY—THE COURT REMOVED FROM MILAN TO RAVENNA—STILICHO DEFEATS THE GOTHS—HONORIUS AT ROME—GLADIATORIAL SHOWS ABOLISHED—GREAT SLAVONIAN INVASION UNDER RADAGAISUS—HIS DEFEAT BY STILICHO AND PASSAGE OF THE BARBARIANS INTO GAUL—SETTLEMENT OF THE BURGUNDIANS—THE VANDALS, ALANS, AND SUEVES IN SPAIN—*CONSTANTINE* REVOLTS IN BRITAIN: IS ACKNOWLEDGED AS EMPEROR OF THE WEST, AND OVERTHROWN, WITH HIS RIVAL GERONTIUS, BY CONSTANTIUS—DEATH OF STILICHO—SIEGE AND SACK OF ROME BY THE GOTHS—ELEVATION AND FALL OF *ATTALUS*—DEATH OF ALARIC—THE GOTHS CONQUER SPAIN—KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS—FINAL LOSS OF BRITAIN—DEATH OF HONORIUS—THE USURPER *JOHN* PUT DOWN BY THEODOSIUS—*VALENTINIAN III.* EMPEROR OF THE WEST—THE EMPRESS-MOTHER PLACIDIA—RIVALRY OF AËTIUS AND BONIFACE—REVOLT OF BONIFACE, WHO INVITES GENSERIC TO AFRICA—DEATH OF AUGUSTIN, BISHOP OF HIPPO—VANDAL KINGDOM OF AFRICA—APPEARANCE OF THE HUNS—THE SCYTHIAN RACES IN EUROPE AND ASIA—THE HUNS OF THE TURKISH RACE—*ATTILA*, KING OF THE HUNS—EXTENT OF HIS DOMINIONS: EXAGGERATIONS OF HIS POWER—HIS INVASION OF THE EAST—HIS CHARACTER—TREATY WITH THE EASTERN EMPIRE—DEATH OF THEODOSIUS II.—*MARCIAN*—THE FRANKS IN GAUL—RISE OF THE MEROVINGIANS—ATTILA INVADES GAUL—SIEGE OF ORLEANS AND DECISIVE BATTLE OF CHALONS—DEATHS OF THEODORIC I., ATTILA, AND AËTIUS—SUPREMACY OF THE GERMAN RACE—DEATH OF VALENTINIAN III.—*MAXIMUS* AND *AVITUS*—POWER OF COUNT RICIMER—*LEO I.*—*MAJORIAN*, *SEVERUS*, *ANTHEMIUS*, AND *OLYBRIUS*—DEATH OF RICIMER *GLYCERIUS* AND *JULIUS NEPOS*—*ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS* DEPOSED BY *ODOACER*—END OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

THE partition of the Roman World into the Eastern and Western Empires, under Valentinian and Valens, was a confession that the time had come when the undivided attention and efforts of a single ruler were insufficient to ward off the dangers that were closing around from the East and North. It might well be taken as the epoch whence began that series of events, by which the transition is made from the ancient to the medieval

civilization and polity,—the great movement which, after destroying the Roman Empire in the West, gave birth to the States of Europe that were fully constituted about the era of Charlemagne. But in the midst of that series of events stands forth one so momentous, that common consent has adopted it as the closing epoch of Ancient History,—the deposition of the last of the Augusti who reigned at Rome by a barbarian chieftain, as a prelude to the establishment of the Gothic Kingdom of Italy on the ruins of the Western Empire. The importance of that catastrophe demands that we should briefly trace, as an epilogue to Ancient History, the 112 years that may be more fitly regarded as a prologue to that of the Middle Ages.

Valentinian had chosen the post where danger was most imminent, and he proved himself worthy to meet that danger. In A.D. 365, and again in 368, the Alemanni crossed the Rhine, were driven back with great slaughter and again defeated on their own territory, and the frontier of the Rhine was secured by a line of fortifications. The BURGUNDIANS now first appear as a formidable people, at feud with the Alemanni. The SAXONS, who had become bolder in their depredations on the coasts of Gaul and Britain, were routed by Severus, the count of the Saxon shore, in A.D. 370. In Britain, where the Caledonians of the North have now given place to the obscure race of the PICTS, and to the Gaelic SCOTS, who had crossed over from Ireland, and where the irruptions of these barbarians had lately demanded the presence of Constans—the valour of Theodosius, the father of the emperor, not only drove back the invaders and their Saxon allies, but reconquered the country between the two walls, which became the province of Valentia (A.D. 367). The same general afterwards recovered Africa from the usurper Firmus (A.D. 374). Valens rewarded his services, after the death of Valentinian, by beheading him at Carthage (A.D. 376). The death of the elder emperor took place suddenly, when he had been speaking with great excitement to an embassy of the Quadi, at Bregetio (near Presburg), in Pannonia (Nov. 17, A.D. 375). His military abilities and good legislation were stained by excessive cruelty; but his religious toleration deserves the more praise from its contrast to the fury with which his brother, an Arian like himself, persecuted the orthodox in the East. As early as 367, Valentinian had bestowed the dignity of *Augustus* on his son GRATIAN, whose younger brother, VALENTINIAN II., a child of four or five years old, was now proclaimed by the army. The Western Provinces were divided between them, Gratian having the pre-

fecture of the Gauls, and Valentinian those of Italy and Illyricum.

In the East, Valens began his reign by the dismissal of the prefect Sallust, and other indications of his arbitrary temper. His absence at Antioch, to conduct the Persian War, gave an opportunity for the proclamation of Procopius, who had been doomed to death as a relative of Julian, but had escaped (Sep. 28th, A.D. 365). Sallust, restored to his post by his timid master, gained two great battles over Procopius, who was betrayed in his hiding-place, and put to death (May 28th, A.D. 366). This danger called forth the natural cruelty to which Valens was as prone from weakness as his brother from severity; and his courtiers were enriched by the wealth of those who suffered on the charge of treason. The political executions were followed by a religious persecution. Valens received public baptism at the hands of Eudoxus, the Arian bishop of Constantinople; prelates of the same sect were forced upon the reluctant people in Antioch and other cities; and the necessity of recalling Athanasius, in order to quiet the tumultuous Alexandrians, was amply revenged after his death upon the Egyptian Catholics. Among the most conspicuous victims were the monks of the desert of Nitria, on the western margin of the Delta.

While Valens was indulging in these luxuries of tyranny, his dominions first, and soon after all the countries of the empire, were threatened by a new storm, which justifies the historian in dating from his reign the disastrous period of the fall of the Roman Empire. The great nation of the Goths had for some time settled down in the wide belt of country they had won, from the Baltic to the Euxine; and the Visigoths, who were nearest to the Danube, had, to a great extent, adopted Roman civilization and the Christian religion. After the victories of Constantine over the Gothic chieftain Araric, in A.D. 332, the Goths remained at peace with Rome for a whole generation; and this period is illustrated by the reign of the great Hermanric, whose name forms one of the earliest links between imperial history and old Teutonic literature, being celebrated in the *Heldenbuch* (Book of Heroes) and the Icelandic Sagas. Hostilities were resumed upon the Danube in the reign of Valens, and, after three campaigns, the Visigoths appear to have obtained peace upon their own terms (A.D. 370). But about the same time they began to suffer, in their turn, from the attacks of a race of barbarians, who now appear for the first time in history, at least under the name which has become the symbol for the

wildest and most repulsive agents of destruction. Of the race and origin of the HUNS we shall presently have a fitter opportunity to speak. It is enough now to say that, pressing westward from the banks of the Don, they drove the Visigoths to seek a shelter in the Roman territory. Sound policy would have counselled such a league with the Goths as should have made their country the field of battle against the new invaders; but instead of this, they were allowed to cross the Danube *en masse*, and the precautions dictated by fear became worse than fruitless through negligence and meanness. The hostages, taken from the flower of the Gothic youth, were dispersed through the cities of Asia Minor; but 200,000 men, under the "judges" Fritigern and Alavivus, were allowed to settle in one band in Mœsia, retaining, by the connivance of the imperial officers, the arms they had promised to deliver up (A.D. 376). The corrupt governors of Thrace went on to provoke by their avarice the armed men whom they had thus admitted within the frontier. Their markets were supplied with the flesh of dogs and diseased animals at enormous prices, while they were tantalized with seeing around them the resources of a wealthy province. They resolved to use their power to help themselves. After defeating Lupicinus near Marcianopolis, they overran the whole of Mœsia and Thrace; their numbers being continually swollen by the new hordes that crossed the Danube, while the Ostrogoths pressed forward to fill their vacant room. Swarms of Sarmatians, Alans, and Huns united with the invaders. After three indecisive campaigns, the whole force of the Eastern Empire, led by Valens in person, attacked them in their camp near Hadrianople. The 9th of August, 378, witnessed the most bloody defeat yet inflicted by the barbarians since the black day of the Allia. Two-thirds of the army were destroyed, with the flower of the officers; and the emperor perished in the burning of the hut where he lay wounded. THE BATTLE OF HADRIANOPLE marks the epoch from which the Goths established their superiority over the falling empire.

Gratian, summoned to the aid of his colleague, had been delayed in repelling an invasion of the Alemanni; but he was far upon his march when the impatience of Valens precipitated the catastrophe. Feeling his inability to cope at once with the Germans on the Danube, and with the Goths, who had overspread the whole open country of Thrace and Illyricum, as far as the walls of Constantinople and the frontiers of Italy, he called forth the son of the murdered Theodosius from his retirement in Spain, and invested him at Sirmium with the empire of the East, adding the dioceses

of Dacia and Macedonia, which were now severed from the Illyrian prefecture (Jan. 19, A.D. 379).

THEODOSIUS I., justly named the GREAT, was sprung from the same province which had given Trajan and Hadrian to the empire, and his features bore a resemblance to the former prince. Trained to arms in his father's campaigns against the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors, he had himself, as Duke of Mœsia, rescued the province from an invasion of the Sarmatians (A.D. 374). He was still only in his thirty-third year, when the emperor's generous confidence in his unrivalled merit called him to forgive his father's death and to uphold a falling empire. He fixed his head-quarters at Thessalonica. "The task which Theodosius had before him," says Niebuhr, "was so vast that it makes one shudder to think of it. With the remaining forces of the Eastern Empire (for the West would give him no support), he was to repel the Goths; and he succeededed not only in putting a stop to their progress, but in disarming them by treaties of which we know nothing. In a series of campaigns he separated one tribe from the others, and split them up into so many parts, that they submitted to the supremacy of Rome." He was favoured by the death of the warlike Fritigern, whose aged successor, Athanaric, was disposed to peace; and Theodosius fully adopted the policy of giving the Goths permanent settlements within the Danube, and receiving their warriors into Roman pay. Peace was finally concluded by Theodosius with the Goths on the 3rd of October, A.D. 382, and the same year is memorable for the death of Athanaric, and the accession of the famed ALARIC. Four years later, the Gruthungi, a tribe of the Ostrogoths, were defeated by Theodosius upon the Danube, and the survivors received settlements in Asia Minor and Phrygia, contributing a perpetual force of 40,000 men for the service of the Eastern Empire (A.D. 386).

The measures begun by Valens, and followed up by Theodosius, produced permanent results of deep interest for the modern enquirer. The Goths of Mœsia furnished one of the earliest examples of the reception of Christianity by a whole nation, even before it became the prevalent religion of the Roman empire; and one of the earliest examples too of the service often since rendered by Christian missionaries to barbarian peoples, of giving form and order to a language as yet irregular, as the vehicle of their teaching, and laying the foundation of a literature by a translation of the Scriptures. How early Christianity had found acceptance among the Goths, is proved by the presence of a Gothic bishop at the

Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325. It seems probable that the Goths first learnt the Gospel from their Roman captives, but the great work now described was performed for them by ULPHILAS, an Arian bishop of their own race,* who, having gained the name of Moses from the grateful people who were permitted, chiefly through his intercession with Valens, to pass the Danube into a new country, invented for them an alphabet of twenty-four letters, based upon the Greek, which was adopted by all the German tribes, and is still in use as the German character, or "black letter." His translation of the Bible forms the great monument of the Old Gothic language, or, as it is usually called, from the province where it was perfected, the *Mœso-Gothic*, one of the oldest types of that family of languages to which our own belongs.†

While Theodosius was thus restoring the Eastern empire, the decline of Gratian into indolent pleasures provoked a revolution in the West. MAXIMUS, the compatriot and former comrade of Theodosius, proclaimed by the legions of Britain, invaded Gaul, and was received with such favour that Gratian fled with a retinue of only 300 horse. He was overtaken at Lyon by the cavalry of Maximus, and put to death (A.D. 383). Theodosius refused to reopen the way for the barbarians by a civil war, and acknowledged Maximus as emperor of the Gallic prefecture, on the condition that Italy and Africa should be secured to Valentinian II. This youthful emperor, under the tutelage of his mother Justina, made himself unpopular, as we shall presently see, by espousing Arianism; and when Maximus, only four years

* One account, however, makes Ulphilas an immigrant from Cappadocia. His ministry probably began about A.D. 360. His converts, amongst whom was Fritigern, had to stand the test of a persecution excited by Athanaric.

† The place of the Mœso-Gothic in the great Teutonic family is shown by the following table:—

- TEUTONIC...
  - GERMAN .....
    - (1) *Mœso-Gothic.*
    - (2) *Low German*, including Friesian, Old Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, English, Dutch, Flemish.
    - (3) *High German*, including Old High German, Middle High German, Modern High German.
  - SCANDINAVIAN...
    - (1) *Old Scandinavian*, including Icelandic and Feroic.
    - (2) *Modern Scandinavian*, including Danish, Swedish, Norwegian.

Of the translation ascribed to Ulphilas, rather more than half the Four Gospels are preserved in the "Silver Book" (*Codex Argenteus*) in the University of Upsala, in Sweden. Other fragments have been discovered in palimpsest MSS. But it is questioned whether the version in the Upsala MS. is not as much as a century and a half later than the time of Ulphilas. (See Aschbach, *Gesch. d. Westgothen*, pp. 35, foll.)

afterwards, suddenly crossed the Alps, he became master of Italy without a struggle (A.D. 387). Valentinian and Justina fled by sea to Thessalonica, to entreat the aid of Theodosius. The wavering balance of policy was turned by the charms of the princess Galla; and her marriage to the emperor of the East was the prelude to the fall of Maximus. The contest was decided by a single battle on the Save; and Maximus was dragged from his refuge at Aquileia, and put to death (A.D. 388), while his son Victor was slain in Gaul by Arbogastes, the Frankish general of Theodosius.

Though Valentinian II. was replaced upon his throne, Theodosius was now the actual master of the reunited empire. In that character he held his court at Milan during the winter, and entered Rome in triumph in the following spring (A.D. 389). The next year, which was spent at Milan, was one of the most memorable in the life of Theodosius, and in the annals of the empire and the church. The noble simplicity of the emperor's character was marred by fits of anger, in one of which he issued his fatal edict for the massacre of Thessalonica. The capital of the Illyrian provinces had been disturbed by a sedition arising out of the factions of the circus, in which Botheric, the commander of the troops, and several of his chief officers, were barbarously murdered. The punishment of this outrage was committed by the emperor to the revenge and treachery of the barbarian troops, and the people, assembled in the circus by a public invitation, were massacred to the number of 7000, or, as some say, 15,000.

And now, for the first time since the Jewish theocratic monarchy, we see the minister of religion wielding that power over a ruler's conscience, which, through the disorders of the middle ages, formed the sole check upon lawless violence, and went far to balance the evils of priestcraft and corrupt religion. The David of the empire found his Nathan. In the same year in which the death of Valentinian I. left the empire of Italy to his infant son, the metropolitan see of Milan was vacant by the recent death of Auxentius. The election formed the crisis of the conflict between the Arians and the orthodox in the Western Church. The people of Milan, like those of Italy in general, were orthodox; but the court was Arian. The warmth of the contest called for the interference of AMBROSIUS, the consular prefect. He was the son of the late prefect of the Gauls, and was probably born at Treves in 333 or 340, when portents were believed to herald his future greatness. Educated at Rome under the heathen philo-

sophers, Anicius Probus, and Symmachus, he had gained high repute as a pleader at Milan, before he was raised to the consular prefecture of Liguria and Æmilia. He was now exerting his eloquence in a conciliatory speech, when a voice in the crowd raised the cry—"Ambrose for bishop" (*Ambrosius episcopus*), which was received by all parties as a heaven-sent oracle; and Ambrose, who was only a catechumen, was baptized and ordained by the unanimous act of the bishops of both parties. He at once gave all his property to the poor, and followed a rigorously ascetic life. In the Arian controversy he adopted the orthodox side, which was warmly espoused by the emperor Gratian, whose influence was a check on the zealous Arianism of Justina, the mother of Valentinian II. But after the death of Gratian, the court of Milan renewed the struggle, and Justina demanded the use of one of the churches at Milan for Arian worship. We must refer to the ecclesiastical historians for the details of that wonderful contest of Easter, 385, when the people and their bishop held the basilica of Milan,* day and night, like a fortress, against the whole power of the Court; but unarmed, and sustained chiefly by the antiphonal hymns, the invention of which is ascribed to Ambrose, and which are supposed to have originated the Gregorian style of music.† The most vivid account of the conflict is given by AUGUSTIN, the great light of the Latin church, who was then present at Milan as a youth, and the disciple of Ambrose. It is a pity that our sympathy with the heroism of the bishop and his flock should have to be damped by the record, that they owed their victory at last to what sound criticism must pronounce a "pious fraud," the discovery of the miracle-working relics of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius. The triumph over Arianism in the West was completed after the death of the empress Justina, when Valentinian II. became a convert to Catholicism (A.D. 387).

In the East, where Arianism was the popular faith, a religious revolution was effected by Theodosius. The first of the emperors who was baptized by an orthodox bishop, Acholius of Thessalonica (A.D. 380), he engaged in the twofold work of extirpating heresy and paganism. The Arian bishops of the chief Eastern cities were

* This basilica must not be confounded with the cathedral, which is a much later medieval building.

† Some writers have ascribed to Ambrose the great hymn, which—next to those taken direct from Scripture, such as the Psalms, and the Songs of Zacharias, Simeon, and the Virgin—is the most glorious anthem of the Universal Church in all its branches, *Te Deum Laudamus*: but it is at least a century later.

deposed; a military commission was appointed to hand over the churches to the Catholic minority; and the faith of the Trinity was declared anew by the Second General Council, held at Constantinople in A.D. 381. About the same time, decisive measures were taken against Paganism both in the East and the West. At Rome, the philosopher Symmachus, whose pure character gained him the favour of Theodosius, and whose writings cast a parting lustre over heathen literature, petitioned in vain for the restoration of the altar of victory, which Gratian had removed from the Senate-house (A.D. 384). In the following year, Theodosius promulgated an edict against Pagan sacrifices (A.D. 385); and upon his arrival at Rome after the defeat of Maximus, he completed the work which Gratian had begun. That emperor had first refused the insignia of the chief pontiff, abolished the privileges of the priestly colleges and the Vestals, and confiscated their revenues: Theodosius now closed all the heathen temples and shrines.

He was still engaged at Milan in preparing fresh edicts, when the news arrived of the massacre of Thessalonica. Ambrose, who had now become the emperor's religious guide, retired into the country overwhelmed with horror, and wrote a letter which moved him to repentance. On the bishop's return to Milan, Theodosius came to worship in the basilica; but Ambrose met him at the door, and forbade him to enter till he had made a public penance for a public crime. "Theodosius humbly represented that, if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder but adultery. *You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance*, was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the most honourable events in the annals of the Church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesiatical discipline which were established in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty years. But the archbishop, consulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some indulgence to the rank of his illustrious penitent, who humbled in the dust the pride of the diadem. It was sufficient that the emperor of the Romans, stripped of the ensigns of royalty, should appear in a mournful and suppliant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with sighs and tears, the pardon of his sins. After a delay of about eight months Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful." Both in following the historian's description

and the artist's delineation of this scene,* our admiration is not unmingled with a sense of ecclesiastical assumption characteristic of the age, and in marked contrast with the calm simplicity of the Old Testament parallel.

It was in the same year that Theodosius promulgated his edict for the suppression of all acts of pagan worship and divination, private as well as public, under penalties which marred the triumph of Christianity. Nor was persecution the only evil legacy left by dying heathenism. Pious frauds and pretended miracles were brought to aid the ambition of the clergy and to pander to man's native superstition; while the honours paid to saints and relics were fast verging into new forms of polytheism and idolatry, ere long to provoke the avenging cry: "GOD is ONE; and Mohammed is his prophet.†" It must be observed, however, that Theodosius was guiltless of that intolerance which assails personal religious profession. It was reserved for later times to give whole nations the alternative of conversion or the sword. "The profession of Christianity was not made an essential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of society, nor were any peculiar hardships imposed on the sectaries. The palace, the schools, the army, and the Senate were filled with declared and devout Pagans; they obtained, without distinction, the civil and military honours of the empire. Theodosius distinguished his liberal regard for virtue and genius by the consular dignity which he bestowed on Symmachus, and by the personal friendship which he expressed to Libanius; and the two eloquent apologists of Paganism were never required either to change or to dissemble their religious opinions." But the suppression of all public forms of Paganism was vigorously followed up by the emperor and his sons; and the date of its cessation may be fixed about the beginning of the fifth century.

Theodosius returned to Constantinople in A.D. 391, leaving the government of the West to the still youthful Valentinian, who gave promise of being a worthy colleague. But the Frank Arbogastes, whom Theodosius made master-general of the armies of the Gauls, attempted to grasp the whole power, and the resistance

* The allusion is to the splendid picture of Rubens in the National Gallery.

† These points are most ably set forth in the two works of Dr. Conyers Middleton, the biographer of Cicero, which have deservedly incurred some censure for a spirit that does not, however, vitiate their telling arguments and instructive facts:—*A Letter from Rome*, tracing many practices of Popish worship, as there used, to heathen originals, and *A Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers attributed to the early Church.*

of Valentinian was the signal for his murder (A.D. 392). Arbogastes bestowed the purple upon the rhetorician EUGENIUS; and two years passed before Theodosius was prepared to quell the usurpation. For a second time, he recovered the West by a victory near Aquileia. Eugenius was slain in the battle, and Arbogastes died by his own hand two days later (A.D. 394). Theodosius was again, like Constantine, sole master of the Roman world, but it was not his purpose to repeat the experiment of its reunion. Though he was only fifty years old, the fatigues of the late campaign had given a fatal shock to a frame enervated by the constitutional indolence to which he gave way in the intervals of his vast energy; and he was a dying man when he summoned Honorius, his younger son by his first wife Themistia, to Milan. Arcadius, the elder, had been made Augustus in A.D. 383, and Honorius in A.D. 393; and the empire was now to be divided between them. The effort which Theodosius made, to preside at the games in honour of the event, exhausted his strength; and he expired in the night of Jan. 17th, A.D. 395.

"The genius of Rome expired with Theodosius, the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the empire." At the ages of eighteen and eleven, ARCADIUS and HONORIUS succeeded to the empires of the East and West; the former under the tutelage of the unworthy favourite Rufinus, the latter under the care of the great STILICHO, whose noble deeds were sung by the poet Claudian.* Rufinus, whose elevation to the dignity of prefect of the East had disgraced the last years of Theodosius, claimed the civil government of the whole empire, while Stilicho, already master-general of the armies of the West, had won the affections of the eastern troops whom the war with Eugenius had brought into Italy. Gainas, the Goth, who commanded these legions, joined in a plot against the life of Rufinus, and slew him, in the presence of Arcadius, at a review outside the gates of Constantinople (Nov. 27, A.D. 395). The eastern emperor at once gave himself up to the influence of the eunuch Eutropius, who won over Gainas to his party. Within a few years, the tyrannical

* "Claudian," says Niebuhr, "was a Greek of Alexandria, who in fact first wrote in Greek. There are few examples of persons writing in a foreign language as correctly as he did. Claudian's language leaves nothing to be desired; we see that his acquisition of the Latin language had been a labour of love. He is a truly poetic genius, though after the fashion of the later Greek poets."

minister and the perfidious Goth fell victims to their own intrigues (A.D. 399 and 401); and Arcadius was henceforth entirely subject to the influence of his wife Eudoxia, who has gained an evil reputation by her persecution of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, the great master of Christian eloquence. Arcadius died on the 1st of May, A.D. 408, and was succeeded by his son THEODOSIUS II., an infant seven years old, who reigned for forty-two years (to A.D. 450), and for the brief space of two years (A.D. 423-425) reunited under his nominal sway the severed divisions of the empire.

From this point the Eastern Empire only demands our incidental notice as it is connected with the little that is left to be said of the Western. Though retaining the name of *Roman*, which gradually merged in that of *Greek*, the Eastern empire now assumes a character and history of its own. As Gibbon observes —"The division of the Roman world between the sons of Theodosius marks *the final establishment of the Empire of the East*, which, from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, subsisted 1058 years in a state of premature and perpetual decay.* The successors of Constantine established their perpetual residence in the royal city which he had erected on the verge of Europe and Asia. Inaccessible to the menaces of their enemies, and perhaps to the complaints of their people, they received with each wind the tributary productions of every climate; while the impregnable strength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hostile attempts of the barbarians. Their dominions were bounded by the Adriatic and the Tigris; and the whole interval of twenty-five days' navigation, which separated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of Ethiopia, was comprehended within the limits of the Empire of the East."

While this empire had still a course of a thousand years to run, three-quarters of a century only remained to the fall of her Western sister, and but three lustres before Rome was taken by the Goths. As if some spell had been dissolved by the death of Theodosius, ALARIC issued from the devastated countries of Dacia and Thrace into Macedonia in the summer of 395, and, passing Thermopylæ without resistance, wasted the whole of Greece. Stilicho encountered him there in two campaigns; but was summoned by the ministers of Arcadius to withdraw from the territory of their master, who concealed his inability to resist Alaric by appointing him Duke of Illyricum. In Africa the eastern rulers fomented the

* If, adding the reign of Theodosius II., we date from his death, we have a period of almost exactly a thousand years, from A.D. 450 to A.D. 1453.

rebellion of Gildo, the brother of Firmus; but he was defeated, and put an end to his own life; and the power of Stilicho was confirmed by the marriage of his daughter Maria to Honorius (A.D. 398).

Towards the close of the year 402, Alaric crossed the Alps, and Honorius fled from Milan, to seek safety in the impregnable fortifications and marshes of Ravenna, which became for a long time the capital of Italy under the Romans and the Goths, and the lieutenants, or *Exarchs*, of the Eastern emperors. Meanwhile Stilicho hastened to collect reinforcements beyond the Alps; and returned in the following spring. His great victory over the Goths at Pollentia, near Turin, at Easter, A.D. 403, seemed at first to have created a new danger, for Alaric marched on Rome. But Stilicho followed close behind, and, after gaining some successes, purchased the retreat of the Goths behind the Po. The triumph which Honorius celebrated at Rome in the following year was stained for the last time with the horrid sacrifices of the amphitheatre. In the midst of the games, a monk named Telemachus rushed into the arena to separate the gladiators. He was stoned to death by the enraged spectators; but his self-devotion purchased an edict by which the gladiatorial shows were finally abolished (A.D. 404).

In the following year a new wave of the barbarian deluge broke upon the plains of Lombardy. RADAGAISUS (Radegast),* whose name indicates the Slavonian source of the movement, led a mingled host from the banks of the Vistula, composed chiefly of the Slavonian VANDALS, with whom were united the German Suevi and Burgundians, and the Scythian Alans, whose heathenism rendered the invasion more terrible than that of the Goths. They had passed the Apennines, and laid siege to *Florence*, —which now for the first time begins to assume the importance which it has preserved till it has become the capital of Italy,— when Stilicho, breaking up from his camp on the Ticino, where he had prudently avoided a battle, enclosed the host of the barbarians, and forced them back into the Apennines, where most of them perished through famine. Radagaisus is said to have been put to death in violation of the terms of his surrender. Stilicho earned the title of "Deliverer of Italy;" but it was of Italy alone, at the cost of the Western provinces. For there remained of the army of Radagaisus 100,000 Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians,

* Radegast was the name of the god of war and hospitality, worshipped by the Wends and all the Slavonians of Germany. His principal temple, at Rhetra in Mecklenburg, had a golden statue of the god, with other splendid ornaments.

and Alans, for whom it was politic to open a way of retreat. Guided by some Pannonian deserters, they crossed the Alps and the Rhine, and fell upon Gaul, which had been denuded of its troops to save Italy. The country was exhausted by the forced contributions they exacted, while they "destroyed the cities, ravaged the fields, and drove before them in a promiscuous crowd the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars (A.D. 406)." This invasion may be regarded as the final severance of Gaul from the Roman empire, though its sweep was as transient as it was terrible. The Vandals, Sueves, and Alans passed on into Spain (A.D. 409), while the Burgundians remained behind in the mountainous regions of Eastern Gaul and Western Switzerland, west of the Alps, not only in the modern *Burgundy*, but also in Franche Comté, Dauphiné, and Savoy, with Geneva for their chief city. While the former races became the constant enemies of Rome, the Burgundians yielded to the empire the feudal obedience of a small tribe settled in an extensive territory.

Meanwhile civil discord was added to the troubles of the West. The interesting question of the state of BRITAIN, towards the close of the Roman domination in the island, on which our historians are for the most part content with a few doubtful generalities, belongs rather to the commencement of the English annals than to the close of the Roman. On the one hand, it seems clear that the provincials had become contented and unwarlike copyists of Roman luxury. On the other, the insulation of the province, and the constant warfare maintained on the coasts and northern border with the Saxons, Picts, and Scots, gave a peculiar importance to its army,—an army, be it remembered, composed of all the nations of the empire, from the Don, the Euphrates, and the Atlas, to the Danube and the Rhine.* As if to parody the events of the last century, that army conferred the purple on a private soldier named CONSTANTINE (A.D. 407), who with his son Constans proceeded to invade the Continent, and, partly by victories over the few Roman troops, partly by treaties with the barbarians, secured the dominion of Gaul and Spain, and promised to deliver Italy from the Goths. But his career was cut short by the revolt of his lieutenant Gerontius in Spain, and both usurpers were soon overthrown by Constantius, the general and afterwards the son-in-law of Honorius (A.D. 411).

* This mixed character of the British legions, a veritable *colluvies omnium gentium*, is one of the many elements of early British history that require attentive consideration. Of the military part of "the Romans in Briton" only a few were Romans.

Meanwhile Rome had lost her greatest general, and suffered her first capture by the Goths. Stilicho continued to defend Italy by policy as much as by arms; but his negotiations with Alaric gave a handle to his enemies at court. Honorius was childless at the age of twenty-five, after marrying successively the two daughters of Stilicho, Maria and Thermantia; and he was persuaded by his favourite Olympius, that Stilicho was plotting to place his son Eucherius upon the throne. The Roman legions, always jealous of the barbarian troops of Stilicho, were roused by an inflammatory harangue of Honorius. Stilicho's friends were massacred; and the Defender of Italy himself was dragged from his sanctuary in the church at Ravenna, and executed as a traitor (Aug. 23, A.D. 408).

As if it were not enough to give Alaric such a pretext for leading on the impatient Goths to the plunder of Rome, the barbarian troops of Stilicho, the only real defence of Italy, were thrown into the hands of the enemy by a general massacre of their wives and children. Alaric advanced to Rome; and, for the first time since the morrow of the Allia, the imperial city was besieged by the barbarians. Famine was followed by pestilence: no succour came from Ravenna; and the Senate sent envoys to make terms. But the proud Roman spirit had yet to learn the depth of its humiliation. When they warned Alaric not to provoke the despair of a numerous and warlike people, he exclaimed with an insulting laugh, "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed." He demanded all the gold and silver and precious moveables, and all the barbarian slaves, to be found in the city. "If such, O king, are your demands"—asked the envoys in a subdued tone—"what do you intend to leave us?" "YOUR LIVES!" A more moderate ransom was at length accepted, and Alaric retired to winter quarters in Tuscany, to give time for negotiations with the court of Ravenna (December A.D. 408). Alaric was willing to accept the post of master-general of the Western armies; but the ministers of Honorius were obstinate, and Rome saw her magazines at Ostia in the hands of the Goth, who threatened to starve the city by destroying them. The Senate consented to receive as their emperor ATTALUS, the prætorian prefect, who conferred the coveted dignity upon Alaric (A.D. 409). But the new emperor soon quarrelled with his protector, who deposed him, and marched to Ravenna to negotiate with Honorius. Repelled with insult, he returned to take vengeance upon Rome. The slaves within the city opened the Salarian gate to

their countrymen at midnight, and the *Sack of Rome by the Goths* began on the 24th of August, A.D. 410. A large part of the city was consumed by fire, and many lives were sacrificed to the fury of the Scythian troops and the insurgent slaves. But the Goths proved that their Christianity laid them under some restraint; and they were content with the complete plunder of all public and private treasures, except the churches. On the sixth day they retired, leading into captivity a long train of the sons and daughters of the nobles, to whom their race had so long been slaves. The victorious Goths luxuriated in the wealth and delicious climate of Southern Italy, and Alaric was preparing to cross over into Sicily, when his career was closed by illness at Consentia in Bruttium. The mighty king was buried beneath the bed of the little river Basentius, which was diverted while his sepulchre was constructing, and the slaves employed in the work were slain, that the place might remain a secret (A.D. 410). He was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Athaulf, or Adolphus, with whom the ministers of Honorius concluded a peace. As the general of Rome, Athaulf led his army into the south of Gaul, put down the usurper Jovinus, and married Placidia, the sister of Honorius, who had been taken prisoner by Alaric (A.D. 412—414). Thence he crossed the Pyrenees, and was engaged in the conquest of Spain, when he was assassinated (A.D. 415). His successor Wallia carried out his designs, and, in the name of Honorius, rescued the greater part of the peninsula from the Alans and Vandals, who, driven back behind the Sierra Morena, gave their name to the beautiful province of Vandalusia, or *Andalucia*. The Roman emperor rewarded these services by the cession of Aquitania, and Wallia returned to fix his court at Toulouse, where he died, and was succeeded by Theodoric I. (A.D. 418). The KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS, thus created on both sides of the Pyrenees, and reaching on the north as far as the Loire, with the capitals of Toulouse, Burdigala (*Bordeaux*), and afterwards Arelate (*Arles*), forms one of the starting points of medieval history.

The same year (418) witnessed the foundation of the KINGDOM OF FRANKS by Pharamund, and the final loss of BRITAIN to the Roman empire. In 408, Honorius had recognized Constantine as emperor. In the following year the Britons took up arms to defend themselves against the Vandals, and expelled the Roman magistrates. In 410 they were absolved from their allegiance by Honorius, who thus formally cut adrift the island from his empire. But eight years later, the unwarlike Britons again peti-

tioned for aid against the Picts and Scots. The legions returned, repelled the invaders, repaired the fortresses, and finally left the people to their own resources. In the words of the Saxon Chronicle,—"This year the Romans collected all the treasures that were in Britain, and some they hid in the earth, so that no one has since been able to find them; and some they carried with them into Gaul" (A.D. 418). Religious zeal, however, still formed a link between Britain and Gaul, and St. Germain, bishop of Auxerre, twice came over to oppose the heresy of Pelagius.* On one of these visits, his presence animated the Britons in a battle with the Picts and Scots, to which his war-cry gave the name of the *Hallelujah Victory*. The last event in the annals of Roman Britain, the supplication to the patrician Aëtius, entitled "*The Groans of the Britons*," is usually placed at the year 446, exactly thirty years before the fall of Rome in A.D. 476. The intervening period witnessed the establishment of the SAXONS in the island.

While province after province was thus rent from the empire, Italy enjoyed peace till the death of Honorius in August, A.D. 423. He was still childless; but he had married his sister Placidia, in A.D. 417, to Constantius, the recoverer of Spain, on whom he had conferred the title of Augustus in A.D. 421. Constantius died within the same year, leaving a son Valentinian, born in A.D. 419; but some disagreement with Honorius caused Placidia to retire with her son to Constantinople. On the death of Honorius, Theodosius II. proclaimed the infant Valentinian Cæsar at Thessalonica, reserving for himself the supreme dignity, and thus once more reuniting the empire which had obeyed his grandfather, Theodosius I. But the courtiers, who had governed in the name of the feeble Honorius, were loath to resign their power, and the Chief Secretary (*Primicerius*) JOHN was proclaimed at Ravenna, the first Roman emperor who bore a Christian name (A.D. 424). But the army sent by Theodosius no sooner reached Italy, than John was abandoned by his troops, and VALENTINIAN III. was proclaimed, at six years old, emperor of the West (A.D. 425). The western part of Illyricum, with Pannonia and Noricum, was soon after added to the Eastern Empire; and the two divisions of the Roman world were finally and completely severed by the declaration, that the laws enacted by each emperor should only be of force in his own dominions. Valentinian III., who remained almost as feeble during his twenty-eight years' reign as in his

* This heresiarch, the great opponent of St. Augustine, is said to have been a Welshman, whose native name was Morgan. His chief disciple, Celestius, was an Irishman.

puny childhood, was entirely governed by Placidia, who enjoyed the services of two generals, worthy of the best days of Rome, AËTIUS and BONIFACIUS. "Their union might have supported a sinking empire: their discord was the immediate and fatal cause of the loss of Africa." Aëtius was descended from a Latin family settled among the Scythians of Lower Mœsia, and had been in early youth a hostage among the Huns. Diplomatic missions gave him the opportunity of improving his influence among them; and the 60,000 Huns, whom he led to the aid of the usurper John, and whose arms he now turned against the Franks in Gaul, made him all-powerful at Ravenna. He persuaded Placidia to recall Boniface from his government, while he secretly encouraged the Count of Africa to disobey the mandate (A.D. 427). The issue of these intrigues was the open revolt of Boniface, who summoned the Vandals to his aid from Spain. That people, in whose name the Scythian Alans of Spain are now merged, had just lost their king Gunderic, who was succeeded by GENSERIC, a cruel warrior and unscrupulous intriguer, who ranks with Alaric and Attila among the chief scourges of the falling empire (A.D. 429). The Spaniards lent ships to speed the departing barbarians across the straits. Their territory, re-united for a time to the Roman province, was ultimately added to the kingdom of the Visigoths, except part of Lusitania (Portugal), which, with Gallicia, formed the KINGDOM OF THE SUEVES.

Genseric had scarcely landed in Africa with 50,000 men, who were reinforced by large bodies of Moors (A.D. 429), when Boniface was reconciled to Placidia. But his efforts to lay the demon he had conjured up were vain. All Africa was overrun, with the exception of Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius, to which last city Boniface had retreated. It was during the siege that the great Bishop of Hippo, AUGUSTIN, died at the age of seventy-six (A.D. 430). A second battle was gained by Genseric over the Romans, though aided by an army sent by Theodosius; and Boniface embarked for Italy, carrying with him the people of Hippo (A.D. 431). He was received with favour by Placidia; but was soon killed in a duel by Aëtius, who retired to the tents of the Huns in Pannonia (A.D. 432). The Vandal conquest of Africa was completed by the surprise of Carthage in A.D. 439; and the Arian Genseric added to his other cruelties a fierce persecution of the Catholics. His ravages were extended to Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, and the coasts of Italy; and in 455 he took Rome itself and plundered it for fourteen days. Two great expeditions against

him by the western emperor Majorian (A.D. 457) and the eastern emperor Leo (A.D. 468) were frustrated by the burning of the one fleet at Carthagena, and the other at Bona; and Genseric died at a great age, and in the plenitude of his power, the year after the fall of the Western Empire (A.D. 477). The VANDAL KINGDOM OF AFRICA was finally recovered for the Eastern Empire by the victories of Belisarius, in A.D. 535.

Just after the Vandals had gained their first successes in Africa, we see the most terrible of all the enemies of Rome emerge from their obscure position in the background of the barbarian movement. Sober criticism has cast more than a doubt upon the romantic story, originated by Des Guignes and adorned by the pen of Gibbon, which seeks in wars upon the frontier of China the remote cause of the appearance of the HUNS in Europe in the latter part of the fourth century. It is quite true that the people belonged to that great Turanian race, known to the Greeks as SCYTHIANS, and in modern times as TATARS,* which had its chief seat in the great eastern plateau of Central Asia, and spread thence over the immense plain of Northern Asia and Northern Europe. The race is distinguished from the other families of mankind by very marked physical characters—a large head, a dark yellow complexion, small deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, high cheek-bones, a few hairs in place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. They are a race of nomad shepherds and hardy horsemen, living in moveable huts, which they transport from one place to another, to be always near the best pasture for their herds, which consist of camels, horses, and sheep, with but few cattle. Neglecting agriculture, they live on the milk and flesh of their herds, the horses not excepted. The horses are of middling size, but very strong and swift, and the endurance both of steed and rider has become proverbial, from the Scythians who baffled the pursuit of Darius, to the Tatar couriers and Cossacks of the present day. The perpetuation of these characteristics among the *Mongols* to the north-west of the Chinese Empire, and the more westerly

* The extension of this from a specific to a generic name is due to the prominent place occupied by the Tatars of Eastern Mongolia in the army of Zingis (or Genghis) Khan; and the common corruption into *Tartars* is ascribed to a pun (whether intentional or accidental) of St. Louis, who prayed for the aid of the Virgin to thrust back these *Tartars* into the *Tartarean* seats from whence they had emerged. The reduplication *Ta-tar* (properly Ta-ta) is thoroughly Turanian. As the name of *Tatar* is even more specific than that of *Mongol*, it were to be wished that ethnologists would follow the practice of the Greeks, and use SCYTHIANS for the generic name.

tribes whom the Russians call *Calmucks*, has naturally led enquirers to look for the ancient Scythians in these regions, to which, however, they neither were nor are confined. The Scythians are divided into four great races.—1. The *Mongolian* are the least numerous, though many writers apply their name to the whole family, in consequence of the fame of their chief Zingis Khan. Their abodes are in the north-east of the great table-land, north of the Chinese wall, and west of Mandshouria. 2. Beyond them, the *Tungusian Race* occupies the whole north-eastern angle of Asia, from the river Yenesei to the Seas of Okhotsk and Japan. From them sprang the *Mandshous*, whose proper territory is enclosed between the Khirgan and Stanovoi Mountains and the Sea of Japan, but who have become famous as the conquerors of China. 3. The shores of the Arctic Ocean, west of the Yenesei, as far as the Baltic, are peopled by the *Ugrian race*, also called the *Tschudish* or *Finnish*. Accustomed as we are to connect the latter name with a low type of civilization, a proof is furnished of the influence of a happier climate and other favourable circumstances, in the noble *Magyar* race of Hungary.* 4. The *Turkish race* occupied not only the great region of West Central Asia, from the Lake Baikal to the Caspian, which the progress of Russia is fast depriving of the name of *Independent Tartary;* but they extended over the vast steppes of south-eastern Europe, round the northern sides of the Caspian, the Caucasus, and the Euxine. Their precise partition from the Slavonian race is a difficult problem; but it seems clear that the Scythians, into whose territory Darius penetrated, after crossing the Danube, and who are so carefully described by Herodotus from the accounts of the Greek settlers at the mouth of the Dniester, were of this race. From the time of Herodotus, we lose sight of these European Scythians, till they reappear under the Roman Empire, when we find one of their greatest tribes, the *Alani* (or mountaineers) occupying the northern slopes of the Caucasus, from the Caspian and Volga to the Sea of Azov and the Don; and the HUNS from their very first appearance, are found in close connection with these Alans. In one word—for there is no space here for the argument—*the name*

* It is now generally agreed that the Magyars are of the Ugrian race, in spite of the tempting facility of the derivation of *Hungary* from the *Hung-vari*, i.e., *people of the Huns*. In its German form the name *Ungarn* is a still more direct derivative from the *Ugrians* or *Ungrians*. The question is the more interesting, as we shall presently see reason for extending the true Huns as far west as the south-eastern highlands of Hungary. But the Ugrian colony, who became the ancestors of the present Magyars, first conquered Hungary, under Arpad, in A.D. 889.

of Huns appears to have been a generic appellation of the remaining Turkish tribes of European Scythia, from the Don to the Eastern Carpathians, the very region of the Scythia of Herodotus; and it is one of the remarkable revolutions of history that the barbarians, who overran Media in very ancient times, and whom the founder of the Persian empire attempted to chastise in the fifth century before Christ, should have burst forth in the fifth century after Christ, to hasten the fall of the Western Empire. Nor does this appear to have been the first conflict of the Romans with the Turkish race. Whatever may have been the national affinities of the Dacians proper, there seems reason to believe that the royal tribe, with which Trajan waged war in Dacia, was a conquering horde of Turkish Huns, who had settled in the highlands of Transylvania. In that very region, Ptolemy expressly names *Hunni* or *Chuni*, between the Bastarnæ and Rhoxolani. In that region we may place the Scythian *Agathyrsi* of Herodotus, and it was into the territory of the *Acatziri* that the historian Priscus went as an ambassador to Attila. The Huns of Attila are styled *Royal Scythians*, the very name which Herodotus gives to the chief Scythian tribe. Attila's court and camp, the "Royal Village," as it is called, are fixed by clear evidence to the region between the Aluta and the Theiss, the district which was never Romanized between Roman Dacia and Roman Pannonia. Here, too, was the stronghold of Decebalus, whose name, as Dr. Latham has pointed out, is "strange to Gothic, strange to Slavonic, not strange to Turkish history. When the proper and specific TURKS first appear in the field of history, as they do in the reign of Justinian, the name of the first Turk Khan is that of the last Dacian king, *Disbul* in Gibbon, *Dizabulus* in Menander."* The conclusion seems established that, as early as the sixth century before Christ, there were members of the Hunnish race in Transylvania, the head-quarters of Attila's power.

The extent of that power has been enormously exaggerated, on the one hand, by the oriental stories which for once captivated Gibbon's judgment,† on the other, by the romantic pictures which the early German poets draw of the great enemy of their race. The *Etzel* of the *Nibelungen Lied* and of the Norse Sagas, and the Attila of the Gothic Jornandes, is an enemy of gigantic

* See the full argument of Dr. Latham in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, art. Hunni.

† Niebuhr observes that "Gibbon's description of Attila's power is one of the weak parts of his work."

power and cruelty, whom fear regarded as the SCOURGE OF GOD,* and to whom patriotism was not ashamed to have succumbed. "The more the Huns conquered, the less the shame to the Goths." But, in sober history, the Huns make their first appearance in the reign of Valens, as the conquerors of the Goths in Dacia. After the death of Hermanric, the Goths appear to have submitted to the Huns, whose power extended from the Don, or perhaps the Volga, to Transylvania, but how far to the north we cannot tell. The strength of Attila's kingdom was German, and chiefly Gothic, though his immediate followers were Turks.

Like the other Scythians, the Huns were a collection of family tribes, or *hordes* (as the Turks call them), each governed by its patriarchal chief, or *Mursa*, and all submitting to the authority of a *Khagan* or *Khan*, who earned the command by his prowess, and was raised to it by the voice of his peers. "The right of hereditary succession"—says Gibbon—"was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment, all the Khans who reign from the Crimea to the Wall of China are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis." In A.D. 434, died Mundzuk, or Rugilas, Khan of the Huns, leaving two sons, ATTILA and BLEDA.† The miraculous discovery of the *iron sword*, which the Scythians worshipped as the *God of War*, marked Attila as the sovereign, and he is said to have put his brother to death. His first attack upon the Roman empire is ascribed to the invitation of Honoria, the sister of Valentinian III., who had been brought up at the court of Constantinople, and banished for a breach of chastity. In A.D. 441, Attila crossed the Danube, heralding himself, by a strange mixture of oriental and western superstition with imagery derived from Scripture, as "Attila, descendant of the great Nimrod; nurtured in Engaddi, by the grace of God, king of the Huns, the Goths, the Danes, and the Medes: the Dread of the World." The boast is ascribed to Attila, that where his horse's hoof had once struck the ground, the grass never grew again; and his hideous visage, of the strongest Scythian type, terrified all strangers who approached him. The rapid sweep of his conquests, followed by as rapid a subsidence, helps to form the popular idea of the mere destroyer; but, however suited to his Scythian followers, that idea does but

* This title is said to have been given to Attila by a hermit, who met him on his retreat from Orleans, and said to him:—"Thou art the scourge of God for the chastisement of the Christians;" and he adopted it as an honour.

† Attila is *Etzel* in German, *Ethele* in Hungarian; Bleda is *Blödel* in German.

partial justice to Attila himself. "When we turn"—says Creasy —"from the legendary to the historic Attila, we see clearly that he was not one of the vulgar herd of barbaric conquerors. Consummate military skill may be traced in his campaigns; and he relied far less on the brute force of armies for the aggrandisement of his empire, than on the unbounded influence over the affections of friends and the fears of foes, which his genius enabled him to acquire. Austerely sober in his private life,—severely just on the judgment seat,—conspicuous among a nation of warriors for hardihood, strength, and skill in every martial exercise,—grave and deliberate in counsel, but rapid and remorseless in execution,—he gave safety and security to all who were under his dominion, while he waged a warfare of extermination against all who opposed or sought to escape from it. He watched the national passions, the prejudices, the creeds, and the superstitions of the varied nations over whom he ruled, and of those which he sought to reduce beneath his sway: all these feelings he had the skill to turn to his own account. His own warriors believed him to be the inspired favourite of their deities, and followed him with fanatic zeal: his enemies looked on him as the pre-appointed minister of Heaven's wrath against themselves; and, though they believed not in his creed, their own made them tremble before him." It was owing to Attila's habit of relying on negociation as well as war, and to the skill with which Aëtius met his overtures, that Italy was preserved for ten years from the storm that swept over the Illyrian provinces. The eastern empire only obtained peace by the cession to the Huns of a belt of country on the south of the Danube, five days' journey in width, and extending from the Save to Novi in Thrace. The proper kingdom of Attila, besides the power which he wielded over his German and Slavonian allies, seems now to have included Eastern Rhætia, Pannonia, Northern Mœsia, and Western Dacia.

In the following year, Theodosius II. died, in the forty-third year of his reign (July 28th, A.D. 450). He must not be dismissed without a mention of his war with the Persian king Varanes V., surnamed the Wild Ass, a fierce persecutor of the Christians, which was concluded in A.D. 422 by a truce for 100 years. The name of Theodosius will live in history by the body of Roman law published in A.D. 438 under the title of the *Theodosian Code*. Theodosius was succeeded by his sister Pulcheria, who bestowed her hand and the purple on the senator MARCIAN, an old soldier of Illyrian origin, who had the courage to refuse the tribute imposed

by the Huns on Theodosius. But the boast, "that he had iron for Attila, but not gold," might have cost Marcian dear, had not Attila's face been already turned to the West.

Aëtius, exiled, as we have seen, for the death of Boniface, returned from the tents of the Huns, about the time of Attila's accession, at the head of a Scythian host, which enabled him at once to secure his power at the court of Ravenna, and to cope with the barbarians in the West. In A.D. 435, he protected Italy from a Vandal invasion by a treaty with Genseric, and proceeded to make war with the Burgundians and Goths in Gaul. The former were reduced to obedience, and peace was made with the latter, after the two exploits, on either side, of the relief of Narbo by Aëtius (A.D. 437), and the defeat of the Roman general Litorius by Theodoric before Tolosa (A.D. 439). The defeat of the Burgundians gave the FRANKS on the Lower Rhine the opportunity to extend their power over Belgic Gaul as far as the Somme, in spite of a check which they also received in battle from Aëtius. On the death of their king Clodion, the succession was disputed between his two sons, of whom the younger was Meroveus, the founder of the famed dynasty of *Merovingians.** Meroveus was supported by the Romans, while the elder brother asked aid from Attila. Starting from his "Royal Village," the Hun performed a march of 700 or 800 miles from East to West, with the double object of overthrowing the Roman and Gothic powers in Gaul. Military critics have praised his advance in three bodies; his right wing forming a junction with the Franks, and his left falling upon the weakened Burgundians, and menacing the passes into Italy, while with the centre he pushed on to force the line of the Loire (A.D. 451). He had already laid siege to Orleans, when Aëtius effected a junction with Theodoric on the south of the river. Attila fell back towards the Marne to form a junction with his wings, and his united host took up a position, admirably adapted to his cavalry, in the great plain of *Champagne*, near *Châlons* (the *Campi Catalaunici*).

In the centre, Attila took post with his own Huns, opposed to their kinsmen the Alans, whose fidelity Aëtius doubted. On the

* The establishment of the French kingdom by the Merovingians took place just twenty years after the fall of the Western Empire. It was in A.D. 496 that CLOVIS, having united under his dominion the Frankish tribes of Northern Gaul, conquered the Alemanni, who occupied both banks of the middle Rhine, and received Christian baptism. The various disguises of the Latin *Clovis* and *Ludovicus*, the German *Ludwig*, and the French *Louis*, conceal the old German name of the Frank conqueror, *Chlodowig*.

right, the Ostrogoths confronted the Visigoths of Theodoric; while on the left, the Gepidæ and other allies faced the flower of the Roman army under Aëtius, who had secured the vantage of the higher ground. The battle began by an attempt to dislodge him from this position; but Aëtius kept his advantage. Attila was more successful in the centre; while, on his right, Goth fought with fury against Goth. Theodoric, charging at the head of his cavalry, was killed by a javelin; but his son Thorismund led on the Visigoths with redoubled fury, and the rout of the Ostrogoths left Attila assailed upon both flanks. He retired to his camp, where, behind his entrenchments and waggons he had raised a pyramid of the wooden saddles, heaped up with all his spoils and treasures. On this pyre he placed his wives and children, and stood upon the summit, ready to make the whole a flaming sacrifice, the moment his defences should be forced. But the multitudes who had fallen with Theodoric, and the wily policy of Aëtius, forbade further extremities. The patrician persuaded Thorismund to retire to his capital, while he suffered Attila to retreat unmolested. The Hun seemed at first disposed to make Italy pay for his defeat in Gaul. But, after taking Aquileia, and ravaging Lombardy, he again listened to negociation. The salvation of Rome is ascribed to the embassy of Pope Leo the Great (A.D. 452); and in the following year the career of the conqueror who had shed seas of gore was ended by the bursting of a blood vessel (A.D. 453). The whole fabric of his empire was dissolved with his death. The chief powers that rose upon its ruins were the German kingdoms of the *Ostrogoths*, the *Gepidæ*, and the *Lombards* (*Langobardi*); but the power of the Huns was revived in its old seats under other names by the *Bulgarians*, the *Avars*, and the *Khazars;* and to the present day the Hunnish blood is still abundant, in some cases predominant, in Bulgaria, Hungary, the Danubian Principalities, Volhynia, Podolia, Cherson, Taurida, and the Crimea. The momentous question decided upon the plains of Châlons was, whether the inheritance of the dying Roman empire was to fall to the German or the Scythian race; and the triumph of the former laid the foundation for the civilization of modern Europe. The Gothic races had now ceased to be mere destroyers. In the intercourse of four centuries, they had received from Rome those elements of refinement and Christianity, to the development of which they brought their unexhausted energies. Their moral superiority to the Asiatic hordes has been ably traced by our great ethnologist:—"In two remarkable traits the Germans differ

from the Sarmatic, as well as from the Slavic nations, and indeed from all those other races to whom the Greeks and Romans gave the designation of barbarians. I allude to their personal freedom and regard for the rights of men; secondly, to the respect paid by them to the female sex, and the chastity for which the latter were celebrated among the people of the North. These were the foundations of that probity of character, self-respect, and purity of manners, which may be traced among the Germans and Goths even during Pagan times, and which, when their sentiments were enlightened by Christianity, brought out those splendid traits of character which distinguish the age of chivalry and romance."*

The splendid inheritance secured by one branch of the Gothic race was gathered in by the other: the Ostrogoths, who were defeated by the Visigoths at Châlons, founded the Gothic kingdom of Italy, after putting down the obscure German chief, who deposed the last Roman emperor of the West just a quarter of a century after the battle. The very year after the death of Attila, the sole defender of the empire fell a victim to the jealousy of Valentinian; and the first time that feeble hand had ever drawn a sword, it was to plunge it in the breast of Aëtius (A.D. 454). Within another year, the emperor himself suffered the vengeance of an outraged husband, MAXIMUS, who was proclaimed his successor (March 16, A.D. 455). The wife, for whose sake Maximus had assassinated his master, dying soon afterwards, he compelled the widow of Valentinian to marry him; but Eudoxia avenged her enforced consent by calling in the Vandals, who disembarked at Ostia. Maximus was torn to pieces by the enraged populace as he was attempting to escape; and, though Genseric professed to grant the lives of the inhabitants to the bold intercession of Pope Leo, he gave Rome up to pillage for fourteen days (June 15—29, A.D. 455); and carried back to Africa, among his prisoners, the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters. M. Mæcilius AVITUS, the commander of the army of Gaul, was now proclaimed emperor by Theodoric II., king of the Visigoths, who was at this time engaged in the conquest of the Suevi in Spain (Aug. 15, A.D. 455). But the defeat and death of their king Rechiarius was avenged by count RICIMER,† the "king-maker" of the last age of Rome, who was

* Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Man*, vol. iii. p. 423.

† "All the barbarians, who acted a prominent part at Rome, must not be looked upon as savages: they were Christians, and spoke and understood the *lingua vulgaris*, which already resembled the Italian more than the Latin: they were just as civilized

the son of a Suevian chief, and of the daughter of king Wallia. He had served with distinction under Aëtius, and was now in command of the Roman fleet. Fresh from a naval victory over the Vandals, he returned to Rome and deposed Avitus (Oct. 16, A.D. 456), and four months later he conferred the purple on MAJORIAN, one of the worthiest comrades of Aëtius (A.D. 457). Just at the same time, the eastern emperor Marcian died, and a simple military tribune, LEO I. the THRACIAN, also surnamed the GREAT, was placed on the throne by the patrician Aspar. Once more, both divisions of the empire were ruled by soldiers worthy of the olden times. Majorian has obtained just fame by the reforming laws which he enacted amidst his efforts to recover the empire of the West from the barbarians. After repulsing a descent of the Vandals upon Italy, he prepared a fleet to attack them in Africa, while he led his army across the Alps. A great victory over Theodoric II. was followed by a peace with the Gothic king (A.D. 459), and Majorian crossed the Pyrenees on his way to Africa. But treacherous information (probably from Ricimer himself) enabled Genseric to burn the Roman fleet in the harbour of Carthagena (A.D. 460); and the faithless Ricimer soon afterwards deposed and probably slew Majorian (Aug. 7, A.D. 461); and himself reigned for seven years in the name of Libius SEVERUS, an emperor so obscure, that "history has scarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character, or his death." His authority was rejected by Marcellinus, the "patrician of the West" in Dalmatia; and by Ægidius, the master-general of Gaul, who after carrying on a successful war against Theodoric II., died in A.D. 464.

Italy itself was subject to such incessant depredations by the Vandals, that Ricimer was fain to seek aid from Leo, who appointed ANTHEMIUS, the son-in-law of Marcian, to the vacant throne of the West, and Anthemius gave his daughter in marriage to Ricimer (A.D. 467). A great combined attack was now made upon Africa. Basiliscus, the general of Leo, disembarked at Bona, defeated the Vandals by sea and land, and had Carthage at his mercy, when he granted a truce for seven days, during which Genseric burned the Roman fleet by fire-ships (A.D. 468). Ricimer,

as our ancestors in the middle ages. A few of them had a shadow of classical education, as Theodoric the Visigoth, and the younger Alaric; but the case was quite different with Ricimer and his equals, who no doubt heartily despised the culture of the Romans. Those Germans, unfortunately, were not one shade better than the effeminate Italians; they were just as faithless and cruel." (Niebuhr.)

who is suspected of being the author of the treachery of Basiliscus, now quarrelled with Anthemius, and set up his court at Milan. A civil war ensued; Ricimer proclaimed Anicius OLYBRIUS, the son-in-law of Valentinian III.: took and sacked Rome, with greater horrors than it had suffered from Goths or Vandals; and put Anthemius to death: but both himself and his puppet emperor died in the same year.

The Burgundian Gundobald (A.D. 472), who succeeded to the command of Ricimer, withdrew his nominee, GLYCERIUS, in favour of JULIUS NEPOS, who was appointed by the eastern emperor (A.D. 474). Nepos abdicated and retired to Dalmatia, on the revolt of Orestes, a native of Pannonia, who had been the fellow-soldier and secretary of Attila, and whom Nepos himself had made master-general of the troops (A.D. 475). The purple which Orestes declined for himself was conferred by the army upon his son, who mocked the close of the long line of kings, consuls, and emperors, by the titles of ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS, a coincidence the more striking as they happened to be simply his family names.* But the refusal of Orestes to grant the demands of the barbarian troops, who, besides enormous pay, claimed a third part of the land of Italy, led to a new military revolution. The barbarians throughout Italy gathered their forces, and found a leader in ODOACER, who is commonly called king of the Heruli. Of his real origin we only know that he was the son of Edecon (the chief of a tribe called Sciri) who had fallen in battle with the Ostrogoths; and that his merit had raised him to high military rank. Orestes fled to Pavia, and was killed in the storm of the city. On the approach of Odoacer to Ravenna, he received the submission of Augustulus, who wrote a letter of formal abdication to the Senate, and was permitted to retire, with an ample revenue, to the luxurious villa of Lucullus in Campania. The fall of the Western Empire under Augustulus was veiled, like its rise under Augustus, by constitutional forms. The Senate represented to Zeno that Rome no longer needed a separate emperor, and the monarch of the East entrusted the administration of the diocese of Italy to the "patrician" Odoacer, whom his troops had already saluted as the first barbarian King of Italy (A.D. 476). It belongs to medieval history to relate how, after a reign of fourteen years, he was compelled to yield his life and throne to the great THEODORIC, who founded the KINGDOM OF THE OSTROGOTHS IN ITALY.

* He was called *Romulus* from his maternal grandfather, a Count Romulus of Noricum, while Augustus is known to have been a surname at Aquileia.

When the city of Rome became the capital of a Gothic kingdom, all that was *Roman* in her polity and civilization ended with her; for the Eastern empire was essentially oriental. But, like every being, which the Creator has made, or permitted to constitute itself, Rome only ceased to exist when her work was done—the last work of ancient civilization. As the states which have successively occupied the foremost place in the annals of the ancient world were all grouped round one common centre—the great inland sea, which was the pathway of their commerce—so had they all the one central aim of *unity:* each, animated by one predominant principle, strove to build upon it one supreme empire.

While one people was chosen for the purpose—however they fell short of it—of holding forth the single right principle of unity, the government of God as the basis of a spiritual empire, —for this is the only proper meaning of a *Theocracy*,—all the rest, having broken away from it, tried to replace it by systems more or less selfish and impure. In the great monarchies of Egypt and Western Asia—as well as in India, which has not yet taken its place as an active power in the world's history—we see the assumed prerogative of conquering castes, developed into *Despotism* and *Priestcraft*, claiming as a divine right to dispose of the bodies and the souls of men. The Greek states exhibit the nobler energy of personal liberty, developed in the highest activities of bodily and mental power, arms and manly exercises, art, philosophy, and literature; but still in that exclusive form, which only permitted its full enjoyment by one class alone, the Few excluding the Many, or the Many dominating over the Few. In the Phœnician Republics, and in Carthage as their highest type, we behold a commercial city establishing and exercising her rule over subject states, for the sake of the wealth, the resources of luxury, and the means of defence, which they supplied. But, under whatever variety of form, all were marked by the tyrannical assertion of the one principle which had the dominion for the time in each; and the *opposition*, which forms one of the mainsprings of modern civilization, was crushed and banished, wherever it failed to triumph. Above all, this tyranny was upheld by *slavery*, which, besides all the wrongs it inflicted on the oppressed class, deprived their oppressors of the blessings that spring from industry and mutual help.

While each form of polity had its special work to do—works which we have endeavoured to trace step by step in the foregoing

pages—ROME arose in the midst of all, to gather up the results which they had separately achieved around the centre of a *municipal unity*. With the institutions of a people at first shut up in a *single town*, and environed by similar communities, the necessity of self-defence launched her on that career of conquest, which collected about the CAPITOL, as a ruling centre, the force of the East, the free life and refinement of Hellas, the commercial resources and pride of Carthage; till the peoples gathered beneath the wings of the imperial eagle, that it might yield them up as a prize to the Prince of Peace. The conquests made by the force of Rome, as a city, over the nationalities whose narrow boundaries she broke down, required the Empire to preserve them and weld them together by common laws, government, and institutions; and the penetration of the whole world by the imperial power prepared the path of Christianity. When that work was done, and the true religion had triumphed—though as yet, for the most part, but outwardly and nominally—alike over the conquered Empire and her barbarian conquerors, then only did this last power of the ancient world give way to the new forces, in which *diversity* and *antagonism* are as conspicuous as *unity* among the ancient states; and its fall is the epoch which is usually regarded as the close of ANCIENT HISTORY.

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